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ST. XAVIER'S COLLEGE, BOMBAY

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THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGARA

THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY
OF VIJAYANAGARA

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PREFACE

FATHER H. HERAS, S. J., Professor of Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, has already distinguished himself in promoting knowledge of the history of Central and South India by two original papers in the *Indian Antiquary* on "The Conquest of the Fort of Asirgarh" and on the "City of Jinji." He has now set himself to elucidate the history of Vijayanagara in the time of its fourth and last dynasty, that is, during the period 1542-1770 of the Christian era—a period but lightly touched on in Mr. Sewell's well-known history of Vijayanagara—*A Forgotten Empire*.

The period is, however, a very important one in the story of Hinduism, and it covers also that of the rise of European power in India—Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, French and English—and of the struggles of the various European nations for supremacy, ending in the final victory of the English over all others. It was further a period of great Jesuit activity and of the general spread of modern European Christianity in South India. These considerations alone attest the value of its exhaustive study and the interest it cannot fail to arouse in all European students of the Indian Empire.

It is, however, a period of great difficulty, owing to the constant and varying struggle between Hindu Vijayanagara and the Muhammadan powers of the Deccan on the one hand, and on the other of never-ending local difficulties of fighting caused by the Vijayanagara system of governing through Viceroys, who were practically independent kings in their restricted territories and appeared as such to visiting Europeans, while the representatives of European powers took sides and joined in the general *melée*. History thus appears as an almost hopeless jumble of local struggle, and indeed it

requires no small research to put together the pieces of the puzzle, so that the reader has before him an intelligible account of the happenings at a period of Indian history of the first importance to those who would understand the conditions of to-day.

This great task Father Heras has undertaken, to my mind in the manner in which it should be undertaken. He goes into the causes which led to the conditions that brought the last Vijayanagara Dynasty—the Aravidu—into existence, and then writes up the history of it from original unpublished documents, as well as from the books on the subject, and in a long appendix he gives the unpublished documents themselves in their original languages. History cannot be more fairly presented.

Such is the method of Father Heras in attacking his subject and in this first volume we find that he commences with an account of the reigns of the last rulers of the Third Dynasty—the Tuluva—so as to show how the Aravidu family stepped quietly into its place in the person of the Aravidu minister, Rāma Rāya of Sadāsiva Rāya, the last Emperor of the Third Dynasty. He then gives an account of the administration of Vijayanagara under Rāma Rāya, the maintenance of Hinduism, and the foreign policy, especially as regards the Portuguese. As regards Rāma Rāya's clever and tortuous dealings with the Muhammadan powers of the Deccan, a whole chapter is devoted to them.

Father Heras then harks back to South Indian History to explain the early Telugu invasions of the Tamil country, ending with the establishment of Visvanātha Nāyaka as Nāyak (king) of Madura and the story of his successors—introducing incidentally the doings of St. Francis Xavier and other Jesuit leaders. This is followed by an account of the Nāyaks of Tanjore, Jinji and Ikeri (the very name of which last once great city has since disappeared from the general Indian maps), and of the Rājas of Mysore and other

Feudatory Chiefs, including the obscure and curious Queens of Bhatkāl and Ullāl.

These minor considerations bring us back to the struggle between the Tuluva Dynasty of Vijayanagara and the Deccani Muhammadans, ending with their victory at the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, the execution of Rāma Rāya and the end of the Tuluva Dynasty. This brings the Aravidu Tirumala, Rāma Rāya's brother, to the Vijayanagara throne and the transfer of the capital to Penukonda, giving the death blow to Portuguese commerce in India. His short reign thereafter was necessarily a time of confusion and trouble and constant struggles with the Muhammadans to the North of him. He was succeeded by Sri Ranga I, who kept the capital at Penukonda and fought back the Muhammadans. Under these rulers three Viceroyalties were established respectively over the Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil countries, to the story of which Father Heras devotes two chapters, with details of Portuguese interference with their affairs.

History then deals with the affairs of Venkatapatideva Rāya (Venkata II), still at Penukonda, and with his struggles with his feudatory chiefs, and also with the Muhammadans and the Nāyak of Madura, giving an account of that feudatory dynasty. At this point comes in the story of Father Roberto de Nobili and his unusual behaviour, of which one is glad to have an orderly account.

Venkata II had further many dealings with the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Jinji, the Kanarese Viceroy, the Rāja of Mysore, the Nāyak of Ikeri, and other chieftains, in which the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Jesuits were mixed up. Besides describing these Father Heras gives us an account of the dealings of Venkata II directly with the Portuguese, Dutch and English of the day, and a separate account of the Jesuits at his Court.

The volume then goes into minor, but yet important matters such as those of painting at Venkata II's court, especially by Jesuit Fathers, his family affairs and literary activity under the first Aravidu sovereigns. Finally the volume winds up with a most valuable chapter on the struggle of Sri Vaishnavism with other Hindu sects.

The above very brief *resumé* of Father Heras's first volume is sufficient to show what it covers and how the writer has kept the many conflicting items of history apart, so that they can be absorbed by the student without confusion of mind.

R. C. TEMPLE

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INTRODUCTION

THE History of the Aravidu Dynasty of the Vijayanagara Empire is the history of the Telugu domination over the Tamil and Kanarese people. No doubt the whole of Southern India was under the sway of Vijayanagara prior to the 15th century. But the former rules of the Tamilians had been either retained, as in the case of the Cholas of Tanjore, or restored, as in the case of the Pandyas of Madura, as feudatory kings under the powerful Telugu Empire. Now, when the star—once so bright—of Vijayanagara was on the wane, many of the old native rulers were replaced by Telugu chiefs, destined to become the founders of the royal dynasties of the South after the setting of the imperial glory. The same fate befell most of the rulers of the Kanarese country, though there several of the old native chieftains survived.

To study the history of this dynasty without relating the events that turned those Telugu Nayaks first into feudatory kings and then into independent sovereigns, would be to mutilate the history of the fourth dynasty of Vijayanagara. Consequently we propose to deal with the whole history of the South of India, excepting Malabar, from the second half of the 16th century until the middle of the 18th, when the last representative of the old feudatory chiefs of Vijayanagara disappeared with the usurpation of Haidar Ali.

It is needless to insist on the importance of this period in the general history of India. Between the dates just mentioned, the already flourishing Portuguese commerce in India met its death-blow by the first appearance in the southern seas of the Danish, Dutch, French and English traders. Deccani Muhammadans, Marathas and Mughals successively invaded the South, and shook to its very foundations the

venerable Empire of Vijayanagara. It was also during this period that Vaishnavism was firmly established in the South as a result of the onslaughts on Jainism and Saivism, after the preaching of Ramanujacharya. Finally the successors of St. Francis Xavier, who preached Christ's Gospel on the Fishery Coast at the close of the third dynasty, were actively spreading the Catholic Doctrine, at one time protected by the very Emperors, Nayaks and other chiefs, at another persecuted by them ; and one of these missionaries, Fr. R. de Nobili, founded at this time the famous Madura Mission among the high caste people, the effects of which it is impossible to pass over in silence in a general history of the country.

As to the contents of this first volume, I must justify my starting with the alternation of the reign of the two as monarchs of the third Dynasty. The end of the Tuluva Dynasty and the beginning of the Aravidu Dynasty are not marked or separated by any great fight or tremendous *coup d' etat* that puts before our eyes the latter and announces the extinction of the former. The Aravidu family, connected by marriage with the reigning Tuluva Dynasty, became increasingly powerful after the demise of Achyuta Deva Raya. Hence we have selected this event for the beginning of our narrative.

Thus we shall see the first appearance of the three representatives of the Aravidu family in the political world of Vijayanagara, and we shall be able to understand thoroughly the causes of its rise to power, even before the total extinction of the preceding dynasty. For, the real founder of the Aravidu Dynasty is certainly not Tirumala ; his brother Rama Raya, some years previous to the so-called Talikota disaster, had already paved for his family the path leading to the throne, which he actually mounted with the unanimous approval of the whole of the Empire.

Therefore this volume will contain the history of the reigns of five Monarchs of the Empire of Vijayanagara.

Venkata I, hitherto simply called Venkatadri, whose early death provoked the seizing of the capital by Rama Raya and his brothers; Sadasiva Raya, who saw patiently the rising of Rama Raya as well as his sudden fall in the national calamity at Raksas-Tagdi; Tirumala, who finally succeeded in establishing the Aravidu family on the throne of Vijayanagara; Ranga I, whose short reign witnessed the increased power of the Muhammadans, who were constantly menacing the northern frontier of the Empire; and finally, Venkata II, known hitherto as Venkata I, the most illustrious sovereign of this Dynasty, who checked the Muslim raids in the North, subdued the turbulent Nayaks in the South, caused the Rajas of Mysore to be firmly established in their realm, strengthened his power by an alliance with the Portuguese and fostered literature and the fine arts throughout his vast dominions. The civil war that followed his death hastened the decay of the Empire.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

In any historical work, the author, besides the sources from which he has gathered his information, must have consulted many works either directly on the subject, or referring to it in some way. Hence the two parts of this Introduction: I. Contemporary Sources. II. Literature.

I CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

Naturally the *sources*, in order to have the necessary authority demanded by modern history, must be contemporary. This word however has a comprehensive meaning. Under it those works or documents are also contained which, although not strictly contemporary, bear nevertheless such a stamp of antiquity and authority that they are unquestionably accepted as historical sources. Such are also those works which are based on ancient contemporary documents. In fact if history is written as it should be, it is not always possible to draw the line between sources and literature.

These sources may be unpublished or published :—

1. UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

A. From the *Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala*, Poona. *Poona Persian Poem* (P.P.P.)

We have given this name to a manuscript Persian Poem belonging to the collection of the Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona.

It is a volume measuring 8 × 4 inches, richly bound in leather, with gilt patterns on the front cover; the binding however is badly worn. It contains 49 loose leaves of thick Daulatabadi paper sprinkled with gold, *i.e.*, 98 pages numbered with Sanskrit characters in pencil, beginning from the last page of the Persian manuscript. These pages are much damaged and worm-eaten. All bear the stamp of the Mandala. Between these and the cover both at the beginning and the end there are four leaves of an inferior kind of paper, a little whiter, containing some Persian writings which have no connection with the subject of the poem. There are 12 full-page coloured paintings, some of which are reproduced in this volume by the kind permission of the Honorary Secretaries of the Mandala. Each painting is covered with modern

white paper. On the first page of the volume there is the seal of the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah. Its inscription runs as follows: *Muhammad Shah Padshah Ghazi—1132* (A.H.) This seal is half obliterated as well as the following lines in Persian written on the same page: *Book of praise of Hassan* (sic), *King of Deccan. With 14 pictures, 49 leaves and 4 pages unwritten.* In the upper left corner there was another seal now totally effaced, which might perhaps be the seal of one of the Ahmadnagar Sultans. Moreover on the same page two small square seals may be seen, bearing the following inscription: *1350 Puran Chand.* Three other impressions of this seal are found in one of the last blank pages of the manuscript.

The poem begins on page 2 with an introduction headed by a beautifully painted pattern; in the middle of which, on a golden field, we read the following common inscription: *In the name of God, the generous, the merciful.* Besides this introduction the poem contains 11 cantos, the last of which is unfinished. The titles of these cantos are as follows:—

I. Praises of God.
II. Praises of the Prophet.
III. The Virtues of the Lord.
IV. The Beginning of the Reign of Hussain Nizam Shah.
V. The Beauty and Nature of Humayun Shah.
VI. The Marriage of Hussain Nizam Shah and Humayun Shah.
VII. The Durbar of Hussain Nizam Shah who admires the Beauty of Humayun Shah.
VIII. Praise of love and lovers.
IX. Hussain Nizam Shah musters an army against the infidels and marches on Bijanagar.
X. Hussain Shah's fight with Rama Raja, King of Bijanagar and his victory.
XI. Return of Hussain Shah, from the war with the infidels and conquest of Bijanagar, to Ahmadnagar and his passing from this abode of destruction to the eternal abode.

The writing is done in very black Indian ink and with extraordinarily beautiful penmanship. The verses are always enclosed within a rectangular blank and gold border, which leaves a margin of about an inch. The verses of the introduction are underlined with gold; occasionally there are some

verses written in the margin. The poem was suddenly interrupted and left unfinished but the three last pages are already bordered, waiting its completion.

The poem was, no doubt, written by a Court poet of Hussain Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, the history of whose reign is the argument of the poem. Though begun perhaps during his own reign, it was certainly continued during the beginning of the reign of his son Murtaza Nizam Shah, while his mother Bibi Konzah Humayun was governing on his behalf for three years[1]. This is proved by the fact that there is a full canto in honour of the Sultana. Such an extraordinary piece of flattery would be unintelligible, unless written while she was the ruler of the state. Now from the fact that the last canto of the poem is abruptly cut short (so much so that even the death of the Sultan—the account of which is promised in the heading of the canto—is not narrated) we may safely conclude that the work was suddenly interrupted during the political upheaval caused by the Regent's imprisonment. The poem itself is of very little historical importance; the paintings are much more interesting.

This copy of the poem was, no doubt, intended for the library of the Sultan himself, as the richness of its execution clearly shows. When Ahmadnagar fell into the possession of the Mughals, the manuscript went, either at once or some years later—perhaps during the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719—1748), whose seal appears on the first page—to Burhampur, a place which at times was the capital of the Mughal Deccan. There it was found in the possession of a private person by the late Mr. Pandurang Narasinha Patvardhan of Poona, who forwarded it to the Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala.

I owe the English Translation of the three cantos of this poem. published in *Appendix A*, to Mr. Mohamed Kazem Nemazi, B. A., Professor of Persian in our College.

B. From the *Archivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo*, Pangim.

Moncoes do Reino. These volumes measuring 10 × 6 inches as a general rule contain letters both from the Kings of Portugal to their Viceroys or Governors of Goa and from the Viceroys and Governors to the Kings. Occasionally other documents are found referring to the subjects mentioned in those letters. The King's letters are always originals, with

1. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 195-6 and 207; Ferishta—Briggs, III, p. 250-3.

the autograph signature of the monarch himself, and sometimes still bearing his royal seal. At times two or three copies of the same letter, all signed by the King, may be found; they were sent in duplicate by different vessels in order to prevent their being lost on such a long and perilous voyage. The Viceroys' letters are always copies—first copies most likely—made from the original before it was sent to Portugal. A few of the Viceroys' letters are merely drafts. In this volume use has been made of letters belonging to seven different volumes; they will be found in *Appendix B*. As a general rule, only extracts referring to the subject of this history are reproduced.

C. From the *Archives of the Society of Jesus*

Much use has been made of the Jesuit documents to illustrate the history of the Mughal Empire, specially during the reign of Akbar. But they have been studied very little by South Indian Scholars. Mr G. H. Nelson, in *The Madura Manual*, and Prof. R. Sathyanatha Aiyar in his *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, are the only authors who have used the Southern Jesuit's letters in their works. But unfortunately they knew these letters only through the work of Fr. Bertrand, *La Mission de Madure*, in which these documents appear in a French translation, which is far from accurate. Fortunately through the kindness both of Very Rev. Fr. J. Planchard, Superior of the Madura Mission, and of Fr. J. Castets, in charge of the Archives of the Mission, I was allowed to see and copy a number of photographs of Jesuit letters from Southern India, the originals of which are preserved in Europe. These documents are of three different kinds:—

(*a*) *Litterae Annuae.* These are the official letters sent annually from every Province or Mission to the General of the Society of Jesus residing at Rome. While narrating the state of the Mission they occasionally give precicus information about the civil conditions of the country. Sometimes also, specially in later years, a detailed account of the civil conditions of the country in which the missionaries are working is given at the beginning of the letter.

(*b*) *Private Letters.* These are not official letters but are those addressed either by the Provincial or by the Missionary Fathers to the General of the Jesuits or to other Fathers in Europe. All these letters, both official and private, are originals. Of their historical value Mr. Vincent Smith, *Akbar*, p. 6-7, speaks very highly.

(*c*) The only other document which has been made use of in the present volume is a protest sent to the King of Spain and Portugal against the Jesuits of the South, and specially against those working at Chandragiri. The document photographed is only a copy of the original memorial. It is published at the end of *Appendix C*.

Space does not allow of a full description of all these Jesuit documents. As mentioned above, I have only worked upon their photographs, and no scale is given from which to deduce their real size.

D. From the *Archives of the Diocese of Mylapore*

By the kindness of the Most Rev. Mgr. A. Teixeira, Administrator Apostolic of the Mylapore Diocese, and of his Secretary Very Rev. Fr. Carvalho, I was able to collect only a few documents from the Diocesan Archives. The oldest of them seem to have been destroyed during the depradations of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. The two documents published in *Appendix D* are not of great importance. Both are copies made in relatively modern times. Their size is 12 x 6 inches.

E. Other MSS

(*a*) *Obras varias Manu-Scriptas: Que comprehende todas as que constao do Index desde* (sic) *Tomo 1°*. A Volume 12 x 9 inch. containing copies of documents connected with Portuguese history, most likely from the originals in the Torre do Tombo. Leaves are only numbered, not pages. The book belongs to the Satara Museum of the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasins, to whose memory I am highly indebted for his extreme kindness.

(*b*) The Very Rev. Fr. A. M. Tabard, M.A., late President of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, put into my hands copies of some MSS. relating to the early history of Bangalore. These MSS. are preserved in the Royal Palace of Mysore. One of them has no heading at all. The other is entitled as follows:—

Memoir of Bangalore MS. written in 1728, collected at Bangalore in February 1807 and literally translated from the original Maratha by Soobbarao, Brahmin.

(*c*) Use has also been made of the poem *Sahityaratnakara* of the Maharaja Sarfoji's Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore. It bears the No. 10291.

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Note.—The author and the publishers regret to present this work to the public without diacritical marks. Such marks were used throughout the MS. but the printer of the body of the book was not able to supply them. They request the readers, therefore, to be lenient in their critizising this fault, which a second edition will, so they hope, not be guilty of.

Frontispiece.

I. Stone representation of Rama Raya's head.

(By kind permission of the Curator, Bijapur Museum.)

CHAPTER I

THE REIGN OF VENKATA I

SUMMARY.—1. Vijayanagara at the death of Achyuta Raya.—2. Enthronement of Venkata I.—3. Some notes on his reign and person.—4. Tyranny of the Regent Salakam Timma Raju.—5. Murder of the King and other members of his family.—6. Usurpation by Salakam Timma Raju.—7. Rama Raya's war against the Regent.—8. Rama Raya enters the capital.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants. 2. Ferishta, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Basatin-us-Salatin.* 3. Couto, Correa. 4. *Achyutarayabhyudayam, Varadambika-Parinayam, Vasucharitramu, Svaramelakalanidhi, Ramarajiyamu, Narasabupaliyamu, Annals of Hande Anantapuram.*

THE splendour of the Vijayanagara Empire that characterised the reign of the famous monarch, Krishna Deva Raya, and was happily maintained by his half-brother and successor Achyuta Raya [1], suffered a sudden, though brief, eclipse at the latter's demise [2]. At this time, to quote an anonymous contemporary author, the Sovereign of Vijayanagara "ruled

1. Although in a copperplate grant of the year 1536 Achyuta is called the son of Krishna Deva Raya, Sewell, II, p. 4-5, there can be no doubt that both were sons of Narasimha Raya, but by different wives: Nagala was the mother of Krishna, and Obambikadevi the mother of Achyuta, as testified by both the Unamanjeri and the Kadaladi plates of Achyuta, the British Museum plates, and the Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 148; XIV, p. 312; IV, p. 3; XIV p. 230, and the Portuguese Chronicler Nuniz, Sewell, p. 367.

2. No worse description of Achyuta's character stands recorded than the one left by Nuniz: "The King Chytarao, after he ascended the throne, gave himself over to vice and tyranny. He is a man of very little honesty and, on account of this, the people and the captains are much discontented with his evil life and inclinations; for he has never done anything except those things that are desired by his two brothers-in-law who are men very evilly disposed and great Jews", Sewell, p. 367. Sewell, p. 166 naturally agrees with his

over numberless people, and could raise an army of a million or a million and a half soldiers; so that all the neighbouring kings and princes were his vassals, thus making him master of untold wealth. There was in his army a great deal of elephantry and cavalry; for he was the owner of more than three thousand elephants, and thirty or forty thousand of the best horses ever seen in this country, because they came from both Arabia and Persia "[1]. In addition, its rivers produced gold, while diamonds and other precious stones were found in its valleys. Vijayanagara was until then the same city and the same Empire that fired the admiration of the Persian Ambassador, Abdur-Razzak some years previously, when he "saw a city exceedingly large and populous and a king of great power and dominion, whose kingdom extended from the borders of Sarandip to those of Kulbarga, and from Bengal to Malibar, a space of more than 1,000 parasangs "[2].

The last date of Achyuta available from lithic records is A. D. 1541-42 (Saka 1463)[3]. We may suppose that he died towards the end of 1541, judging from some inscriptions of Sadasiva relating to the middle of the following year 1542, as

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chronicler. And even Krishna Sastri states that Nuniz's descriptions may not be altogether far from the truth *(A. S. I., Report for 1908-9,* p. 187). On the other hand we find in an inscription of the Sundararajaperumal temple at Valarpuram that Achyuta 'took all countries', (27 of 1911), and we know from two epigraphical records of Kanchivaram of his brilliant campaign in Travancore, from the King of which he received tribute, the acquisition of Tinnevelly ending with his marriage to the daughter of the Pandya King, (49 and 50 of 1900). How then can the opinion of Nuniz be reconciled with these military exploits? From Sewell's *Forgotton Empire,* p. 177-8, we learn that the Portuguese, who were such good friends of Vijayanagara during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya, turned into foes as soon as his successor ascended the masnad. Is not Nuniz's condemnation of him a tacit apology for the Portuguese enmity?

1. *M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.,* I, *Historia del principio & progresso de la Compania de Jesus en las Indias Orientales diuidida en dos partes,* pp. 61-62.

2. Elliot, *History of India,* IV, p. 105.

3. 21 of 1900.

well as from the events of the intervening period which we are about to narrate. In the Vitthala temple of Vijayanagara, there are two records mentioning King Achyuta Raya and Chikkaraya, his heir [1], viz., his son Komara Venkatadri alias Chikka Udaiyar who, according to the Tamil poem *Achyutarayabhyudayam*, had been anointed in Vijayanagara as his Crown Prince while his father had been crowned Emperor after Krishna Raya's demise [2]. The contemporary Sanskrit poem *Varadambika-Parinayam* says that Venkatadri was installed Yuvaraja by his father on "observing with satisfaction the character and achievements of the Prince "[3]. Two epigraphical records of Kanchivaram relate that three years after the beginning of the victorious campaign of Achyuta in the South, this King, accompanied by his queen Varadadevi-Ammal and Prince Komara Venkatadri, entered the city of Kanchivaram [4]. Tirumalamba, the authoress of the *Varadambika-Parinayam*, ends her work, by praying god Venkatesa "to preserve her patron Achyuta, his Queen Varadamba and the Prince Venkatadri"[5].

2. This prince Komara Venkatadri or Chinna Venkatadri, whom we shall henceforth refer to as Venkata I, was the one who succeeded his father Achyuta at the end of 1541 [6]. We know that his mother's name was Varadadevi-

1. 4 and 5 of 1904. The *Varadambika-Parinayam* describes the youth of this son of Achyuta. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 170.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 158.

3. Ibid., p. 172.

4. *M. E. R., for 1899-900*, paras 70-77.

5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, l. c.

6. The inscriptions that record the succession of Venkata I are to be seen in *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 3; VII, p. 89; IX, p. 340, v. 27; XIV, p. 230 and 353; *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58; V, Hn, 7; IX, Cp, 186; *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 154; Sewell, II, p. 12, 81 and 248. Much confusion has been created as to the succession after Krishna Deva Raya's death. Several authors state that his nephew, the child Sadasiva, was appointed Sovereign, but his uncle Achyuta on coming from the South took the throne, which was not restored to Sadasiva until

Ammal [1] or Varadambika [2]; but we do not know exactly the age of the new King, although we can positively state that he was not yet of age, since his uncle Salakam Timma Raju, brother-in-law of the late king [3], took over the regency of the Empire [4]. Correa states that the heir of Achyuta was a child [5]. The Regent was very ambitious and of weak intellect, and at times absolutely irresponsible [6].

Achyuta's death. Cf. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 88; Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 353; Ravenshaw, *Translation of Various Inscriptions of Vijayanagara, Asiatic Researches*, XX, p. 12-3; Subramiah Pantulu, *Remarks on Telugu Literature*, *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 300. Did this confusion arise from the short reign of Venkata I, so long forgotten, or perhaps from the fact of the appointment made by Krishna Deva Raya of his six-years-old son Tirumalayadeva Maharayar as his Crown Prince (139 of 1896; *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Ma, 6 and 82) who dying soon after, as Nuniz narrates, (Sewell, p. 359), again left the throne vacant? After carefully reading Nuniz, I am more inclined to the latter view.

1. Sewell, I, p. 182.

2. *Varadambika-Parinayam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 170.

3. He was married to a sister of Achyuta, according to Correa, *Lendas da India*, IV, p. 276. The *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 51, says he was the son of the daughter of the Rai. I suppose that this Rai must be Narasimha.

4. He is called Bhoj Tirmal Ray by Ferishta, III, p. 81, and the *Basatin-us-Salatin* p. 51, and Uche Timma Rao by Couto, VI, p. 382. Sewell, p. 182, note 3, thinks that the uncle, that Correa speaks of was Ranga, Sadasiva's father: we know the Regent's name from the Telugu poem, to which we shall refer later.

5. "Neste tempo aqueceo que morreo o Rey de Bisnega, de que nom fiqou herdeiro, somente hum filho menino". Correa, *Lendas da India*, IV, p. 247.

6. Ferishta, III, p. 81, says that he was 'deemed almost an idiot', and Couto, l. c., adds that 'he was mad as it is declared in his very name, since Uche means mad in Canarese'. The three accounts of Ferishta, Correa and Couto contain several palpable falsehoods, but many details coincide in a marked degree with those we know from other sources; while the narrative of Ferishta, although located some years earlier in his history, openly refers to facts which happened at Achyuta's demise. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*,

It appears that, early during the ceremony of the coronation of the King, something unusual happened regarding the rites [1]. The nobles, and specially two Queens of Krishna Raya, Chinna-devi and Tirumala-devi, wanted to have their Sovereign free from any tutelage. Rama Raya and his brother Tirumala, close relations to the imperial family, were to be the ministers in charge of matters of government. But Salakam Timma Raju, who had been treasurer of the court [2] and whose ambition did not allow him to divide the government, earnestly opposed this project [3]. Two parties were thereupon formed [4]. But the Regent, holding the supreme power, tried to confine in prison the two brothers and those who were most opposed to his own schemes [5]. They, however, on being made aware of his intentions fled from Vijayanagara, together with many other nobles. Some of these started to assume independence in their own provinces [6]. Rama Raya and his two brothers escaped to Gutti, according to the *Svaramelakalanidhi,* and to Penukonda, as the *Vasucharitramu* and the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* relate [7].

3. It is evident that these nobles rebelled against the Regent but not against the young Emperor. All the contemporary inscriptions and grants highly extol the latter's qualities: in a grant of his successor Sadasiva, King Venkata is called 'the treasury of wisdom' [8]; again he is called 'an abode

XLIX, p. 201-2, calls the Regent Ram Raj. This is another sign of the great confusion of the Muhammadan writers on this period of Vijayanagara history.

1. It is asserted in the *Vasucharitramu.*

2. Brown, *The Wars of the Rajas*, p. 3.

3. *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources* p. 178. These facts are narrated as having happened at the death of Krishna Deva Raya; but this is an evident mistake. Cf. Correa, l. c.

4. Correa, l. c.

5. *Annals of Hande Anantapuram.* l. c., *Svaramelakalanidhi*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources.* p. 190; *Vasucharitramu*, o. c., p. 216.

6. Correa, l. c.

7. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, ll. cc.

8. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186.

of learning' in another grant of the same, dated 1561 [1]; in the same grant he is also mentioned as 'famous for valour'[2]; and in the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva he is said to be 'like the flower-arrowed Kama' and 'to rule his kingdom well'[3]. In a copper-plate sasanam of Vijayanagara he is simply said to have 'reigned gloriously' [4], which sounds as an empty boast, when said of a Monarch who died so young. But judging from the grief of his subjects at the time of his death we can conclude that he was an able and promising youth: he died soon 'owing to the ill-fortune of the people', as we read in a grant of Sadasiva of 1545 [5]; or 'to the ill-fortune of his subjects' [6]; or 'owing to the bad luck of his subjects' [7].

4. In the meanwhile Salakam Timma Raju was ruling the Empire most tyrannically, spending foolishly such large quantities of money from the royal treasury that his subjects could not stand him any longer [8]. Then the Queen Dowager, Varadadevi-Ammal, begged Ibrahim Adil Shah I of Bijapur to come to her rescue and to secure the kingdom for her son, promising him immense riches in return for this favour [9]. The Sultan set out for Vijayanagara; but on the road he was met by emissaries of Salakam Timma, who made him lavish presents as the price of his retreat [10]. The Queen Mother was then left alone in the hands of the ambitious minister, and it was probably this time that saw the most abominable crime committed by Salakam Timma.

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1. *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hn, 7.
2. Ibid.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 340, vv. 28-30.
4. Sewell, II, p. 12, 81.
5. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186
7. Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 340, vv. 28-30.
8. Couto, l. c.
9. "E por elle tomar este trabalho lhe pagaria toda sua despeza, e lhe daria mais hum conto de pardaos d'ouro." Correa, l. c.
10. Correa, p. 247-8.

5. It is clear from original sources that Venkata I's reign did not last very long: 'he soon died'[1], 'he died after a short time'[2], 'he soon went to the city of Indra'[3], he 'before long ascended to Indra's abode'[4] are the phrases used to announce his demise. We do not know the exact date of his end; but since there is an inscription of Sadasiva corresponding to July, 1542, we cannot suppose that the reign of Venkata lasted more than half a year. About the kind of death the unfortunate Sovereign met with, the statement of Correa gives full details: Salakam Timma, in order to strengthen his position and avoid any danger of civil or foreign war in favour of his royal nephew, caused Venkata to be assassinated together with two of his uncles and one of his cousins [5]. The aim of Salakam Timma was quite clear: to extinguish the whole of the royal family, excepting his own person: one of his victims was most likely Ranga, the father of Sadasiva and uncle of Venkata; Sadasiva himself was no doubt one of the intended victims, but he fortunately escaped the violence of the bloodthirsty Regent. Ferishta relates that Venkata was strangled by his uncle [6]. Even a damaged inscription on the Garuda-mandapam of the Chennakesavasvamin temple at Markapur records this family crime by stating that Timma 'sinned against his lord'[7].

1. Sadasiva's grant, 1546, *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58.
2. British Museum plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 3.
3. Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 340, v. 30.
4. Sadasiva's grant, 1561, *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hn, 7.
5. Correa, o.c., p. 276. The murder of Venkata I was already known to Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 88; Krishna Sastri, *The Second Vijayanagara Dynasty*, A.S.I., Report, 1908-9, p. 195, and Subramiah Pantulu, *Remarks on Telugu Literature, Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 300. The two brothers of Achyuta were, according to Correa, murdered in a fortress where they were imprisoned by Achyuta. This fortress was Chandragiri, according to Nuniz. See Sewell, p. 316.
6. Ferishta, III, p. 83.
7. 164 of 1905. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, XLIX, p. 201, does not speak of the murder of Venkata I. It only says that he was imprisoned and then the Regent usurped the throne.

6. Salakam Timma, supposed to have no rivals at all, at once seized the throne of Vijayanagara; and although the death of Venkata was 'much regretted', as we read in a copper-plate sasanam of Sadasiva [1], nevertheless the nobility of the capital submitted as he was a member of the royal family. But soon being unable to endure his tyranny and oppression, they became disaffected and began to plot against him [2]. One of the cruelties which most alienated his subjects' feelings is narrated by Correa: Salakam Timma, in dread of the influence of the chief nobles, summoned them to court, seized them treacherously as soon as they reached the city, and caused their eyes to be put out. Some only of the first arrivals were caught; the rest went back in great anger to their homes, and started to intrigue with their neighbours in order to put an end to the unbearable tyranny [3].

Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur was one of those whose help they sought for the moment. They urged him to depose Salakam Timma, promising him their assistance and offering him the crown of Vijayanagara if the country could be freed from that dreadful tyrant [4]. But the usurper, obtaining intelligence of their designs, also despatched an embassy with a sum of six lakhs of huns and many precious gifts to the Bijapur Sultan, soliciting him to march to his assistance, and promising in return to acknowledge his suzerainty and to pay down another sum of three lakhs of huns for every day's march his army might make. Ibrahim Adil Shah, tempted by this offer, and finally moved by the advice of the old general Asad Khan, left his capital and arrived at Vijayanagara without opposition: Timma himself went to fetch him and conducted him into the city and seated him on the royal throne and ordered rejoicings

1. Sewell, II, 12, 81.

2. Ferishta, l.c.

3. Correa, p. 276-7. This author says that only two of the nobles were treacherously mutilated by the Regent.

4. Correa, p. 277. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, XLIX p. 202, states that the Sultan of Bijapur proceeded to Vijayanagara of his own accord.

for seven days. Some of the nobles acknowledged him as Sovereign [1]: they were evidently the intimate friends of Salakam.

7. But the majority of the Grandees of the kingdom joined the three brothers Rama Raya, Tirumala and Venkatadri to work out the salvation of the country [2]. These three great chiefs, from the day on which they fled from the capital, had seen that their army had grown after the capture of the forts of Penukonda, Adavani (Adoni) [3], Gutti, Gandikota and Kandanol) Kurnul [4]. Now Rama Raya and the confederate nobles sent letters to Salakam Timma feigning the sincerest contrition for their rebellion and assuring him of their future allegiance. But, since the Muhammadans, who were introduced even into the capital of the Empire, were its most dangerous enemies, and since their stay in the country could have none but evil consequences, they asked the usurper to order the Sultan of Bijapur back to his own dominions. Timma being, after the subjection of the nobility, no longer in need of the Mussulmans, requested the Muhammadan army to return home after receiving fifty lakhs of huns, according to the conditions previously settled upon. Moreover, magnificent presents were made to the Sultan, among which Ferishta mentions twelve fine elephants and some beautiful horses. Ibrahim Adil Shah had not yet entered his dominions when Rama Raya and the confederates hastened towards Vijayanagara in order to put Salakam to death and thus to avenge the murder of his predecessor [5].

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1. Ferishta, III, p. 83; Correa, p. 278-9. Both accounts confirm each other, though they do not agree in some details. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, XLIX, p. 202, does not mention the sum of money sent by Salakam to Ibrahim Adil Shah. Moreover, it states that the usurper fled from Vijayanagara on the approach of the army of Bijapur, and even quotes a letter of Asad Khan to Salakam Timma Raju inviting him to return to his capital.

2. Ferishta, l.c.

3. *Vasucharitramu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 216; *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, l.c.

4. *Ramarajiyamu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 181.

5. Ferishta, III, p. 83-4; the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 51-2, gives the amount of 44 lakhs of huns as the sum given Ibrahim by Sala-

Neither Ferishta nor Correa mention any battle between Rama Raya and Salakam Timma; and the former even seems to suppose that the bribes Rama Raya made among the troops of Vijayanagara opened to him the gates of the city [1]. But the Telugu poem *Narasabupaliyamu* says that the valiant general 'waged war and destroyed the traitor Salakam Timma'[2]; and in the *Ramarajiyamu* we read that he 'defeated the armies of Salakam'[3]; and the *Svaramelakalanidhi* states that he 'conquered the traitors to the kingdom'[4]; and the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* record that Rama Raya and Tirumala, along with Hande Hanumappa Nayudu of Sonnalapuram, delivered the attack upon the forces of Salakam. They were helped by addtional forces from Kandnavol (Karnul) and Gadwal. The battle did not last long. The *Annals* do not mention Rama Raya's bribes to the officers of Salakam; but this inference may also be drawn from their assertion that " his officers, thinking that he was only a shepherd who wanted to snatch away the kingdom as he was rich, deserted in a body" [5]. This desertion by the officers might have been caused by Rama Raya's bribes. After this action Rama Raya became the lord of the capital: the bribes that Ferishta speaks of became very useful on this occasion. Perhaps the final victory of the confederates was due to them. Salakam Timma and his relatives did not leave the city to defend their rights in a pitched battle, for the inscription of Markapur mentioned above informs us that Rama Raya

kam Timma, on this occasion, but adds: " according to another account not 44 but 80 lakhs of huns were given the Sultan." The *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, l.c., say that the Sultan of Bijapur remained at Vijayanagara until Rama Raya came with his army and that Barid Shah, Nizam Shah and Qutb Shah were likewise helping the usurper. This seems only intended to extol the valour of Rama Raya who dared to fight against all these chiefs allied with the usurper. Ferishta does not say a word about this alliance.

1. Ferishta, III, p. 84.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 224.
3. Ibid., p. 181.
4. Ibid., p. 190.
5. Ibid., p. 178.

'subdued at Vidyanagari (Vijayanagara) Timma.....' and the whole of the Salakam family' [1].

About his end, Couto only says that his subjects killed him [2], and the *Vasucharitramu* and the *Narasabupaliyamu* state respectively that 'Rama finally killed' [3] or 'destroyed the traitor Salakam Timma' [4]. The same is recorded by Mirza Ibrahim Zabiri [5]. Finally, the *Annals* record that 'he was killed in the fight' [6]. But Ferishta, whom I trust more on this occasion on account of the detailed account he gives, relates these events as follows: "Bhol Tirmal Ray, finding he was betrayed, shut himself up in the palace, and, becoming mad from despair, blinded all the royal elephants and horses, and cut off their tails that they might be of no use to his enemy. All the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones and pearls, which had been collected in the course of many ages, he crushed to powder between heavy mill-stones, and scattered them on the ground. He then fixed a sword-blade into a pillar of his apartment, and ran his breast upon it with such force, that it pierced through, and came out at his back; thus putting an end to his existence, just as the gates of the palace were opened to his enemies" [7]. Correa agrees with this Muhammadan writer, and even says that before dying Salakam said that he wanted to die as a king of Vijayanagara [8].

8. When the Queens of Krishna Raya heard of these happy events they ordered the nobles to hand over the city to Rama Raya and Tirumala, and their order was accordingly carried out [9]. Rama Raya was received in the imperial city

1. 164 of 1905.
2. Couto, o.c., p. 382.
3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 216.
4. Ibid., p. 224.
5 *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 52.
6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 178.
7. Ferishta, o.c., p. 84-5. Cf. Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 354. The above mentioned Telugu poems, in order to eulogize the virtues and might of Rama Raya, represent him as the destroyer of his rival. This is a usual practice among poets.
8. "Eu moyro Rey de Bisnega". Couto, p. 282.
9. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 178. The mother of Venkata I is not mentioned on this occasion. Was she also one of the victims of Salakam Timma?

of Vijayanagara as the liberator of the country. " He saved the Karnata (Vijayanagara) Empire from destruction by making war on and destroying the traitor Salakaya Timma", sings Bhattu Murti in his *Narasabupaliyamu* [1]. Probably on account of this triumph over the tyrant Salakam he was thereafter called 'the Protector of the Karnata kingdom' [2] or 'the Protector of the fortunes of the Karnata kingdom' [3]. And, perhaps even from this time onwards his deeds were 'sung by Vidyadhari women to the accompaniment of their lutes, which they made resonant by striking with their nails', as we read in the Mangalampad grant of Venkata II [4].

The subsequent attempts of Rama Raya to save the Empire will be narrated in the following chapter.

1. Ibid., p. 225.
2. Kanuma grant of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 353, vv. 29-30.
3. Sadasiva's grants, 1561 and 1558, *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hn, 7; IX, Cp, 186.
4. Butterworth, I, p. 29, v. 17.

CHAPTER II

SADASIVA RAYA AND HIS REGENT RAMA RAYA

SUMMARY.—1. The family of Sadasiva.—2. His coronation as Emperor of Vijayanagara.—3. The mythical and historical ancestors of the Aravidu family.—4. Rama Raya and his family. 5. The family of Tirumala and Venkatadri.—6. Previous deeds of Rama Raya.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants. 2. Ferishta, Anonymous Chronicler of Golkonda. 3. Couto, Correa. 4. Travels of Caesar Frederick. 5. *Vasucharitramu, Rama Raya Charitra, Svaramelakalanidhi, Narasabupaliyamu, Balabhagavatam, Ramarajiyamu.*

THE events recorded at the end of the preceding chapter are supposed to be merely the preliminary steps taken by Rama Raya to save the country. The young Prince Sadasiva had survived the bloody tragedy of the imperial family in which Venkata I was the chief victim. So Rama Raya's first care, after defeating Salakam Timma, was to instal this last representative of the Tuluva family on the glorious throne of his ancestors. Accordingly he marched from Vijayanagara at the head of his army, sword in hand, to rescue Prince Sadasiva hidden in the fortress of Gutti [1].

The unfortunate Prince, who was about to be fetched by Rama Raya to be anointed as Emperor of Vijayanagara, was supposed to be the son of Krishna Deva Raya, according to Couto [2]; or the son of Achyuta Raya as given in an inscription of Hassan [3]. But we now know of several inscriptions of the time of Sadasiva that call him son of Ranga Raya or Ranga

1. *Svaramelakalanidhi,* according to Mr. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty, A. S. I., Report, 1911-2,* p. 178, note 2.

2. Couto, VI, p. 382.

3. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions,* p. 228, 129; Rice, *Mysore,* I, p 353; 104 of 1906; Fleet, *Pali, Sanskrit and Old Canarase Inscriptions,* p. 28, pl. 246.

kshitindra and of Timmamba [1]. According to some Bhatkal inscriptions [2], Ranga-kshitindra was a son of Isvara-Narasimha and brother of Krishna Deva Raya but by a different mother. The founder of the third dynasty married three wives: Tippajidevi, who was his Queen; Nagala, the mother of Krishna Deva Raya; and Obambika, the mother of Achyuta Raya [3] and Ranga-kshitindra [4], and hence grand-mother of Sadasiva. His father Ranga had probably been one of the victims of the tyranny of Salakam Timma, as we have pointed out in the preceding chapter. By the author of the *Svaramelakalanidhi* Sadasiva is given at this time the appellation of 'helpless' [5]. That seems to connote a tender age. Indeed a contemporary anonymous chronicler of Golconda says that 'the heir to the throne was a child in arms' [6]. Caesar Frederick only says that he was 'very young' [7]. The same is implied by the probable fact that he was not yet married at the time of his coronation; for there was no queen at his side, as we know from a grant we shall quote a little further on. Hence what seems to us quite reasonable, and not inconsistent with the truth, is the statement of Couto who says that Sadasiva at the time of his installation was a little more than thirteen years of age [8]. Correa affirms that he was about sixteen [9]. Ac-

1. British Museum plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 3; Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 340, vv. 28-30; Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 230, vv. 28-30; Kanuma grant of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 353, vv. 29-30; Sadasiva's grant, 1546, *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58; Sadasiva's grant, 1561. *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hn, 7; Sadasiva's grant, 1558, *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186; Copper-plate sasanam of Sadasiva, Sewell, II, p. 12, 81.

2. Cf. Krishna Sastri, *The Second Vijayanagara Dynasty, A. S. I., Report, 1908-9*, p. 193, note 8.

3. Achyuta's grant, 1537, Sewell, I, p. 30, 207.

4. British Museum plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 3. Cf. Kielhorn, p. 89, 530.

5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 190.

6. Ferishta, III, p. 381.

7. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 93.

8. Couto, l. c., p. 382.

9. Correa, l. c., p. 281-2.

cording to this author, Sadasiva and his eldest brother were living hidden 'towards the kingdom of Orissa', probably in the Telugu country. When they were found by Rama Raya's diligence, the eldest brother was crowned as king of Vijayanagara. This happened at the time of Salakam's usurpation. But the new sovereign often was out of his mind on account of an unknown disease. So, by the nobles' accord, and with his consent, his youngest brother was raised up to the masnad. This was Sadasiva, who, it seems, was crowned at Tirupati, where he received a great deal of money, both from the nobility and from the treasury of the temple for the war intended against the usurper. The present given him by the Brahmins of Tirupati was 'a hundred bulls loaded with gold pieces.' From thence they advanced against Vijayanagara. It was then that Sadasiva stopped at Gutti while Rama Raya and his army advanced against Salakam.

2. On his return from Gutti, the coronation of Sadasiva took place at Vijayanagara. Achyuta Raya was also crowned twice, according to the *Achyutarayabhyudayam:* first at Tirupati and then at Vijayanagara, just as Sadasiva had been [1]. According to some inscriptions, Rama Raya alone installed him on the jewel throne and anointed him [2]. The British Museum plates of Sadasiva record that Rama Raya made the ministers instal Sadasiva [3]; but there is no doubt that both Rama Raya and the ministers participated in the ceremonies of the installation of the young King. This is stated in several grants of the said Sadasiva [4]. Now the first ministers were, no doubt, Tirumala and Venkatadri, the brothers of Rama Raya, but probably some others too are meant: the Bevinahalli grant of

1. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources,* p. 158.

2. Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.,* XIV, p. 230, vv. 28-30; Ranga III's grant, 1644-5, *Ind. Ant.,* XIII, p. 154; Copper-plate sasanam of Sadasiva, Sewell, II, p. 12, 81; *Svaramelakalanidhi,* S. Krishswami Aiyangar, *Sources,* p. 190.

3. British Museum plates of Sadasiva. *Ep. Ind.,* IV, p. 3.

4. Kanuma grant of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.,* XIV, p. 353, vv. 29-30; Sadasiva's grant, 1546, *Ep. Carn.,* IV, Ng, 58; Sadasiva's grant, 1561, *Ep. Carn,* V, Hn, 7; Sadasiva's grant, 1558, *Ep. Carn.,* IX, Cp. 186.

Sadasiva gives the names of several of his ministers [1]; another, named Venkatesvararaja, is mentioned in an inscription at Enamdala [2]. In an inscription of the Bhairavesvara temple at Mopur mention is also made of the Mahamandalesvara Timmayadeva Maharaju, son of Narasingayadeva Maharaja and grandson of Avubhaladeva Maharaja of Nandyala [3]. Another grandson of the same by a different father, Chinna Avubalesvaradeva Maharaju, is also called Mahamandalesvara in an inscription of Gandikota [4]. Finally, Ramabhatlayya, son of Bhutanatha Brahma-jyoyisalu, is also said to have been a minister of Sadasiva [5].

The solemn act of the coronation and anointment of the descendant of the great Isvara-Narasimha, nephew of the most glorious Sovereign of Vijayanagara, Krishna Deva Raya, was the occasion of much joy on the part of the inhabitants of the capital; "and the tears of joy", says one of his grants of 1558, "shed at the time of his coronation-anointing flooded the earth so as to make her appear as the queen who was anointed with him" [6]. Rama Raya seating Sadasiva on the precious stone (the throne inlaid with precious stones), holding an umbrella over his head [7], 'restored once more the Empire of Vijayanagara to its ancient glory' [8].

Virapratapa Kathari Saluva Vira-Sadasiva-rayadeva (for that is his full imperial title as given in the inscriptions [9]) was recognised by everyone throughout his vast dominions as the real Emperor of Vijayanagara. We have inscriptions from every corner of the Empire which show that he was proclaimed

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 212-3. Cf. 348 of 1905.
2. 415, Ap. B of 1916.
3. 498 of 1906.
4. 485 of 1906.
5. 60 of 1915.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186.
7. Inscription on a stone called Vay in the temple of Madavaswami at Vijayanagara, Ravenshaw, *Translation of Various Inscriptions Found among the ruins of Vijayanagara, Asiatic Researches*, XX, p. 35.
8. *Vasucharitramu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 216.
9. 399 and 381 of 1904.

the Rajadhiraja of the whole of Hindustan south of the Tungabhadra [1]. Some Rajas of the Karnatic however, who depended on the Emperors of Vijayanagara, did not pay homage to the new Emperor at once; since Ferishta tells us that in the year 1544 "the Karnatic was as yet by no means in a settled state, many of the dependant Rajas being still in revolt" [2]. This is shown also by the *birudas* attributed to him in the same inscriptions: Virapratapa Kathari Saluva Vira-Sadasiva Raya Deva-Maharaya receives in them the following titles due only to the Imperial Majesty: The great Emperor, the great King, the glorious great King, the King of Kings, supreme Lord of Kings, the supreme King, the famous, the valorous, the famous for valour, the brave and puissant [3].

We do not know when the coronation of Sadasiva took place; but it must have been during the first half of the year 1542, since his earliest inscription hitherto known bears a date corresponding to July 27, 1542 [4].

3. Now after having seen the young Sadasiva crowned and anointed by his Regent and chief minister Rama Raya, whose object was to establish firmly among his subjects the authority of the Aravidu family, it is worth while to give an account of the latter's ancestors as well as of his brave deeds before he reached the height of his power.

The family pedigree of Rama Raya may be found, with very few discrepancies, in almost all the grants of the Soverigns belonging to his family [5]. This vamsavali invariably con-

1. Even the Malayalam country was one of the States from which the Emperor of Vijayanagara received tribute; but the Maharajas of Kulam refused to pay it except when compelled by the imperial armies, as we shall see further on.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 94,

3. Visvanatha's inscription seven miles from Madura, Burgess, p. 108-9; Banasamkari Kanarese inscription of Sadasiva, *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 67; Kanarese inscription of Sadasiva, 1547-8, *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 65; Sadasiva's grant, 1561, *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hn, 7.

4. *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr, 42.

5. British Museum plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 3 ff; Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, Ibid., IX, p. 329 ff; Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva, Ibid., XIV, p. 331; Kanuma grant of Sadasiva,

tains two sections: one mythical, the other historical. By the former they claim to belong to the Lunar race, through Buddha, Pururavas and several other Puranic heroes; and this is the reason why Venkata II in the Vilapaka grant professes to be Atreyagotraja, a descendant from Atri, the Moon's father. Nevertheless not all the names given in this section are mythic; there are also some historical persons named among the Aravidu family just to exalt its nobility, as it was also done by the kings of the preceding dynasties. Such are Nanda, the representative of the old Dynasty of Pataliputra overthrown by the Maurya Chandragupta; and Chalikya, through whom the Aravidu Emperors boast connection with the Chalukyas; and lastly Bijjalendra, who represents the Kalachuris.

The historical pedigree starts with Tata Pinnama, 'at whose sight the enemies were frightened' and whose son Somideva

Ibid., p. 343; Sadasiva's grant, 1545, *Ep. Carn.*, V, Mj., 60; Sadasiva's, grant, 1561, Ibid., Hn, 7; Sadasiva's grant, 1558,*Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186; Mamidipundi grant of Sadasiva, Butterworth, I, p. 98 ff; Rama Raya's grant, 1554, *M. A. D.*, 1923, p. 125 ff; Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 254; Tirumala's grant, 1571, *Ep. Carn.*, XII Tm., 1; Maredappalli grant of Ranga I, *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 327; Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, Ibid., XII, p. 356, Copper-plate inscription of Venkata II, 1589, *M. A. D.*, 1921, p. 31; Vilapaka grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270 ff.; Dalaway Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 185; Venkata II's grant, 1586, *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 225; Venkata II's grant, 1613, Ibid., p. 231; Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 296; Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, Ibid., p. 299 ff; Venkata II's grant, 1587, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83; Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39; Mangalampad plates of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 27-31; Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 251-2; Karnata grant of Venkata III, 1636, *Ind Ant.*, XIII, p. 123; Kondyata grant of Venkata III, *Ind Ant.*, XIII, p. 129; Copper-plate grant of Venkata III, 1634, Burgess, IV, p. 186 ff; *M. E. R.*, 1891, p. 6; Utsur grant of Ranga III, Butterworth, I, p. 46; Kallakursi grant of Ranga III, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 153. Some information on the Aravidu family pedigree is also to be found in the following poems: *Vasu Raja Charitra*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 295; *Rama Raja Charitra*, Ibid., p. 269; *Svaramelakalanidhi*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 190; *Narasabupaliyamu*, Ibid., p. 224; *Vasucharitramu*, Ibid., p. 216; *Balabhagavatam*, Ibid., p. 204.

'captured seven forts during the course of a single day'; then comes Raghavadeva, called brave and heroic, who was the father of Pinnama, 'the lord of Aravitipura', from whose time we see the members of this family most closely connected with State affairs; Araviti Bukka, his son, who married Balambika, is described as 'the establisher of the kingdom of Saluva Narasimha', the founder of the second dynasty. Bukka then was one of the generals and ministers of Narasimha, who supported this usurper, when he put on his head the crown of Virupaksha, in 1485-6[1]. He could not have died very early, since he is recorded to have been one of the generals present at the enthronement of Krishna Deva Raya, in January, 1510. Bukka's son Rama Raya, who espoused Lakkambika, is called 'a great warrior' and 'conqueror over Sapada's army'. Sapada is understood to be the Sultan of Golkonda. The *Rama Raja Charitra* says expressly that by the aid of his brother Venkatapati, and two chiefs of the same family, Venkatadri and Tirumala, he subdued Gutti, Penukonda and other places and defeated the King of Golkonda[2]. The Maredapalli grant of Ranga I records that Rama Raya captured the forts of Avanagiri and Kandanavolu (Karnul) and put to flight Kasappudaya. According to the poem mentioned above he had five sons: Sriranga, Channa Venkatapati, Timma or Tirumala(who distinguished himself in the service of Krishna Deva Raya), and lastly Venkatapati. Of these, the first, Sriranga became the father of Rama Raya, the Regent of Sadasiva Raya.

Sriranga, according to Rama Raya's grant, 1554, 'defeated many enemies'. We know from Ferishta that he was one of the ministers of Krishna Deva Raya, and was succeeded in this place by his son Rama Raya[3]. Accordingly in an

1. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagara History*, p. 47.

2. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 270.

3. Ferishta, III, p. 81. He calls Rama Raya's father Timraj. In two inscriptions of Penukonda, Rama Raya is called the son of Tirumalaraja. 333 and 335 of 1901. Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 353, agrees with them. But we cannot doubt this point at present after the study of

inscription at Karnul he is called Mahamandalesvara Ramaraju Peda Sriranga-deva Maharaju [1]. Sriranga married Tirumalambika and had three sons by her: Rama, Tirumala and Venkatadri. The *Narasabupaliyamu* gives him five sons: Kona, Timma, Rama, Yeratimma and Venkata [2]. We can admit the existence of these five brothers; but the first two had already disappeared from the stage before the other three exerted any great influence in the governing of the state. We shall proceed to describe the family and the deeds of these three brothers.

4. Rama Raya, also called Kodanda Rama, was the eldest of the three brothers. In the grants of Sadasiva, Rama is always called Sadasiva's brother-in-law, the husband of his sister [3]; whilst in several poems and in an inscription of Venkata III as well as in Ferishta, Couto and the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, we read that Rama Raya's wife was a daughter of Krishna Deva Raya [4] and Queyroz even affirms that she was the only daughter of this Emperor [5]. The *Narapativijaya* says that her name was Tirumalambika [6] and the *Annals of Hande Anan-*

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the records mentioned in note 5, p. 17. More startling is the opinion of Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palæography*, p. 55, note, who calls the father of Rama Raya, Virappa Nayak.

1. 156 of 1905.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 254.

3. British Museum plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 3; Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, Ibid., IX, p. 340, vv. 28-30; Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva, Ibid., XIV, p. 230, vv. 28-30; Sadasiva's grant, 1545, *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58; Sadasiva's grant, 1561, *Ep Carn.*, V, Hn, 7; Sadasiva's grant, 1558, Ibid., IX, Cp, 186; Sadasiva's grant, 1556-7, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 154.

4. *Svaramelakalanidhi*, S. Krishnaswmi Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 190; *Ramarajiyamu*, Ibid, p. 184; *Rama Raja Charitra*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 270; Venkata III's inscription, *Ep. Carn.*, III, Nj, 198; Ferishta, III, p. 81; Couto, o. c., p. 382; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 51. Correa, o. c., IV, p. 282, says that the wife of Rama Raya was a sister of Krishna Deva Raya.

5. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, p. 308.

6. *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 332. Sewell, II, p. 252, who gives the same name, says that she was the youngest daughter of Krishna Raya.

tapuram state that her mother was Queen Tirumala Devi [1]. We cannot reject these latter authorities, although the former seem at first sight more weighty : one of them gives the name of Rama Raya's wife, and their statement agrees with the title 'Aliya' (son-in-law)—a title often given to Rama Raya. We are not allowed to suppose two different wives, one a daughter of Krishna Raya, the other a sister of Sadasiva; because we know the names of all the wives of Rama Raya and this distinction is never made. We prefer the explanation given by Prof. F. Kielhorn : "The two statements", he says, "would in my opinion be best reconciled by taking the word *bhagini* of the present inscription to denote a cousin of Sadasiva, a daughter of his paternal uncle Krishnaraya" [2]. This seems more probable ; for it is known that, in the Kanarese country, words denoting relationship are used loosely [3].

The *Ramarajiyamu* informs us that Rama Raya also married Appalamba, the daughter of Peddanandi Raju of the Jillella family, and Kondamma and Lakshmamma, the daughters of Timma of the Pochiraju family [4]. As to Rama Raya's sons, the Kondyata grant of Venkata III and the Kallakursi grant of Ranga III state that "from the famous king Rama Raya there sprang five sons, who were able to protect the world, who followed the path of policy, and who longed to grant the desires of the crowd of wise men" [5]. These five sons are also mentioned in the aforesaid *Ramarajiyamu*. The first two are Krishnaraya or Krishnapa and Peda Timmaraja; they were the sons of Tirumalamba [6]. Peda Timma became a victorious general against the army of Nizam Shah, and was probably the one whose grant is recorded in an inscription of Bollavaram, Cuddapah District, under the name of 'Papa Timmayyadeva Maharaja, son of Rama Raya Timma Raya' [7]

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 178.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 4.
3. Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynastics*, p. 48, note 1.
4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 184.
5. *Ind. Ant.*, XV, p. 147.
6. They are also mentioned in the *Narapativijayamu*. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 332.
7. Sewell, I, p. 124 ; Rangacharya, I, p. 618, 492.

By his second wife Appalamba, Rama Raya had no sons. The third, Kondamma, gave him two, Konda and Timma. Of these Konda became governor of Anegundi and Timma held a like office in the fortress of Raichur. I suppose that this Timma was the one whose grant is also commemorated in another inscription of Nidujuvvi, Cuddapah District, under the name of 'Chinna Timmayadeva Maharaja, son of Rama Raya' [1]. Finally, by Lakshmamma Rama Raya begot Sriranga Raya, the old Ranga IV, mentioned in an inscription of the Nellore District under the title of Rama Raya Srirangarajayyadeva Maharaja [2]. We shall speak of him at greater length in another volume when referring to the reign of one of his sons, the future Venkata III [3].

Besides these five sons, Rama Raya had some daughters. For the anonymous Muhammadan chronicler of the history of Golkonda, a contemporary of these events, mentions two sons-in-law of the great Minister of Sadasiva. One was Jotumraj, the general deputed by his father-in-law to the conquest of Dewurconda and Indraconda [4]; and the other Buswunt Raj, the governor of the forts of Nandyal and Kalgur (Karnul) [5].

5. The second brother of Rama Raya, Tirumala, called also Timmaraya in an inscription at the Chandeswari temple at Hampi [6], married Vengalamba [7], the sister of

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1. Sewell, o. c., p. 125.

2. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVIII, p. 94. The *Rama Raja Charitra* gives only three sons of Rama Raya with different names: Peddvenkata, Venkatapati and Rama or Kodanda Rama. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 270. Cf. Ravenshaw, *Collection of Various Inscriptions*, l.c., p. 19. According to the information given by the Raja of Anegundi to Mr. Sewell, Rama Raya had only two sons, Krishna Raja and Tirumala Raja. Sewell, II, p. 252.

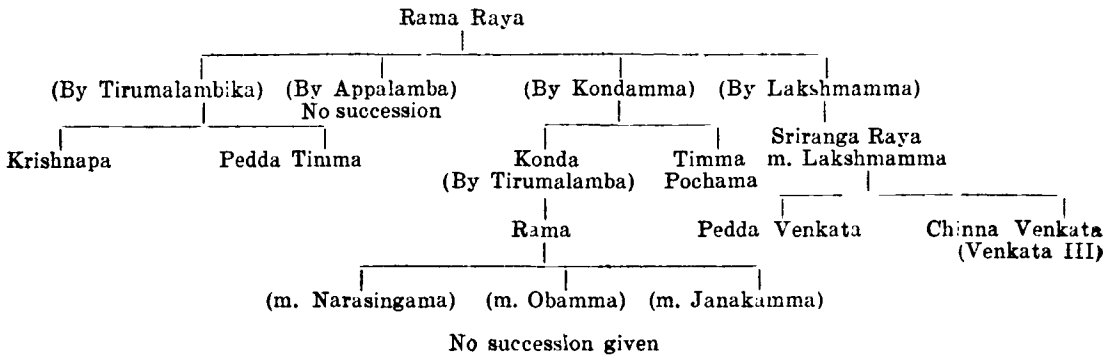
3. The descendants of Rama Raya, as given in the *Ramarajiyamu* may be seen in the adjoining pedigree.

4. Ferishta, III, p. 408.

5. Ibid., p. 453.

6. *M. A. D.*, 1900, p. 39. Ferishta, III, p. 135 and 242, as well as the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, Ferishta, III, p. 397 and 418, call Tirumala, Yeltumraj.

7. Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 342; Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39; Venkata III's inscription, 1639, *Ep. Carn.*, III, Nj, 198; *Ramarajiyamu*, S. Krishnawami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 213.



PEDIGREE OF RAMA RAYA'S FAMILY

Sadasiva [1] Was this so-called sister of Sadasiva also a cousin of this monarch? We do not dare to affirm it. We shall only say that Tirumala had also married a daughter of Krishna Raya by his Queen Chinna Devi [2]. "As the four Vedas, Sama and the others, were produced from the mouth of the Creator", says the Utsur grant of Ranga III, "so four sons of immeasurable glory were born to Tirumala" [3]. From another grant of Ranga III, 1645, as well as from the *Ramarajiyamu*, we know the names of these four sons. They were Raghunatha; Sriranga, the future Ranga I; Rama Raya, and Venkata Deva Raya [4]. Moreover, we know one of his sons in-law, Nagarajayyadeva Maharaya. He is mentioned by Sadasiva in one of his inscriptions at Vontinitta, Cuddapah Distict [5].

We have very little information concerning the family of the third brother Venkatadri. In the *Ramarajiyamu* he is stated to have married two wives, Rangama and Krishnama, of whom he begot two sons, Rangappa and Rama [6]. In the Mangalampad grant of Venkata II he is said 'to have shone on earth resembling Lakshmana in beauty' [7]. Later on we shall speak of his exploits as a great general.

Siddhiraju Timma Raju, a nephew of Rama Raya, in his poem *Paramayogi Vilasam*, informs us that his mother Konamamba was the sister of the three brothers spoken of

1. On account of these marriages of Rama Raya and Tirumala with ladies of the Tuluva Dynasty, the monarchs of the Aravidu family considered themselves legitimate successors of the Tuluva Emperors.

2. *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, l. c.

3. Butterworth, I, p. 46, v. 21.

4. Ranga III's grant, 1645, *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60; *Ramarajiyamu* S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources* p. 213-4. The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, Ferishta, III, p. 453, mentions one Nursing Raj, nephew of Rama Raya. He was perhaps an unknown son of one of these brothers.

5. 411 of 1911.

6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 222.

7. Butterworth, I, p. 30, v. 18. In the village of Maranapalli there is an inscription, probably of his, in which he mentions Rama Raya. Cf. Rangacharya, I, p. 5,

above [1]. Another sister of theirs is mentioned in the *Narasabupalyamu*: her name was Lakkamamba; she married Oba Raja of the Pochiraju family and by him had a son named Narasimha, who was the patron of this poem [2].

The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda gives a short account of the life of Rama Raya before the latter entered the service of the great Emperor, Krishna Deva Raya. We cannot brush aside the authority of this writer, since he was a contemporary of the events he narrates and perhaps an eye-witness for those events which occurred in the capital of Golkonda: "When the late King (Sultan Kuli Qutb Shah) marched towards the Vijayanagara territories", says he, " and reduced some districts on the confines, he was unwilling to leave a Muhammadan detachment there; he, therefore deputed Ramraj, a Hindu of noble family, to be in charge of the districts while he himself returned to Golkonda. Three years afterwards Ramraj was expelled by some of Adil Shah's troops which, having been sent out on a plundering expedition, had invaded and laid waste the estates in question. Ramraj fled to the late Sultan Kuli Qutb Shah, who, considering his flight a proof of his cowardice, ordered him instantly to quit the court. Ramraj, thus disgraced, took the route of Vijayanagara, and entered the service of Krishna Raja, who shortly afterwards forming a high opinion of him, gave him his daughter in marriage " [3].

Couto states also that Rama Raya was a great general in the army of Krishna Deva Raya and was actually ruling as Governor in the province of the Badaguas and Teligas [4]. He means by this, no doubt, the Telugu country from which the Badagas invaded the South of India [5]. This piece of information refers already to the reign of Achyuta, because Correa says that when Rama Raya went to the Court at the time of Achyuta's death, he had come from Paleacate (Pulicat) where he was the 'great Lord' [6]. Pulicat was probably at that time

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*. p. 211.
2. Ibid, p. 225.
3. Ferishta, III, p. 380.
4. Couto, VI, p. 382-3.
5. See Chapters VI and VII.
6. Correa, o. c., p. 280.

the capital of his governorship. According to the *Ramarajiyamu*, he had also been Kalyana Puravaradhisvara, ruler of the city of Kalyani, probably Kalyandrug, in Anatapur District [1].

Mr. Sewell is inclined to see in Rama Raya and Tirumala those two relatives of King Achyuta to whom the whole government of the Empire was so completely handed over, that the King himself dared not do anything against their wishes: "He (Achyuta) has never done anything", says Nuniz, "except those things that are desired by his two brothers-in-law, who are men very evilly disposed and great Jews" [2]. This seems quite probable; because Fr. Queyroz says that Krishna Deva Raya in his last days put the reins of government into the hands of his son-in-law Rama Raya and the military affairs into those of his brother Tirumala. But before dying he ordered Rama Raya to enthrone his brother Achyuta after his own demise. He did so, and continued ruling the Empire under Achyuta Deva Raya [3].

In another chapter we shall speak of Rama Raya's campaign in the south. When taking possession of the government of the state after the crowning of Sadasiva, Rama Raya is called an 'ornament of the Kshatriyas' [4]. His long career of unbroken successes had been a preparation for the great task lying before him: he could dare to take upon his shoulders the rule of that great Empire which was menaced by internal and external foes. The success of Rama Raya in this enterprise was temporary. Although 'he resembled Ramabhadra in appearance, and possessed prosperity and majesty' [5], he was to die in battle after having seen the defeat of his army by the irreconcilable enemies of his country.

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 182.
2. Sewell, p. 367.
3. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, p. 308-9.
4. Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 340, VV. 28-30; Sadasiva's grant, 1561, *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hn, 7.
5. Kondyata grant of Venkata III, *Ind. Ant.*, XV, p. 148.

CHAPTER III

ADMINISTRATION OF THE EMPIRE

SUMMARY.—1. Rama Raya, Regent of the Empire.—2. First stage of his rule.—3. Wise activity of the Regent and his two brothers. 4. Second stage: Sadasiva imprisoned.—5. Rebellion of Tirumala and Venkatadri.—6. Elevation of the members of the Aravidu family.—7. Preparation of the forthcoming stage.—8. Third stage The usurpation of Rama Raya.—9. His rule as Emperor of Vijayanagara.—10. Conditions of the State Finance.—11. Maintenance of Hindu cult.—12. Religious offerings of the subjects. 13. Alms to the Brahmins.—14. Jurisdiction affairs.—15. Agriculture.—16. The barbers.—17. Other public affairs.—18. State of the capital.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants. 2. Ferishta, Anonymous Chronicler of Golkonda. 3. Couto, Correa. 4. Travels of C. Frederick. 5. *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali, Ramarajiyamu, Svaramelakalanidhi, Prapannamritam.*

SADASIVA was on account of his age unfit to manage the State affairs. Hence the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda states that 'Rama Raya assumed the office of Protector'[1]. The Muhammadan writer in announcing the assumption of power by the Minister Rama Raya describes him as Regent of the puppet Sadasiva. Accordingly all power was vested in Rama Raya, as the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* recorded some years later[2]. The only fact on which all the authors who have written on Sadasiva's reign agree, is the supreme power wielded by the fortunate Minister who was helped by his two brothers. But the aforesaid chronicler of Golkonda suggests at least two different stages in his period of governing. "Ramraj", he states, "first assumed the office of Protector, and subsequently usurped the throne"[3]. Is this usurpation of the throne supported by other documents? I have

1. Ferishta III, 381.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.
3. Ibid.

closely examined the inscriptions and grants of Sadasiva's reign, and discern not two but three different stages in the Regency of Rama Raya.

2. During the first stage Rama Raya is nothing but Regent on behalf of his Sovereign; even the influence of Sadasiva's will over his Regent may occasionally be detected through some of the earlier inscriptions. In one of 1546 we read that Sadasiva 'gave orders to Rama Raya, saying'; and then Rama Raya makes a grant according to the King's orders [1]. The same is shown by another inscription of 1547-8, at Podili, Nellore District, in which Sadasiva is stated to rule Vijayanagara "under the orders of Sriman Mahamandalesvara Aliyagamarama Rajayyadeva Maharajalungaru who bears the burden of the kingdom" [2]. Finally in 1549 by order of Sadasiva, Rama Raya issued an edict for the barbers of Udayagiri [3].

The titles given to Rama Raya at this time are *Mahamandalesvara*, minister [4], 'agent of Sadasiva' [5] 'agent for the affairs of Sadasiva's kingdom' [6] or at most 'ruler of the great Karnata Kingdom' [7]. No other trace of higher authority can be gathered from the records of the first years of his governorship.

In the meanwhile Sadasiva mostly resided at the capital. This is frequently stated in the inscriptions [8]. In 1548 he made the Kanuma grant, and in 1551 the Bevinahalli grant "in the vicinity of the god Vitthalesvara, on the banks of the Tungabhadra river" viz., at Vijayanagara [9].

3. From the very beginning the wise activity of the Regent in conducting the State affairs surpassed all expectations. A grant of Sadasiva in 1558 exalts the virtues of Rama Raya as

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1. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk, 110.
2. Butterworth, III, p. 1195-7.
3. Rangacharya, II, p. 1051, 17.
4. 472 of 1906; 5 of 1900.
5. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tp, 126; Rangacharya, II, p. 1073, 199.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Tk., 13.
7. Sadasiva's grant, *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58.
8. Butterworth, II, p. 921-2.
9. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 353, v. 43; p. 231, vv. 43-45.

a ruler, 'possessed of valour, liberality and mercy'[1]; moreover he is said to be 'versed in politics'[2], or 'well versed in politics'[3], 'skilled in politics'[4] conversant with politics[5], and to have 'studied politics'[6]. One of the prudent steps he took in connection with the rule of the vast Empire was the division of responsibility. Couto relates that he at once secured the co-operation of his two brothers in the ministership; the administration of justice was assigned to Tirumala while Venkatadri took over the supervision of the State finances[5]. Several inscriptions justify the statement. Early in 1545, according to an inscription of Hampi, the Mahamandalesvara Tirumalarayadeva Maharasu granted to some person the village of Kotanahalli together with its hamlets[6]. In another inscription at Hampi, bearing the same date, mention is made of "Jangamayya, the *Dalavay* or general of Timmaraja, younger brother of Rama Raya".[7]

As chief minister of the Regent, Tirumala was given the most important province of the Empire to rule; this was Udayagiri, called 'the chief fortress under the royal throne of Vijayanagara'[8], owing its proximity to the Muhammadan frontier. Formerly it had almost always been governed by Princes of the Royal family, as Viceroys on behalf of the Emperor. In 1543 Tirumala was governor of Udayagiri[9], and in 1551-2 we find him fulfilling the same office[10]; however, he did not stay at Udayagiri, because in the same year 1551, according to an inscription at Sangam, the governor of Udayagiri was

1. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186.
2. Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 29, v. 15.
3. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 13-40.
4. *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60.
5. Kuniyur Plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 13.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39.
7. Couto, VI, p. 383.
8. *M. A. D.*, 1920, p. 39.
9. Ibid.
10. Butterworth, III, p. 542.
11. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 242.
12. Butterworth, II, p. 867.

Chivvakkaluri Bayacha Rajayya [1], who ruled on behalf of Tirumala. Was this the same Tirumala who was governor of Udayagiri in 1535-6? [2]. His appointment at that time was not due to his brother, but either to Achyuta or to the ministers of the latter.

In spite of the great power which the governorship of Udayagiri naturally gave him, his subordination to Rama Raya was at all times exemplary: an inscription of Kalamalla records the remisssion of taxes on the barbers of this place by Tirumala with the permission of Rama Raya [3].

As to Venkatadri, the *Ramarajiyamu* mentions the town of Kandanol, Karnul district, as the seat of his government [4]. Accordingly in 1547 he remitted the tax on the Brahmins in the villages of Kanala, [4], Damagatla [5] and Bannum [6]. These places are all situated in Karnul district. This probably was in the first stage of Rama's governorship, for we find Venkatadri governing the Chola country during the second stage.

Rama Raya, shortly after Sadasiva's coronation, showed his prudence as well as his decision, in an event related by Correa. Once when marching against the Sultan of Bijapur, a number of captains and nobles, discontented with the Regent's rule, proposed to him to abdicate, that they might proceed to a new election. Rama Raya apparently agreed, and invited them to return to Vijayanagara where the election was to be held. Then he assembled them in the royal palace, which was secretly defended by his relations and adherents. Once the rebel nobles were inside, all the gates of the palace were shut; the insurgent nobles were then seized by the partisans of Rama Raya. Many of the poor prisoners were slain; others suffered the amputation of their feet or the extraction of their eyes [5].

1. Rangacharya, II, p. 113, 477.
2. *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr, 95.
3. 380 of 1904.
4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 222.
5. Rangacharya, II, p. 964, 532.
6. Ibid., p. 947, 395.
7. Ibid., p. 945, 385.
8. Correa, IV, p. 439.

4. Some years later, probably as soon as the King was old enough to assume the government of the Empire, Rama Raya put him in prison [1] and thus a new era was inaugurated. Frederick states that the three brothers were responsible for this, but Couto blames Rama Raya alone. Couto's statement seems to be more probable, for it explains the rebellion of Tirumala and Venkatadri to which reference will be made later. Sadasiva's prison was, according to Couto, a strongly fortified tower with iron doors and surrounded by sentries; nevertheless, his treatment while there was such as befitted a king [2].

Couto does not say where this tower was situated. Several inscriptions of the time affirm that Sadasiva resided at Vijayanagara. But this is not a satisfactory proof; because even supposing he was imprisoned at Penukonda, his subjects could readily have been led to believe he was still at Vijayanagara. Nevertheless we are inclined to think he remained in his capital for the reason we shall now give, and on acccunt of the events subsequent to the disaster at Raksas-Tagdi. All the records say that Tirumala after the battle ran to Vijayanagara to fetch King Sadasiva where he was 'kept prisoner', as Frederick states, and then fled with him to their final refuge.

Anquetil du Perron says that this *coup d'état* took place somewhere between 1550 and 1552; and since he subsequently states that Sadasiva remained in this prison thirteen years [3] before the beginning of the third stage of Rama Raya's government, we may suppose that the opening of the second stage was

1. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 93; Gubernatis, *Storia*, p. 289; Anquetil du Perron, *Des Recherches Historiques*, *Description Historique*, II, p. 165.

2. "E como era muito poderoso, e gran capitao metteo-se na Corte, e lancou mano do Rey moco, e o metteo em huma torre fortissima, com grandes vigias, e portas de ferro, aonde o teve em quanto viveo como huma estatua com o nome so de Rey; mas com todas as despezas, gastos, e apparatos que pudera ter, se fora, e estivera livre". Couto, VI, p. 383. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., after relating the imprisonment of the king, says: "C 'est la conduite des Peschwahs de Ponin, a l' egard des descendants de Sevaji renfermes a Satara, et d' Heider Ali Khan envers le Roi de Maissour".

3. Anquetil du Perron, l. c.

in 1550, and lasted till 1562 or 1563. The unfortunate Sovereign was shown to his subjects only once a year[1]. This was the only occasion for them to realize that there still was at Vijayanagara a representative of the old Tuluva Dynasty seated on the jewelled throne. But, as a matter of fact, Sadasiva was only the nominal ruler. He was no more than a mere tool in the hands of Rama Raya, who was practically the Emperor of Vijayanagara.

During this second stage the inscriptions put the power of Rama Raya on an equality with that of Sadasiva. In 1551 a private grant is made 'for the merit of Sadasiva and Rama Raya'[2]. Another inscription of Dasandoddi, dated 1554, states that "Badme Maluka-Odeya granted one village which he had been presented with by Sadasiva and Rama Raya"[3]. The Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva (1551) gives both genealogies, that of Sadasiva and that of Rama Raya, in detail[4]. This illustrates the importance of the powerful Regent. Three years later, in 1554-5, Mangala Timmoja Kondojugaru, 'having done service to Rama Raya and having made a request to the king' obtained a grant according to his petition[5]. In 1557 the same Mangala Timmoja made a grant to the god Bhire, in order that merit might accrue to Rama Raya'[6].

5. But, although the power of the Emperor and that of his Minister are on a level, the influence of Sadasiva is no longer felt. The only rulers of the Vijayanagara Empire are three members of the Aravidu family, Rama Raya and his two brothers. 'They ruled at their pleasure as they liked', says Frederick[7]. Nevertheless Tirumala and Venkatadri rebelled against the authority of their brother at the beginning of this stage, say about 1551, presumably because they disliked Rama Raya's treatment of his legitimate sovereign. No other

1. Frederick, Purchas, o. c., p. 93.
2. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Gu, 54.
3. *M. A. D.*, 1920, p. 39.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 210.
5. Butterworth, III, p. 1195-7.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Mk, 1.
7. Purchas, o. c., p. 93.

reason can be given for this disagreement between Rama Raya and his brothers. Precisely one year before, in 1549-50, Tirumala had requested and obtained from Sadasiva the Mamidipundi grant [1]: his gratefulness towards the sovereign was no match for the audacity of his brother.

The fact is related by the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda; and although some authors consider his narrative untrustworthy [2], we cannot but admit its truthfulness considering the fact that in his own day several events connected with this rebellion occurred in the very capital of Golkonda. I shall quote the whole passage of the Muhammadan writer here.

" During the absence of Ramraj from his capital (to help the Sultan of Bijapur against that of Ahmadnagar, as we shall relate in one of the following chapters) his two brothers, Timraj and Govindraj, (sic) who were placed in the government of Adoni, taking advantage of his absence, not only usurped the control of Adoni, but, collecting a force, compelled several other districts to submit to their authority. Ramraj, on his return to Vijayanagara, wrote in the first place letters to his rebel brothers, which they treated with contempt, relying upon their own strength; and he, being unable to subdue them, was induced to send ambassadors to the court of Golkonda to solicit assistance. Ibrahim Qutb Shah immediately despatched Qabul Khan, at the head of six thousand infantry, to join Ramraj. On reaching Vijayanagara, Ramraj ordered his own troops into the field; and having directed Sidraj Timapa, Nur Khan and Bijly Khan, with their different corps, to join the subsidiary forces, he ordered them to march against the rebels. The insurgents, finding themselves unable to oppose the royalists, took shelter in the strong fortress of Adoni, which was besieged for a period of six months; when, being distressed for provisions, the garrison sent petitions to the throne of Vijayanagara. Ramraj pardoned his brothers, and recalled the forces to the capital; whence, after being handsomely rewarded, Qabul Khan

1. Butterworth, I, p. 102, v. 62.

2. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, *A. S. I., Report, 1911-2*, p. 178.

'Ain-ul-Mulk'" received permission to return to Golkonda, where the King honoured him with the title of 'Ain-ul-Mulk'" [1].

The pardon so graciously granted by Rama Raya to his brothers is inexplicable at first but after consideration it is not unnatural. He wanted to strengthen his power as the same writer points out—"by the reduction of many troublesome neighbours, and the elevation of his own adherents and relatives" [2]. On the first point we shall touch in the following chapter; but this is the place for examining some facts that confirm the second point of the preceding statement.

6. In 1552 Tirumala is known to have ruled the Kochcharlakota-sima [3]. Afterwards in 1558-9 a private grant was made, while Sadasiva was ruling at Vijayanagara and 'Tirumala ruling at Kondavidu' [4]. This kingdom had been granted to him by Sadasiva, that is by Rama Raya in the name of Sadasiva, as we are informed by Ranga, son of the same Tirumala in one of his grants dated 1565-6 [5]. But probably Tirumala never resided at Kondavidu. We frequently find him in Vijayanagara; for instance, an inscription at Munelli, Badvel Taluk, shows that Tirumala in 1557-8 was in the capital ruling the Empire on behalf of Sadasiva [6]. In a copper-plate grant of the same year, Tirumala granted some privileges to Mahipati Yerrammanayaka for faithful service done to the State and for guarding the villages of Gutti, Tadpatri, Vellalura, Singanamala and Siyyada [7]. In 1552 he made a gift of ten villages to the temple of Chennak-savaraya of Markapur, Karnul [8]. This shows beyond doubt that Tirumala took personal charge of the Government of the State, whenever Rama Raya was absent for war or on business. He had an agent at Gudur, of whom we

1. Ferishta, III, p. 397-8.
2. Ibid., p. 381.
3. 156 of 1905.
4. Butterworth, II, p. 952-5; Rangacharya, II, p. 786, 354.
5. Ibid., p. 946-50.
6. Brackenbury, *Cuddapah Gazetteer*, p. 37.
7. *Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 53.
8. 156 of 1905.

have two charitable edicts of the years 1555-6 [1] and 1559-60 [2] respectively.

We know likewise that Venkatadri ruled the country around Tiruvaiyar near Tanjore in 1559 [3]. A year or two before the disaster of Talikota, he is stated to have been "ruling the whole kingdom", and in this capacity to have conferred the government of Barakura-rajya (Barkur) on Sadasivaraya-Nayaka, the founder of the Ikkeri Nayaks [4].

One of the relations of Rama Raya elevated by his power was his cousin Vitthala [5]. He was appointed Viceroy of Sadasiva in the southern country and Ceylon [6]. In another chapter we shall speak at length of his activity in the territory of his Viceroyalty. A nephew of Rama Raya, Kondaraja, was also exalted. He was the grand-son of Peda Kondaraja, the brother of Rama Raya's father, Ranga [7]. In an inscription of 1556 he is called "Mahamandalesvara Komara Kondarajayyadeva maharasu" [8]. He is likewise mentioned in two inscriptions at Badami [9]. His influence at court is shown by the grant of Sadasiva, recorded in the British Museum plates, for fostering the cult of Vishnu. The grant had been requested by Kondaraja from Rama Raya [10]. In 1558, Sadasiva made another grant on the application of Rama Raya, Kondaraja having again made the petition [11]. Finally another inscription of 1561 records a grant of Koneti Kondarajadeva to the spiritual preceptor [12]. Jillela Rangapatirajayyadeva Maharaja, related to the Aravidu family on his mother's side,

1. Butterworth, I, p. 458-60.
2. Ibid., p. 456-8.
3. 256 of 1894.
4. H. Krishna Sastri, o. c., p. 179.
5. *M. E. R., 1911*, p. 86; 1912. p. 82 ff.
6. 129 of 1905.
7. British Museum plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 4, vv 125-40.
8. *Ep. Carn.*, I, p. 19, 12.
9. *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 64.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 2.
11. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186.
12. *M. A. D., Report, 1920*, p. 39.

was also elevated by the powerful Regent. He was appointed Mahamandalesvara and governor of Ramadurgam-sima, where he had an agent called Amarinayani Vengala-Nayaningaru [1]. A nephew of Tirumala, and probably also of Rama Raya, is called in 1554, Mahamandalesvara Madraju Nagappadeva Maharaju [2]. Moreover Rama Raya "was so generous", according to Manucci, "that it is remarked in the chronicles that he never refused any favour asked. He confirmed any grant he made by a record on golden plates...The fame of this Emperor's liberality spread far and wide, and many men of different nations entered his service, principally foreigners" [3].

7. This elevation of relatives had in view not only the strengthening of his present power but the preparation of the final step he was contemplating. The beginning of the second stage had been marked by a *coup d' etat*; for such indeed was the imprisonment of the sovereign. But for the beginning of the third, no such strong action was necessary. The omission of the annual presentation of the puppet Emperor, coupled with rumours purposely spread by the agents of Rama Raya about the supposed demise of the sovereign, were quite enough for everybody to acknowledge Rama Raya as the new Emperor of Vijayanagara, seeing that he was practically the sovereign, and also the closest relative of Sadasiva, although belonging to a different family.

There are several grants and inscriptions belonging to this second stage, which prove that this final step was long contemplated: in 1551 in the Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva, Rama Raya is already given the title 'King of Karnata' [4]. The same is the case in another grant of Sadasiva of the year 1556-7 [5] In 1554 Mangala Timmoju Kondojugaru calls himself a feudatory of Rama Raya without mentioning Sadasiva at all [6]. In the same year Rama Raya himself made another grant to some Brahmans in the same form as the old grants of

1. 445 of 1911.
2. 161 of 1905.
3. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 97.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 230, v. 30.
5. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 154.
6. Rangacharya, II, p. 1098, 379.

the Emperors of Vijayanagara. In the beginning, it invokes Ganesa and the Boar, the sportive incarnation of Vishnu. Then it proceeds to trace Rama Raya's pedigree from Buddha and the Pururavas, and speaks of the deeds of Rama Raya and his brothers, without mentioning Sadasiva at all, and says finally: "while having uprooted all the enemies, Rama Raya ruled over the earth as famous as Baratha and Bagiratha" [1].

8. A rule of thirteen years had made the power of Rama Raya in Vijayanagara sufficiently strong; rumours were probably spread about that Sadasiva was dead. Then the ambitious Regent took for himself the title of King. "After Sadasiva's death"; says Anquetil du Perron, "Rama Raya was nominated King" [2]. It seems probable that a real ceremoney of enthronement took place in the capital; for C. Frederick expressly says that Rama Raya 'sate in the Royal throne, and was called the King' [3]. Even Manucci, in 1688, called Rama Raya 'Emperor of Narsinga' [4]. And probably new *Pagodas* were at once struck with his name. We do not know of any coin of Rama Raya bearing such an early date but we are aware of coins struck with his name on the eve of the battle af Raksas-Tagdi. The famous *Gandikota Pagoda* gives the name of Rama Raya and the date 1565, and has on the obverse a figure of Vishnu standing under a canopy [5].

From this date, some time in 1563, the ceremony of showing the Emperor to his subjects was discontinued. But the three brothers used to go once a year to his prison-like palace in order to do homage to him as their sovereign [6].

The epigraphical evidence on this point is more than sufficient. A copper-plate record at Devarayadurga of 1562-3 says that Rama Raya reigned supreme at Vijayanagara [7]. A private grant of the same year mentions Rama Raya as 'ruling the

1. *M. A. D., 1923*, p. 125-7.
2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c.
3. Frederick, l. c.; Gubernatis, o. c., p. 290.
4. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 97.
5. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 64.
6. Couto, VI, p. 383.
7. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tm, 44.

Empire', and does not mention Sadasiva [1]. An inscription in Krishnarajapet Taluk records a grant made 'while the Rajadhiraja Raja-Paramesvara Vira-pratapa-Maharaya Rama-Deva-Raya-aiyyangar was seated on the jewelled throne in Penukonda' [2]. There is still another inscription, dated 1565, (the same year as the battle of Raksas-Tagdi) that gives Rama Raya the same imperial titles and does not mention Sadasiva at all; it is a grant made "when the Master of Kuntala (Karnata), lord of the throne of Vidyanagari (Vijayanagara), the Rajadhiraja Raja-paramesvara Virapratapa Vira Rama-Deva-Raya maharaya, seated on the jewell throne, was ruling the kingdom of the world in peace and wisdom" [3]. Even in an inscription of 1581, during the reign of Ranga I, Rama Raya is called Rajadhiraja [4], and in another of Venkata III, 1639, he is recorded to have 'governed the whole world' [5]. Along with the lithic records, Anantacharya in his poem *Prapannamritam* calls Rama Raya 'Emperor of Vijayanagara who ruled after Krishna Raya' [6].

Now, if the Hindus, who were under the Vijayanagara rule, forgot Sadasiva, who was supposed to be dead, and mentioned only Rama Raya as the Emperor of Vijayanagara, no wonder if Ferishta says nothing of the former and always speaks of the latter as the sovereign of the rival Empire [7]. When detailing the so-called battle of Talikota, we shall see how Ferishta describes the riches of the throne of Rama Raya on the battle field. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* speaks always of Rama Raya as the Vijayanagara sovereign, but under the name of Sadasiva

1. Ibid., Tk. 44.
2. Ibid., IV, Kr, 79. I am sure that this inscription is spurious because of the date, 1543, and of the mention of Penukonda as the place where the Emperor was residing. The forgery must have been committed during the reign of Ranga I or Venkata II. Nevertheless even a forgery proves that Rama Raya was considered the real Emperor of Vijayanagara.
3. *Ep. Carn*, VII, Ci, 62.
4. Ibid., IV. Kr, 15.
5. Ibid., III, Nj, 198.
6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 202.
7. Ferishta, III, p. 117, 118, 131, etc.

Raya [1]. Faria y Sousa speaks of Cidoca (Sadasiva) King of Canara (Vijayanagara), but in 1559 the only king of Vijayanagara known to him is Rama Raya [2].

9. The following information, given us by his Minister and favourite Ramayamatya Todaramalla in his *Svaramelakalanidhi* probably refers to this time: "He had a palace called Ratna Kuta", says he, "constructed by his minister Ramayamatya; and he was struck with admiration as it excelled even Vaijayanta, the palace of the gods. The palace was surrounded by extensive gardens adorned with statues, which contained cool tanks abounding with swans" [3].

Rama Raya at this time handed over to his brothers all the government affairs and devoted himself to music and literature. "Seated within this Palace (Ratna Kuta)" says Ramayamatya, "he spent his time in the midst of scholars versed in literature, music and other arts" [4]. Accordingly, a grant of Venkata II, 1589, informs us that Rama Raya took great pleasure in music on the vina and in singing [5]. With these years is probably associated the trip of Rama Raya with his Guru Tatacharya, the son of Srinivasa, to the fortress of Chandragiri, to spend some days in that sacred retirement dedicated to the study of the Sastras [6]. These last years of Rama Raya spent in leisure, are also mentioned in the *Memoirs* of Manucci, one century later. "After this division", says he, "he led a happy life, without attending to government or taking any notice of what went on" [7].

Tirumala was naturally in charge of the whole Government. He was the supreme minister of Vijayanagara during the last

1. Only twice Rama Raya is called by his own name 'Rama Raj' in this work; *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 7, and p. 101. That Rama Raya himself is meant by the name Sadasiva Raya is proved by this fact, that Sadasiva Raya is said to have been beheaded after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi.
2. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 189 and 327.
3. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 190.
4. Ibid.
5. *Ep. Carn.*, XIII, Cy, 39.
6. *Prapannamrtam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 202.
7. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 99.

days preceding the battle of Raksas-Tagdi[1]. The titles given him at this time are Mahamandalesvara Ramaraya-Yaram-Tirumalarajayyadeva-Maharaja[2]. The appointment of Tirumala, as Premier of the Empire, left a vacancy in the viceroyalty of Kondavidu; and it was then probably that Rama Raya, following his policy of elevating his relatives and friends, appointed to this honour his favourite, the poet Ramayamatya, thus enabling him to grant many agraharas to Brahmins[3]. At the poet's death, Siddhiraju Timma Raju, another nephew of Rama Raya, was appointed in his place[4].

Tirumala combined the office of Minister with the Governorship of Vellore and of the whole surrounding country[5]. We know an inscription of his, dated 1564, allowing Chinna-Bomma Nayaka of Vellore to make grants to the temple of that place[6].

In the new order of government, Venkatadri was Commander-in-Chief of the army[7]. The success attending his conduct as a General in the Vijayanagara army proved that the choice had not fallen on the wrong man. The Vellangudi plates of Venkata II recall that 'he was distinguished in the world as a warrior'[8], and in the *Ramarajiyamu* he is stated to have been 'a veritable Arjuna on the battlefield'[9].

Now after having described the three stages of the government of Rama Raya, we may turn to consider some of the Government affairs.

10. It seems that during the reigns of Krishna Deva Raya and Achyuta, the sources of revenue were finally fixed and reduced to a regular form. The judicious system of accounts and the management introduced were instrumental in gradually improving the revenues without oppressing the subjects of the

1. *M. E. R.*, 341, Ap. B, of 1816.
2. Anquetil du Perron, o.c., p. 165.
3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 190.
4. *Paramayogi Vilasam*, S. Krishaswami Aiyangr, o. c., p. 211.
5. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, p. 69-75, Nos.43-8.
6. Ibid., p. 69.
7. Anquetil du Perron, I. c.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, v. 19.
9. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 222.

Empire. Hence, the State finances were by no means impoverished when Rama Raya began ruling. The Nayaks and other feudatory chiefs regularly sent to the court their annual tribute, still realising that the Empire was strong enough to obtain payment by force if necessary; but many of these same chiefs acted otherwise when they saw the Empire defeated in the battle of Raksas-Tagdi.

11. One of the first and most important matters the Government took in hand was the maintenance of the Hindu cult. Sadasiva himself and his Minister Rama Raya were the first in encouraging their subjects to foster the national religion, as the lithic records and the copper-plate grants of his reign prove. No doubt, several gifts recorded in these monuments are presented by Sadasiva himself, and not precisely by his Minister, even during the second period of his reign, when he was in prison. "When Sadasiva was seated in the jewelled throne ruling the kingdom of the earth", we read in an inscription of 1557, "he, sending for a copy of the stone sasana at the temple of the god Vitthala, set up in the righteous administration of Aliya Rama Raya, found that according to that sasana, Krishna Deva Maharaya in the year 1519 having granted the customs dues in certain villages, and these not being sufficient te provide for the offerings, which had fallen into abeyance, Sadasiva Raya...made a grant of taxes for the god Bhire."[1]

But the majority of these religious grants, although made on behalf of Sadasiva, were probably ordered by Rama Raya. We read for instance that the old temple of Bhairava in Nallacheruvupalle was enlarged and beautified by Sadasiva in 1544[2]; that he exempted the god Gopalakrishna from tax[3]; that he made a grant of a village to the temple of Markapur in the very year of his accession[4]; that 'the village of Pudur was given to the god Sachchidananda[5], while three other villa-

1. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Mk, 1.
2. Sewell, I, p. 127.
3. Rangacharya, II, p. 915, 65.
4. Sewell, p. 86.
5. Rangacharya, I, p. 584, 93.

ges, including Pulupatum in Pottapinadu and some land in Vontimitta, were granted to the Kodandaramaswami temple of the same place [1], and a grant of many villages was made to the Krishnapuram temples for the worship of Vishnu [2]. The village of Kagallu, surnamed Timmasamudra, Hindupur Taluk, was likewise given to the temple of Mallikarjuna [3]; and that of Kosanepalle, Jammalamadugu Taluk, to the Chernuri-sima for the festival of Tiruvengalanatha [4]; and the one of Puliyangulam to the goddess of Srivilliputtur, Ramnad [5]; then the pagoda of Durga at Koduru was allowed to levy contributions from the pilgrims towards the annual festival of the deity [6]. Finally Aliya Rama Raya granted the village of Gadigarelu to the gods Siddhesvara and Bhojesvara [7] and made some grants for festivals [8]. Of the same Rama Raya is the following edict, by which he provides a good income in perpetuity for the festivals of Sri Ranganatha's temple: "The income which is derived from sundry articles in the villages situated in Udayagiri durgam, which belong to us and were formerly attached to (the temple of) Sri Raghunayakulu, should be utilised for always providing daily offerings, worship with lights and miscellaneous offerings in the temple. While speaking these pleasant words, we have presented, on the auspicious occasion of a solar eclipse, with libation of water and gift of gold, this endowment to the accountant in the temple of the deity, to last as long as the sun and moon endure" [9].

12. The example of the throne was followed by the subjects. During the reign of Sadasiva new temples were erected, and others enlarged and richly adorned. Amarinayani Vengala-

1. 412 of 1911.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 341, vv. 67-9.
3. 84 of 1912.
4. 410 of 1904.
5. Rangacharya, II, p. 1181, 178-L.
6. Ibid., I, p. 574, 7. In the *M. A. D. 1920*, p. 39, there are two other religious grants of Sadasiva.
7. Rangacharia, II, p. 963, 520-521.
8. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Si, 31.
9. Butterworth, III, p. 1363-5.

Naraningaru, the agent of the Mahamandalesvara Jillella Rangapatirajayyadeva-Maharaja, repaired the central shrine and the sugnasi of the Viresvara temple of Rayachoti [1]; one Desantari Narasingadasa vastly improved the Parthasarathiswamin temple at Triplicane, Madras [2]; Jangammya, dalaway of Tirumala, erected a temple in 1545 [3]; Gutti Tirumalarajayya erected a mantapam in the Chennakesava pagoda at Mannur [4]; Tima Ranga dedicated a building called Ranga Mantapam or public resting place, with 25 partitions, to the god Mahadeva Deva at Vijayanagara [5]; Chinna Aubalaraja erected a pagoda at Arakata-vemula Agraharam, placed there the image of Gopala Krishna Deva, and granted hamlets of the above agraharam and an allowence of 31½ pagodas on the tax of the Gandikota Durgam, to the aforesaid god Gopalakrishna Deva [6]; Aubala-rajayya installed the metal images in the villages of Veludurti, Cuddapah, and granted twelve pagodas for offering food to Chennakesava Perumal [7]; Rachirajadeva Maharaja of the lunar race of the atriya-gotra, set up an image of Sir Madanagopala, constructed a temple and performed the consecration ceremony and made certain gifts of land for providing sacred food and all means of enjoyment to the deity [8]; Jakkannaganda constructed several lamp-posts for the service of the temple [9].

Moreover, various villages and lands were given to different temples by the feudatory chiefs or by private people: Chinna Timmanayadu, son of Pemmasami Nayadu, granted the village of Yenumalachintala to the god Tiruvengalanatha at Tadpatri [10];

1. 445 of 1911.
2. 239 of 1903; *M. E. R., 1904*, para. 25.
3. *M. A. D., 1920*, p. 39.
4. 605 of 1907.
5. Ravenshaw, *Translation of Various Inscriptions, Asiatic Researches*, XX, p. 35.
6. Rangacharya, I, p. 617, 487.
7. Ibid., p. 616, 484.
8. Rangacharya, II, p. 1131, 604.
9. *M. A. D., 1924*, p. 83.
10. Rangacharya, I, p. 607, 397

Nage Nayaka, son of Mahanayakacharya Ralakote Aravinda Nayaka gave the village of Gottakunte to Bairayagauda's son Tammayagauda, for the service of daily worship of god Sriranganatha at Yaldur[1]; one Gundurti Papayya granted three villages to the goddess in Velpucherla, Cuddapah[2]; Nandyala Tirumayyadeva granted to the god Chennakesava some land in Nandapadu[3] and the village of Kodur[4]; another of his subjects granted 30 kuntas of land for planting a nandavanam (flower garden) for the god Tiruvengalanatha[5]; Gangayya Raja and Chinna Timmaraja, son of Aubalaraja, gave 30 puttis and 16 tums of land to the gods and brahmins of the village of Vellala, Proddatur[6]; Venkataya and his brother Appayya disposed of their land to the god Chennakesava in Vanipenta[7]; Chinna Timmaraja, son of Konda Raja, gave a village to the god Ahobala Narasinha[8]; Nagarajayya granted to the god Raghunayaka of Vontimitta the village of Gangaperuru[9]; Tirumalarasu gave some land to the god Varadaraja[10]; the Mahamandalesvara Chinna Avubalesvaradeva-Maharaju made a gift of land to the temple of Raghunayakalu of Ghandikota[11]; to the same temple another gift was made by Nandyala Timmayadeva Maharaju[12]; the same chief built the village of Potladurti, Cuddapah, and granted it to the god Chennakesava[13]; Vobalaraju, son of Nandyala Abubalaraju, gave the piece of land to the Suamyanathasvamin temple of Nandalur for the

1. *M. A. D., 1924*, p. 84-5.
2. Rangacharya, I, p. 606, 382.
3. Ibid., p. 612, 440.
4. Ibid., p. 612, 443.
5. Ibid., p. 649, 831.
6. Ibid., p. 629, 594.
7. Ibid., p. 628, 591.
8. Ibid., p. 627, 591.
9. Ibid., p. 660, 914.
10. Ibid., p. 652, 853.
11. 485 of 1906.
12. 486 of 1906.
13. Rangacharya, I. p. 616, 480.

god's ablution, out of his 'Nainkarum' [1]; Papa Timmayya-deva Maharaja granted a village to the Venugopalaswami temple at Bollavaram [2]; Immadi Basavanayadu gave 15 tums of dry field to the god Tripurantaka [3]; lands were also given to the dancing women of Tiruvannamalai for temple service [4]. Finally in a Kanarese book of the Mackenzie Collection there are various copies of inscriptions of grants of land made in the reign of Sadasiva to the temple of Chinna Kesava [5].

Many gifts in money are likewise recorded in the inscriptions of Sadasiva's reign : a chief granted a tax to the Somesvara temple at Peddamudiyam [6]; Vipravinodi Viramushti Virappa granted the allowance he had been receiving from the village to god Visvesvara [7]; Vipravinodi Siddhayya granted the allowance due from the agraharam Brahmins for the festival of Chennakesava Perumal [8]; Virupana Nayaka presented 50 varahas to the temple of Mallikarjuna-deva at Kambaduru [9]; the Viramushti people granted away their allowances in the village to the god Visvesvara [10]; the Vipravinodins made a gift to the Chennakesava temple at Kalumalla [11]; to the same temple another gift was made by Rachiraju [12]; the jugglers granted the allowance of Valamore to the god Chennakesava [13];

1. 605 of 1907.
2. Rangacharya, I, p. 618, 492.
3. Ibid., p. 617, 485.
4. Sewell, I, p. 207.
5. *Chinna Kesava Swami Sasana Patra*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 344. We cannot cite here all the gifts presented to the temples during Sadasiva's reign: we wanted only to give a specimen of the offerings. More grants of land will be found in 27 of 1900; 61, 63, 78, 81, 82 of 1915; Rangacharya II, p. 976, 603; p. 766, 160; p. 977, 610-A and 610-F ; p. 853, 64 ; p. 1130, 599.
6. 349 of 1905.
7. Rangacharya I, p. 601, 326.
8. Ibid., p. 601, 327.
9. 94 of 1913.
10. Rangacharya, I, p. 601, 325.
11. 379 of 1904.
12. 376 of 1904.
13. Rangacharya, I p. 633, 632.

some Vipravinodins granted their local allowance of two villages to the same god in Vanipenta [1]; the Mahamandalesvara Chinna Timmaraja Kondayadeva Maharaja made a gift of the proceeds of certain taxes collected in the village of Jillala to the temple of Virabhadradeva of the same village [2]; Chinna Timma Raja and Kondaraja granted a tax to the deity of Virabhadra pagoda at Idamadaka [3]; Papatimmaraja granted his own share of taxes of Bollavaram-petta, Cuddapah, to the daily ceremony of the Gopinatha temple of the same village [4]; the Vipravinodins gave away to the deity the annual allowance they had been receiving from a village [5]; Rangapa Rajayyadeva made a grant to the god Sri Raghunayakulu of Chadaluvada [6]; the Vipravinodi Brahmins gave away the annual fees they had been receiving from the Brahmins of Chamalur to god Chennakesava [7].

13. The generosity of the King did not forget the Brahmanic precept of giving alms to the Brahmins. In 1545 he made a grant to some Brahmins [8]; the village of Govinda-Vamapuram was given by him to a Brahmin [9]; two years later two other villages were also given to several Brahmins [10]. It seems he had a special predilection for learned Brahmins. A grant of the village of Kanuma to several learned Brahmins was recorded in 1548 [11]; the Bevinahalli village was given to

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1. Ibid., p. 628, 592.
2. 471 of 1906.
3. Rangacharya, I p. 620, 515.
4. Ibid., p. 618, 493.
5. Ibid., p. 606, 384.
6. Ibid., II, p. 786, 354.
7. Ibid., p. 589, 144. Other private grants to different gods in the reign of Sadasiva may be found in Butterworth, II, p. 867-8; p. 868-70; p. 946-50; p. 952-5; III, p. 1175-8; *Ep. Carn.*, III, TN, 108; Sr, 149; IV, Ch, 121; Ch, 202; Ng, 26; VII, Hl, g; XI, Hk, 113; X, Gd, 52; 72 and 58 of 1915; Rangacharya, II, p. 931, 254; p. 247, 396; p. 964, 531; p. 1113, 478.
8. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58.
9. Rangacharya, I, p. 557, 347.
10. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 52. Cf. Rangacharya, II, p. 877, 5.
11. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 353, vv. 43-57.

several Brahmins 'who are well versed in the Vedas'[1]; from 1544 to 1546 three villages were granted in perpetuity 'with gift of gold and libation of water as an agrahara' to Chinna Koneti Tiruvengalanathayyagaru, a Brahmin of Ongole, son of Srimad Tallapaka Tirumalayangaru, called in two inscriptions 'the establisher of the path of the Vedas'[2], and in a third one 'the establisher of the school of the Vedanta'[3]. All these grants were most probably made by Sadasiva himself because all, excepting one, the date of which is quite doubtful, belong to the first period of his reign. But none is positively assigned to the other periods during the time of his imprisonment. From this time we know only of a grant made in 1554 by Rama Raya himself to some Brahmins[4].

We have found only a few private grants to the Brahmins in Sadasiva's time. A not very rich gift was made to some Brahmins of Krishnarajapet Taluk[5]; then a grant of 5 puttis and 13½tums of land to the learned Brahmins of Pandilapalli[6]; lastly another grant for daily feeding three Brahmins[7]; such are the private donations to the Brahmins during this reign. On the other hand, the Brahmins met on several occasions with serious difficulties created specially by the Muhammadans not only in the recently conquered towns but also in the old territory of the south. In 1555 the Brahmins of Ahobilam granted some lands to a local chief, probably in payment of their protection against the Muhammadans[8].

14. Various quarrels over jurisdiction arose between neighbouring villages during this reign. In 1553 Rama Raju Konappadeva Maharaja, probably Sadasiva's Regent, settled a water

1. Ibid., p. 231, vv. 43-5 and p. 216.
2. Buterworth, III, p. 1131-2; II, p. 784, 343; p. 930-1.
3. Ibid., II, p. 783, 337; p. 921-2.
4. *M. A. D., 1921*, p. 125-7.
5. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Kr, 79.
6. Rangacharya, I, p. 615, 467.
7. *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk, 55. Other grants may be seen in Rangacharya, II, p. 914, 51, p. 926, 212; p. 927, 227; p. 950, 421; p. 979, 629, and p. 980, 633.
8. Sewell, I, p. 101.

dispute between two villages of Anantapur District [1]; in 1555 the village boundary stones were set up in Peddamallepalli in the same district, through the influence of Dasappa Nayadu, no doubt to finish a dispute between this village and a neighbouring one [2]; for the same reason and about the same time the limits between Vijaya Bukkarayapuram and Brahmanapalli were measured and definitely established [3].

15. Agriculture was not greatly fostered during Sadasiva's government. We know of a canal dug in the village of Pottapi; but this was done through the generosity of Varadarasu and Yellamarasu who gave sixty kuntas of land for that purpose [4]. Another irrigation canal called Antarangakalva was dug in the same village by the munificence of Varadayya, a Matla chief [5]. The only occasion in which the name of Sadasiva is associated with any agricultural work is when in 1551 he made a grant free of rent to the salt dealers of Molakalmuru Taluk for the the removal of the saline earth [6].

16. No other subjects of Sadasiva got more inscriptions about themselves than the barbers [7]. The origin of this predilection of the King and his Minister for the barbers was, it seems, the skill of one of them named Manggala Timmoju Kondajugaru or Kondoja of the town of Badavi [8]. As far as we know, he was the barber of Rama Raya, who was much pleased with his skill in shaving the chin [9]; the Minister introduced him to the Sove-

1. 327 of 1901.
2. Rangacharya, I, p. 29, 199.
3. Ibid., I, p. 602, 338.
4. Ibid., I. p. 653, 860.
5. 434 of 1911.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Mk, 8 and 9.
7. The importance of the barbers in the religious life of the Hindus in the south of India is so great that many rites and ceremoies could not to performed without them. Correa, *Lendas da India*, IV, p. 301, who once attended the sacred fair of Tirupati, says that every pilgrim to the Tirupati hill had to have his head shaved. The barbers were sitting under some large trees and hiding themselves behind the heaps of hair.
8. Sadasiva's inscriptions at Badami, *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 65
9. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Second Vijayanagara Dynasty*, *A. S. I.*, *1908-9*, p, 198, note 5.

reign himself[1]. This was the beginning of that series of rewards bestowed upon him and all his fellow-workers. Early in 1545 Rama Raya, already pleased with Kondoja's work, remitted to him the caste tax, customs-dues and other taxes payable by barbers[2]; then Sadasiva's agent in Shimoga District, following the example of the Regent, granted to the same man the Chanagiri Barbers' tax[3]. In 1554 Kondoja 'having done service to Rama Raya and having made a request to the king, obtained a royal decree exempting the barbers from taxes'[4]; in the following year he obtained the remission of forced labour, birada, fixed rent and other taxes for himself and his family throughout the four boundaries of the kingdom[5]; then, by order of Sadasiva, Rama Raya granted another gift (illegible in the inscription) to the lucky barber[6]. About the same time an agent of Sadasiva at Gudur issued a charitable edict to the same 'to last as long as the sun and moon exist'; and in order to drive home the importance of the reward, ended his donation with this warning: "Those who cause obstacles to it, will incur the sin of killing a cow and a Brahmin"[7].

Timoja Kondoja was not the only favourite barber of Rama Raya. A record from Hirekerur states that Rama Raya was pleased with the work done by the three barbers Timmoja, Hommoja and Bharroja. Hence, he exempted them from all taxes[8]. Another inscription of Badami speaks again of Kondoja and two other barbers, who are not easily identified with the two mentioned above: "These three men Timmoja, Kondoja and Bhadri having propitiated the King", etc.[9].

The friendship of Rama Raya and Sadasiva with Kondoja and the four other barbers was the cause of their benevolence towards all the barbers of the Empire: An inscription of 1545

1. Butterworth, II, p. 664-6; *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Mk, 6.
2. *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Tk, 13.
3. Ibid., XII, Tp, 126.
4. Butterworth, II, p. 664-6.
5. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Mk, 6.
6. Ibid. XI, Mk, 11.
7. Butterworth, I, p. 420-2.
8. H. Krishna Sastri, l. c.
9. *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 65.

says that Rama Raya, being pleased with the barber Kondoja, exempted the barbers of the country (Tumkur District) from caste-tax, customs and all other imposts whatever [1]; then, on account of Timmoja, Hommoja and Bharroja, Rama Raya requested Sadasiva to extend the privileges granted to them to all the barbers throughout the kingdom [2], and, because of Timmoja and the other two, Sadasiva alloted a tax as a manya, grant to the barbers of the village of Ulabi [3]. Subsequently all the barbers of the Empire were the recipients of many favours from the central Government. In 1546 Sadasiva states, in an inscription in the Chitaldroog District, that he and Rama Raya have "given up to the barbers tax, fixed rent, forced labour, birada, customs, toll for watchmen; these and other dues, free of all imposts" [4].

Then Sadasiva himself remitted the tax on the barbers of Utukur [5], and Rama Raya granted the same favour to the barbers of the Karnataka country [6], Gundlaunta [7], Nagamaladine [8], the three simas of Cuddapah [9], Ghandikotasima [10], Tallamarapuram [11], Utukur [12] and Battepadu [13].

The other Ministers and feudatory chiefs followed the example of the King and his Regent. Timmaraja, probably Tirumala Raja, remitted the tax on the barbers in several villages [14]: the Mahamandalesvara Tirumalayadeva Maharaja

1. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tp, 126.
2. H. Krishna Sastri, l. c.
3. *Ind Ant.*, X, p. 65.
4. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk, 110.
5. Rangacharya, I, p. 657, 890.
6. 318 of 1905.
7. Rangacharya, I, p. 593, 184.
8. Ibid., p. 601, 322.
9. 399 of 1904.
10. 514 of 1906.
11. 472 of 1906.
12. Rangacharya, I, p. 651, 851. In *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hr, 29 mention is made of another grant of Rama Raya to the barbers in 1544. cf Rangacharya, II, p. 924, 192; p. 1073, 199.
13. Rangacharya, II, p. 1051, 17.
14. Rangachariar, I, p. 626, 568; II, p. 915, 69; p. 968, 563; p. 978, 612; p. 979, 624.

of Yeragudi exempted from taxes the barbers of Kalamalla [1]; Rama Raya Vitthalesvara, the cousin of Rama Raya, relieved of certain taxes the barbers of Penukonda [2]; Guruvaraja and Chinna Singaraja [3] released from taxes the barbers of Bommavaram [4], Obasamudram [5] and Pottappi [6]; Timmayadeva of Nandyala remitted the tax on the barbers of the whole of Ghandikota-sima and three villages belonging to the Indranatha temple [7], Pendlimarri [8], Bondalakunta [9], Lingala [10] and Nallapalli [11]; Nagarajaya Devamaharaja did the same with the barbers of Jonnavaram [12], and Ramarajayya Pinnaraju Garu with those of Chinna Mudiyam [13], and even a private man issued in 1847-8 a charitable edict for the barbers of Podili [14].

17. Nor were the barbers the only persons who received such favours from the throne; other people were also exempted from payment of taxes or other tribute: Thus Rama Raya exempted the Karnams of Nindujuvvi from their taxes [15] and Timmayyadeva of Nandyala remitted the tax on the jugglers of Lingala [16].

1. 381 of 1904.
2. 340 of 1901.
3. This chief is called otherwise in other inscriptions: Chinnasunga, Chinna Singarasu Choda Maharaju.
4. Rangacharya, I, p. 636, 658.
5. Ibid., p. 638, 677.
6. Ibid., p. 652, 858.
7. 318 of 1905.
8. Rangacharya, I, p. 581, 70.
9. Ibid., p. 588, 136.
10. Ibid., p. 612, 438.
11. Ibid., p. 602, 331.
12. Ibid., p. 660, 915.
13. Ibid., p. 589, 145.
14. Butterworth, III, p. 1195-7. Other grants to the barbers will be seen in Rangacharya, I, p. 612, 438; II, p. 915, 69; p. 949, 421; p. 961, 499; p. 1098, 379; p. 1133, 616.
15. Rangacharya, I, 614, 458.
16. Ibid., p. 613, 450. Achyuta Raya had already given up the marriage tax throughout his kingdom (1540), and other chiefs had done the same after his example. *Ep Carn.*, XI, Hk, 111.

During the reign of Sadasiva in 1554 the outer petha of Bagur, Chitaldroog District, which was in ruins, was rebuilt and name Krishnapura, after the name Ere Krishnappa Nayaka, the founder of the Belur family. Special inducements were held out to settlers in the new petha, such as freedom from taxation for one year and confirmation of the exclusion of old claims if they took possession [1]. We are not told what those claims were about, but we venture to suppose that they were jurisdiction quarrels with neighbouring villagers.

The weakness of the royal power and authority was the immediate cause of the downfall of the Empire in the disastrous battle of Raksas-Tagdi and of the subsequent calamities of the Sovereigns of the fourth dynasty. But the glory of Vijayanagara remained apparently as fresh and brilliant as ever during the whole reign of the puppet king, as the successful campaigns we shall relate in the two following chapters will show. An inscription in the Shimoga District on the eve of the disaster of Raksas-Tagdi informs us that the Empire was in extent 'one lakh and twenty six thousand provinces' [2].

18. The capital was still the wonder of its visitors and even more than before, on account of the new buildings erected during Sadasiva's rule. We know, for instance, that a splendid palace was constructed for Rama Raya. Caesar Frederick, who visited the city one year after the great battle that caused its ruin, was impressed with the magnificence of the huge buildings and wide streets. His description deserves our attention because it shows us what the city was like during the reign: "The circuit of the City is foure and twentie miles about, and within the wals are certaine Mountaines. The House stand walled with earth, and plaine, all saving the three Palaces of the three tyrant Brethren, and the Pagodes which are Idoll houses: these are made with Lime and fine Marble. I have seene many Kings Courts, and yet have I seeene none in greatnesse like to this Bezeneger". "The apparell that they use in Bezeneger", he continues, "is Velvet, Satten, Damaske, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person,

1. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk, 112.
2. Ibid., VII, Ci, 62.

with long Hats on their heads, called Colae (kullayi), made of Velvet, Satten, Damaske, or Scarlet, girding themselves in stead of girdles with some fine white Bumbast cloth: they have breeches after the order of the Turkes: they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them Aspergh, and at their eares they have hanging great plentie of Gold" [2].

1. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 97-8.
2. Ibid., p. 99.

CHAPTER IV

FOREIGN POLICY

SUMMARY.—1. Conquests of Sadasiva and Rama Raya.—2. Their campaigns in the Karnatik and Ceylon.—3. Previous relations between Vijayanagara and the Portuguese, specially during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya.—4. The Portuguese intend to plunder the temple at Tirupati.—5. The treaties of alliance between Sadasiva and the Portuguese.—6. Text of the treaty of 1547.—7. Expedition of Rama Raya against Sao Thome, in 1558.—8. Trading in Sao Thome.—9. Trade between the cities of Goa and Vijayanagara.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—Ferishta, Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda.—3. *Commentarios do Grande Afonso Dalboquerque*, Barros, Couto, Faria y Sousa.—4. Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, Anonymous Life of St. Francis Xavier—5.—Travels of C. Frederick.—6. *Arquivo da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, *Tratados*, I.—7. *Sivatattvaratnakara.*

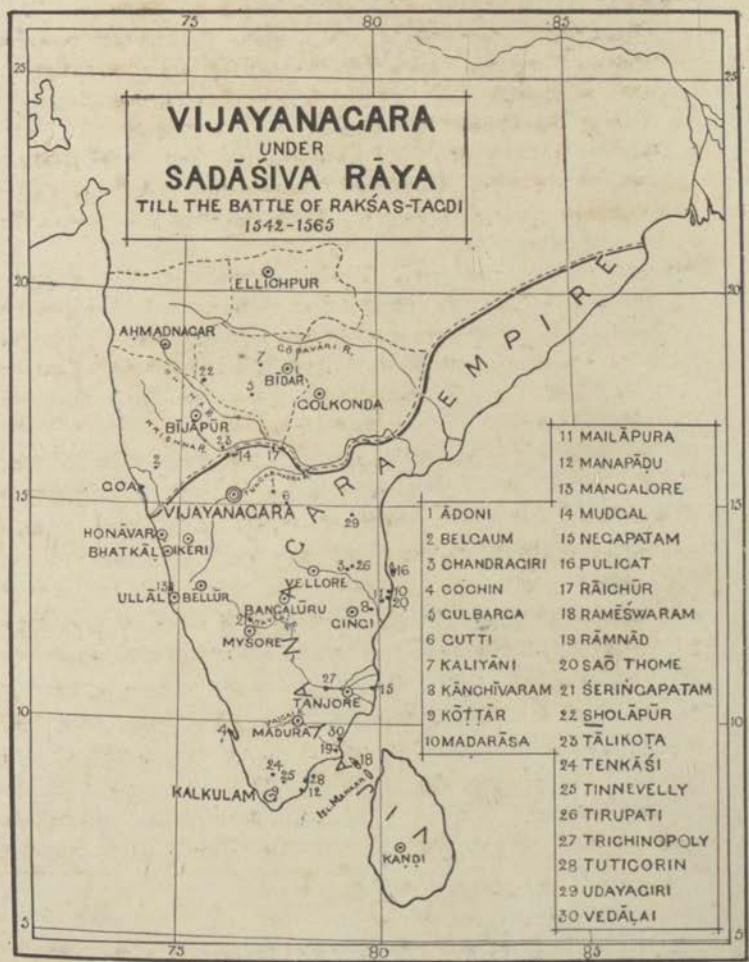
WHEN studying the relations of Sadasiva with foreign nations, the flattery associated with the inscriptions and grants of the old Hindu Sovereigns is noteworthy. In a Tamil inscription at Madambakkam we are told that that Sadasiva 'took every country' [1]. A grant dated 1546 goes so far as to state that " he subdued all the enemies in Suragiri (Penukonda) and brought the whole land from Setu to Himadri into subjection to his commands" [2]. But this eulogy is probably inspired by the fact narated in the beginning of the second chapter, when the young Prince was rescued by Rama Raya and placed on the throne of Vijayanagara after the defeat and death of the usurper Salakam Timma. The early date of the inscription suggests this suspicion. That the Kamboja [3], Bhoja [4],

1. Rangacharya, I, p. 397, 685.

2. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58.

3. One of the sixteen pre-Buddhist kingdoms in the North of India, probably in the Punjab, mentioned in the *Anguttara-Nikaya*, I, 213.

4. Two Kings of Kaauj were called Bhoja, Mihira Bhoja (c. 840-90 A. D.), and Bhoja II (c. 908-10 A. D.). In Malwa there was one famous king of the Paramaras named Bhoja (1018-60 A. D.). Moreover, there was in the 4th and 5th centuries a tribe of Bhoja, in Berar, whose sovereigns belonged to the Vakataka Dynasty.



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II. The Empire of Vijayanagara under Sadasiva Raya.

Kalinga [1], Karahata [2] and other kings acted as servants for his female apartments [3], is even a less trustworthy boast, more akin to an exaggerated reproduction of the inscriptions of Krishna Deva Raya and Achyuta Raya, who are represented as being attended by the kings of Anga, Vanga and Kaliṅga [4]. It seems, however, that the king of Orissa, one of those conquered by Krishna Deva Raya, acknowledged the sovereignty of Sadasiva, as we may deduce from the grant of 1558 of Timma Raja, described as son of the king of Orissa [5].

On the other hand, we cannot doubt that many neighbouring Rajas and petty chiefs were brought under the control of Sadasiva, since we have the authority of the Muhammadan chronicler of Golkonda for stating that Rama Raya strengthened his power by the reduction of many troublesome neighbours [6]. The supreme Minister is called, in an inscription of the time of Venkata III, 'an ocean of valour' [7], a praise that appears confirmed in several grants either contemporary or of latter date, which specify, to some extent, the heroic deeds of the Regent. It is said in the Vellangudi Plates of Sadasiva that Rama Raya 'destroyed his enemies who were a pest to the world' [8]; the Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II state that he had 'slain in battle his enemies, who were a scourge of the earth' [9]; the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III affirm that he 'killed in a battle all dangerous enemies in the world' [10]; and a grant of Ranga III, dated 1645, records that 'all his

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1. The Chalukya kingdom of Rajahmundri.
2. I was unable to indentify this kingdom.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 3; *Ep Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58; V, Hn, 7; IX, Cp, 186.
4. About 1533 Luigi Roncinotto, in the account of his travels through India, wrote that the Emperor of Narsinga, or Vijayanagara, "had 200 kings under him". Gubernatis, *Storia*, p. 127.
5. Sewell, I, p. 75.
6. Ferishta, III, p. 381. Cf. Correa, IV. p. 438.
7. *Ep. Carn.*, III, p. Nj, 198.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 17-8.
9. Ibid., XII, p. 186, vv. 13-40.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 14.

enemies, the thorns of the world, did the heroic Rama Raya slay in battle' [1].

2. Who were these chiefs that were defeated and killed by Rama Raya? Ferishta relates that Rama Raya 'had reduced all the Rajas of the Karnatik to his yoke' [2]. The whole Canara country south of Vijayanagara was the original Karnatik of those days. The *Sivatattvaratnakara* of Keladi Basavabhupala confirms the statement of Ferishta in the description of a campaign planned by Rama Raya in the present Shimoga District. It says that the Regent sent Sadasiva Nayaka, the influential chief of the Keladi family, to subdue the barbarian Nayakas of Chandragutti; the strong hill-fort was successfully captured by Sadasiva and the Dasyu-nayakas thereafter acknowledged the Emperor of Vijaya-nagara [3]. Accordingly, he is said in one of his inscriptions to be ruling over Araga [4], the capital of one of the early Viceroyalties of Vijayanagara, comprising some districts of the present kingdom of Mysore and the Canara country from Goa to Mangalore [5].

Rama Raya's expeditions into the kingdom of Travancore will be dealt with in another chapter; but we must here observe that Sadasiva is called 'the conqueror of all countries and Ceylon' [6], and in another inscription he is said 'to have looted Ceylon' [7], which probably refers to the invasion of Ceylon by Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura, as we shall narrate later on. No other traces of this campaign of Sadasiva in Ceylon have come to our knowledge; but the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda supposes that Ceylon was under the

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1. *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60. These phrases cannot be ascribed to the Muhammadans exclusively, because Rama Raya was finally killed in battle by them.
2. Ferishta, l.c., p. 125.
3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 195.
4. *M. A. D., 1923*, p. 83.
5. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Mysore and the Decline of the Vijayanagara Empire*, *Q. J. M. S.*, XIII, p. 621-2.
6. 129 of 1905.
7. 451 of 1905.

sway of Vijayanagara, when, in narrating the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, he says "that Rama Raya summoned all his dependants from the banks of the Krishna as far as the Island of Ceylon" [1].

3. Of the relations between Rama Raya and the Portuguese we have quite authentic information. But for the better understanding of their intercourse, it will be convenient to narrate briefly the relations between Vijayanagara and the Portuguese from the time of their first appearance on the shores of India. To begin with, it seems that the origin of these relations must be looked for as far back as about 1507, when the first Portuguese Governor, Dom Francisco d' Almeida made the acquaintance of Timoja. This Timoja was practically and in effect the commandant of the Vijayanagara fleet entrusted with the task of waging perpetual war with Goa; which city had been captured some years before from the power of Vijayanagara by Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur [2]. When the Bijapur Sultan died in 1510, Timoja persuaded Affonso de Albuquerque, the then Viceroy of the Portuguese possessions in the East, to attack Goa, a former possession of the Hindu Empire. In doing this, Timoja took advantage of the tender age of the new Sultan Ismail Adil Shah [3]. This enterprise was completely successful; and Timoja, who was then called the most faithful ally of Portugal [4], helped Albuquerque by land when the city was taken—so much so that the Sultan of Bijapur despatched a messenger to Vijayanagara complaining that Timoja had given his aid to the Portuguese fleet in the capture of Goa [5].

Before the conquest of Goa, Albuquerque had sent a

1. Ferishta, l. c., p. 413-4. When Luigi Barthema visited India, in 1507, Ceylon, or at least some of its kings, acknowledged the sovereignty of Vijayanagara. Gubernatis, o. c., p. 295. Faria y *Asia Portuguesa*, c, p. 183, says that in 1517 the three largest kingdoms of Asia were Siam, China and Bisnaga.

2. Danvers, *Report*, p. 4; Lafitau, *Histoire des Decouvertes*, I, p. 213-4.

3. Faria y Sousa, I, p. 136.

4. Ibid., p. 136-40.

5. *Commentarios do Grande Afonso Dalboquerque*, II, p. 100-11. Cf. Danvers, *The Portuguese*, I, p. 193.

Franciscan Friar named Frey Luiz to the court of Vijayanagara, to get the Emperor's assistance in attacking the city of Calicut by land whilst the Portuguese operated by sea, with a view to avenging the violation of his promise by the Sovereign of that place [1]. It appears also that Frey Luiz invited Krishna Deva Raya to become a Christian and the Sovereign gave no negative answer to the priest's request. In an anonymous letter of a traveller written in Venice to *ser Zuane di Santi,* dated November 10th, 1511, and kept in the *Biblioteca Magliabecchina* of Florence, we read the following words: "It seems that King Narsinga was very near becoming a Christian[2]." Frey Luiz remained at Vijayanagara, and was finally murdered there in 1511 by a Turk, it seems, by order of the Sultan of Bijapur [3]. Albuquerque gives this piece of news to his Sovereign in a letter of April 1st, 1512, as follows: "At Bisnagar (Vijayanagara) one Rume (Turk) murdered Frey Luiz; there is nothing extraordinary in this event" [4].

The result of this legation of Frey Luiz was an Embassy from Vijayanagara that reached Goa in the following year 1511. Both the *Commentarios* and Faria y Sousa, that give this information, do not mention the name of the ambassador nor the nature of his business with the Viceroy. But we are sure that this was the origin of the official friendship between the two powers. In the anonymous letter mentioned above it is stated that "the King of Narsinga (Vijayanagara) has sent ambassadors in order to establish a perpetual friendship with the King of Portugal; on the other hand, this King has done the same, for he also wished to establish this alliance" [6]. Moreover Krishna Deva Raya proposed, no doubt, through his ambassador to the Viceroy, his desire of getting horses

1. Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental,* II, p. 283; Lafitau, o. c., I, p. 262-3
2. Gubernatis, *Storia,* p. 383-4.
3. *Commentarios,* III, p. 46.
4. From Affonso de Albuquerque to Dom Manuel, Goa (?), April 1, 1512, Costa, *Historia das Relacoes Diplomaticas,* p. 32. Cf. Heras. *Early Relations Between Vijayanagara and Portugal. Q. J. M. S.,* XV, p. 67-9.
5. *Commentarios,* III, p. 41-2.
6. Gubernatis, *Storia,* p. 384,

from Arabia and Ormuz, of which he was in much need for his campaigns against the Muhammadans [1]. As a matter of fact the second Ambassador sent by Albuquerque to Vijayanagara, Gaspar Chanoca by name, was charged to inform Krishna Raya that the Viceroy would willingly send him all the horses available at Goa, rather than to the Sultan of Bijapur [2].

The success of this Embassy encouraged the lucky Emperor; and in 1514 he sent another Legation, at the head of which, was one Retelim Cherim (Cheti), Governor of Bracelor (Basrur) who offered the Viceroy £20,000 for the exclusive right of buying 1,000 horses. The ambassador was kindly received by Pero Mascarenhas, Captain of the fortress, and an escort went specially to meet him; but Albuquerque courteously declined the offer on the ground that such a privilege would destroy trade [3]. In spite of this, Vijayanagar and Goa remained as friendly as ever. For when in 1515, Krishna Deva Raya captured the fortress of Rachol, among his soldiers there was also a detachment of Portuguese soldiers under Christovao de Figueredo; who rendered great assistance in the storming of the fort [4]. The Hindu Sovereign was so grateful to the Portuguese on account of these events, that subsequently, perhaps in

1. Cf. *Commentarios*, III, p. 46.

2. From A. de Albuquerque to Dom Manuel, Goa (?), April 1,1512, Costa, *Historia das Relacoes Diplomaticas*, p. 33.

3. From A. de Albuquerque to Dom Manuel, Cananor, November 27, 1514, Costa, o. c. p. 51; *Commentarios*, IV, p. 139-41; *Cartas be Simao Botelho*, Lima Felner, *Subsidos*, p. 343

4. Faria y Sousa, I, p.196; Barros, p. 438-43; Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, p. 320-1. I do not know why Mr. Sewell, p. 334-5 identifies Rachol with Raichur; perhaps because of Ferishta, III, p. 49, who represents the river Krishna as flowing in its neighbourhood. But I rely more upon the Portuguese historians who placed this city in the vicinity of Goa. Faria y Sousa, after relating the defeat of the Bijapur Sultan, says: "Ruy de Mello, who was then at Goa, seeing the Idalcao (Adil Khan) discouraged on account of that disaster and perhaps distracted while thinking how to recover from it; and besides knowing that many people were fighting and robbing the mainland *(la tierra firme)* around: he seized it at the head of two hundred and fifty

the following year, he presented the Portuguese Viceroy with the whole territory of Salsette as a free gift[1]. This friendship between both powers still subsisted in the year 1526, since Faria y Sousa affirms that Lope Vaz de Sampayo in that year forgave a rebel city because it belonged to the territory of Vijayanagara[2].

4. But after the death of Krishna Raya, and when Sadasiva became King, the old alliance was no longer respected, at least by the Portuguese. Faria y Sousa narrates that in 1544 the governor Martim Affonso de Sousa thought of sending a fleet of 45 ships under 27 captains to the eastern coast to plunder the temple of Tremele (Tirupati)[3], "that is in the kingdom of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara)", in which, it was said, heaps of

cavalry and eight hundred Kanarese foot-soldiers" (l. c., p. 199). This writer, whose work appeared a whole century after these events, suppposes Rachol located in an island, since he speaks of the *tierra firme* around. How could it be Raichur, in the centre of the Deccan? Moreover, we know that Krishna Deva Raya, probably in the following year, gave the whole territory ef Salsette, which had belonged to Bijapur just a little before, to the Portuguese for ever; and no other conquest of Salsete is mentioned in the old chronicles but this. Finally Anquetil du Peron, l. c., p. 197, says clearly that Krishna Raya conquered the fortress of Rachol, that is in the island of Salsette and refers to 'La Fitau, *Conquete des Portugues dans le Nouveaus Monde*, I, p. 587, and Botero, *Della Relatione*, I, p. 304-6. (Rome, 1595)'. During the Viceroyalty of Nuno da Cunha, the Sultan of Bijapur sent two expeditions to Salsette in order to recover Rachol, but both failed. Cf. Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, II, p. 237.

1. Correa, II, p. 658.

2. Faria y Sousa, I, p. 246.

3. Tirupati was known to the Portuguese under the name of Tripati or Trepeti. Tremele, a corruption of Tirumala, sounds like Trepeti; and although the distance of twelve leagues from St. Thome given by Faria y Sousa is not suggestive, nevertheless the likeness of the name and the celebrity of that temple in the whole of southern India, inclines me to identify the place that Martim Affonso de Sousa contemplated plundering with Tirupati. Even Thevenot *Travels*, p. 92, wrote, in the second half of the 17th century that "the famous Pagod of Trapety...is not far from Cape Comory."

gold and riches were stored. But the fleet did not achieve its purpose.

The aim of this expedition was suddenly changed, and some temples of the kingdom of Travancore were plundered instead of that of Tremele. Correa says that the reason of this change of plan was because the governor had been informed that his purpose was known at Vijayanagara, and accordingly many soldiers had assembled at Tirupati to resist the Portuguese attack [1].

5. Nevertheless two years later the friendship was renewed by a treaty of February 26, 1546. The Emperor of Vijayanagara swore eternal friendship to the King of Portugal, confirmed the donation of the territories of Salsette and Bardez, and promised that he would never wage war against those Provinces [2]. And in the following year, Rama Raya on behalf of Sadasiva dispatched to Goa another ambassador, who was one of the most famous captains of his army, with a remarkable train of nobles and servants to confirm specifically this treaty of alliance. He went to Goa via Ancola (Ankola) whence he was fetched by two sloops sent there from Goa [3]. The then Governor of Goa, Dom Joao de Castro, caused a great reception to be given to the ambassador. He was received by the Governor in a big hall with great pomp; and after the usual salutations, the ambassador gave the Governor the credentials of his King along with some precious jewels as royal presents. Nothing else was done that day, but on the next they had a long talk. The ambassador told the Governor that "the King, his Lord, was desirous of having perpetual peace and friendship with the Governor; and that they were always ready to do everything for the Portuguese, provided it was just and honest, because the Kings, his predecessors, had

1. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 135; Correa, IV, p. 300 and p. 324-8; Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, p. 548.

2. *Archivo da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, *Tratados*, I, p. 116. Cf. Danvers, *Report*, p. 50. To crown this treaty Garcia de Sa, Governor of Goa, concluded on August 22, 1548, another treaty with Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, who renewed the agreement, by which the teritories of Salsette and Bardez were to be the property of the King of Portugal for ever. Cf. Danvers, *Report*, p. 51.

3. Correa, IV, p. 601.

always fostered this mutual peace and friendship with the former governors." The Governor replied that "he greatly appreciated the King Sadasiva Raya's desire to be a friend of the King of Portugal, his Lord. But as he, the Governor, was just then about to leave for some of the fortresses of his dominions, he would, in order to finish the business of the legation as soon as possible, be much pleased to depute the Veedor de Fazenda (Finance Member) and the Secretary, to treat with the ambassador on the matters concerned, and to come to a mutual agreement; for he was very pleased to give all pleasure to the King of Vijayanagara".

6. On the following days, the ambassador met the two officers appointed by the Governor more than once, and the result of these meetings was the following treaty:—

"Both parties, the King of Portugal and the King of Vijayanagara, oblige themselves to be friends of friends, and enemies of enemies, each of the other; and, when called on, to help each the other with all his forces against all kings and lords of India, Nizam Shah always excepted.

"The Governor of Goa will allow Arab and Persian horses landed at Goa to be purchased by the King of Vijayanagara, none being permitted to be sent to Bijapur nor to any of its parts; and the King of Vijayanagara will be bound to purchase all those that were brought to his ports on quick and proper payment.

"The King of Vijayanagara will compel all merchants in his kingdom trading with the coast, to send their goods through Onor (Honavar) and Barcelor (Basrur) wherein the King of Portugal will send factors who will purchase them all; and the Governors of India will be forced to send the Portuguese merchants there in order to buy them. On the same way, the King of Vijayanagara will forbid the exportation of iron and saltpetre into the kingdom of Adil Shah from any port or town of his own; and his merchants will be compelled to bring this merchandise to the harbours of the kingdom of Vijayanagara, where they will be quickly purchased by the Governors of India, not to cause them loss.[1].

1. Sewell, p. 187, note, misunderstood this term of the treaty, which on the other hand is not given in full.

"All the cloths of the Kingdom of Vijayanagara will not be brought over to the ports of Adil Shah, but either to Ancola or to Onor (Honavar); and in the same way the Governors will bind the Portuguese merchants to go there to purchase them, and to exchange them for copper, coral, vermillion, mercury, China silks and all other kinds of goods which come from the Kingdon; and he, the King of Vijayanagara, will order his merchants to purchase them.

"The King of Vijayanagara will allow no Moorish (Muhammadan) ship or fleet to stop in his ports; and if any should come, he will capture them and hand them over to the Governor of India, whosoever he may be.

"Both parties agree to wage war with Adil Shah; and all the territories taken from the latter shall belong to Vijayanagara, except lands to the West of the Ghats, from Banda to the Cintacora river, which lands did long ago belong to the ownership and jurisdiction of Goa, and will remain attached for ever to the crown of Portugal"

On September 19th, 1547, the Governor Dom Joao de Castro, being now back at Goa, gave his signature and oath to all the items of this treaty; so too did the ambassador of Sadasiva; then the treaty was published and announced throughout the city with much rejoicing by a flourish of trumpets. Dom Joao de Castro gave the ambassador a rich present of several beautiful horses and precious cloths for his Sovereign, and some other gifts for himself. Freire de Andrada in his *Life of Dom Joao de Castro* says that the league was intended by Rama Raya to secure assistance from the Viceroy against his neighbour the Sultan of Bijapur, who, "understanding the Governor's resolution retired his inland garrisons, as if avoiding the blow of the first invasion, endeavouring to weary out the State with a sudden and incursive War"[2]. This state-

1. Botelho, *O TombodoEstado da India*, Lima Felner, *Subsidios* p. 255-7; Couto, VI, p. 372; Faria y Sousa, II, p. 189. The treaty, or rather a copy of it, is preserved in the *Archivo da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, *Tratados*, I, p. 118. Cf. Danvers, *Report*, l. c.; Costa, *Historia das Relacoes Diplomaticas*, p. 102.

2. Freire de Andrada, *The Life of Dom Joao de Castro*, p. 226-7.

ment of Freire de Andrada is confirmed by a letter of Dom Joao de Castro himself to King John III, dated December 16th 1546. According to it the Vijayanagara Sovereign wanted an alliance to wage actual war with Bijapur. Castro agreed to all the terms proposed by the ambassador, but was not ready to commence a compaign against the Sultan of Bijapur, with whom an alliance had recently been made [1].

Another legation of Vijayanagara to Goa in 1549 is mentioned by Faria y Sousa [2], but no details are given. It was undoubtedly intended to revive the old friendship.

7. We have no more information about the intercourse between the two nations until 1558, when a war suddenly broke out, on Rama Raya marching with an army against the Portuguese of St. Thome. A forged account of the discovery of the remains of the Apostle St. Thomas in the neighbourhood of the old Mailapura [3], was the cause of a Portuguese settlement in the eastern coast of Vijayanagara, in the year 1522 [4].

1. "Ha 25. de Junho me mandou El rey de Bisnaga hum Embaixador escreuendo-me muito apertadamente, que quizesemos eu e elle fazer ha querra ao Ydalcao, e leuantar Micale (sic) Rey dondome muntas (muitas) razoens pero (sic) iso. Eu me escuzei de ho faser per caso das pazes que ora nouamente tinha feito come o Ydalcao, e certos contratos; porem lancei munto (muito) de sua amizade, e lhe ofreci a minha pera de da uolta que tornase da guerra de Combaya nos tornassemos a escreuer e uisitar pera entao tratarmos de muntas (muitas) cousas que pertenciao ha elle e a mim. Eu lhe concedi alguas das cousas que me mandou requerer, e com ellas e minha resposta se tornou o embayxador muy contente" *Obras Varias Manu scriptas*, fol. 42.

2. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 216.

3. Mandelslo, a traveller and a native of Holtstein, who visited the Coromandel Coast is 1639, says that Mylapore was once the capital of the kingdom of Narsinga. He was, no doubt, misinformed by the Portuguese of the place who, believing in the existence of the old King of Mailapura, a contemporary of St. Thomas, thought he was one of the old kings of the Empire of Narsinga or Vijayanagara. Mandelslo, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 94.

4. We cannot admit the authenticity of the account of the finding of St. Thomas' Tomb by the Portuguese in 1517, as given by Faria y Sousa, I, p. 222-4, and by Fr. Francisco de Souza, Oriente

It was an appreciable distance from Mailapura known to the Portuguese as Meliapor, to St. Thome, although we believe that Faria y Sousa was wrong in stating that the distance between

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Conquistado, I, p. 152. It obviously presents all the elements of a forgery. The inscription of the supposed tomb: "When Thomas founded that temple, the King of Mailapura granted him the rights over the goods which arrived at the city, that was ten per cent," evidently shows the intention of the Portuguese merchants to reclaim those rights given to one of their ancestors in the faith of Christ by the Sovereign of the place. 2. The very find of the relics and their description as white bones, next to a broken lance, may be regarded as the most barefaced imposture, because there is no doubt that the holy remains of the Apostle were removed to the city of Edessa, in Syria, before the 6th century, as stated by St. Gregory de Tours in his book *De Gloria Beatorum Martyrum*, a work revised in 590. Cf. Migne, *PP. LL.*, LXXI, p. 733. Another account states that his stick was also found next to the relics. *Historia Chronologica, O Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas*, I, p. 13. 3. The fact that his relics were put into a a China chest or into a silver box, according to others (Cf. *Historia Chronologica*, l. c.) and hidden next to the altar, but never subsequently discovered, clearly shows that the forgery was carefully concocted to explain the fact of the empty tomb carved by their care. 4. The account of the martyrdom sounds like a pious legend of the middle ages, as well as the story of King Perumal of Ceylon going to adore our Lord in the manger at the request of the Indian Sybil. 5. Finally, the painting of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which is supposed to have been brought over from Palestine by the aforesaid King Perumal, is another unmistakable sign of the forgery of this narrative.

When St. Francis Xavier passed through St. Thome, in 1545, he was told that the body of the Apostle was kept in the place, but from his own letter we may conclude that he did not believe it: "Ay en Santo Thomae mas de cien portugueses casados: ai vna iglesia mui deuota,y todos tienen que esta alli el cuerpo del glorioso Apostol". (There are at St. Thome more than a hundred Portuguese all married; they have a very devout church and all think that the body of the glorious Apostle is lying there). *M. H. S.J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 387. The famous Dutch traveller Nieuhoff passed through St. Thome in 1662, and while describing the city, he says: "Here yo see

the two cities was seven leagues [1]. Around the so-called tomb of the Apostle, the Portuguese built a small city not independent but subject to the King of Vijayanagara; "which Citie, (St. Thome)", says Frederick, "although it be not very great, yet in my judgement, it is the fairest in all that part of the Indies" [2]

Although the reasons given by Fr. Sousa for the founding of the city are two, *viz.*, the devotion to the Apostle, and the convenience of that locality for trading with the natives of the east coast of the Vijayanagara Empire [3], nevertheless the main purpose of the settlement was commerce, just as was that of the other Portuguese settlements in India; and, even in this, they were not allowed to build any fort, as William Finch, a

also the famous church of St. Thomas: this Apostle, *as the Portugueses pretend, leing buried here*". (Italics are mine). Nieuhoff, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 198. Finally Mandelslo, who was at St. Thome during the same century, heard from the Portuguese another legendary account of the preaching of St. Thomas and his martyrdom at St. Thome, which may be read in his *Voyages and Travels*, p. 94.

1. Faria y Sousa, I, p. 224.

2. Purchas, o. c., p. 109. In a letter of one Fr. Froes to Fr. Quadros, both Jesuits, dated Goa, November, 1559—one year after Rama Raya's expedition—we read the following lines: "Os enuiamos," says Froes, "las copias de ciertas prouisiones que un rey antiguo de Bisnaga, gentil, suscribio en fauor de la casa del glorioso Apostol S. Tomas sobre ciertos.....que alli dijo, las cuales copias enuio aqui el P. Cipriano algunos meses antes de su muerte" *Nuovi avisi dell' Indie*, f. 101 v. Were these *prouisiones* any grant of Rama Raya to St. Thomas' church made on this occasion? The fact is that Manucci speaks of it some years later: "Up to this day", said he in 1688, "the Portuguese preserve one of these plates for a gift to them, by the said Ram Rajah, of the city of Sao Thome." *Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 97. Was this goldenplate grant of Sao Thome made by Rama Raya when the Portuguese first settled in the place or after the expedition we are going to relate? Or was it perhaps a forgery of the Portuguese themselves? The inscription on the memorial stone in the church of Nossa Senhora da Luz, according to which it was built by the Franciscan Friar, Fr. Pedro da Atougia in 1516, must be rejected as not authentic. Cf. Davison Love, *Vestiges of old Madras*, I, p. 289-90.

3. Sousa, I, p. 153, 36.

traveller of the beginning of the 16th century, informs us [1]. The town grew very rapidly; St. Francis Xavier, in one of his letters to the Jesuits of Europe dated Malaca, November 10th, 1545, says that in Sao Thome "there are more than one hundred Portuguese, all married" [2].

Against this Portuguese town, in the vicinity of Mailapura, marched Rama Raya in the year 1558, and the motive of this expedition was this. The Franciscan Friars, who from the beginning were established at St. Thome and at Negapatam, caused several Hindu temples to be desecrated and the idols destroyed, building in their stead many Christian churches and chapels. In the year 1542, they had built at Negapatam two churches, one dedicated to St. Francis and the other to Nossa Senhora da Saude, and about three thousand people had embraced the Catholic Faith [3]. The Jesuits who came shortly after, followed the example of the Franciscans. The Brahmins naturally represented these facts to the Regent of the Empire, who took no action against the Portuguese, because, no doubt, of the necessity of their friendship to obtain horses for war purposes [4]. But, on this occasion a Portuguese fidalgo, a traitor to his nation and faith, whose name is not given in the Portuguese chronicles, invited Rama Raya to proceed against the Portuguese town, the inhabitants of which were 'most rich' he said, and from whom he would be able to get more than two millions of gold pagodas. Rama Raya was in need of money, on account both of the frequent wars with the Muhammadans and of his imperial designs. This invitation he soon accepted; and after collecting an army of more than five hundred thousand soldiers and a great deal of ammunition, set out from Vijayanagara towards Sao Thome.

We fortunately have a short contemporary description of the town and population of Sao Thome at the time of Rama Raya's attempt. The anonymous author of the life of St.

1. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 182.

2. *M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 387.

3. *Historia Chronologica, O Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas* p. 86.

4. The account of Sewell, p. 193-4, is not accurate.

Francis Xavier quoted above says that Sao Thome "is a very rich and noble city, inhabited by Portuguese, who, being tired of the hardships of military life, retired to that place, wherein they found great convenience and opportunity for earning their life. Thus the city was formed which, besides the wealth and food that the land produces, is nicely fitted for trading and sending its goods to any part of the world" [1].

When the news of the approach of Rama Raya reached the inhabitants of the city, Pero de Taide Inferno, a noble merchant from Goa, who happened to be in Sao Thome at the time, assembled all the chief men of the town, and tried to persuade them to resist Rama Raya and his army; an enterprise he thought pretty easy as the enemies were short of cannon. Moreover they had the additional advantage of the sea. But most of the inhabitants of the town thought otherwise, because the town being in the kingdom of Vijayanagara, they were not allowed to offer resistance to their Governor and Regent of the Empire; and further, they were unable to stand a long siege. This annoyed Pero de Taide, who at once left the city and made for Goa in a ship that had just then come from Bengal.

Four of the principal inhabitants of the town were then deputed to receive Rama Raya even before he reached the place; they were to welcome him and offer him a present valued at about four thousand *cruzados*. The Regent was delighted with this gift from the Portuguese. In the meanwhile the streets of the city were decorated, and the windows and balconies festooned with rich-coloured cloth.

When Rama Raya came within sight of the city he encamped on a vast plain, and dispatched several of his captains with orders to bring to his presence all the inhabitants of the town, men and women, old and young, bond or free. When they came they were entertained by his order in a separate place, while other captains were sent to the city to search for all the riches of the town; these were brought over to him, all furniture not excluded. Couto says that the value of the whole property of the inhabitants of Sao Thome would not have reached the sum of a hundred thousand *pardaos*. Rama Raya was furious on realiz-

1. *M. H. S. J., Mon.-Xav.*, I. p. 59.

ing that he had been deceived by his friend, the Portuguese fidalgo, and determined to inflict a severe punishment upon him. But the shrewd fidalgo made good his escape from the army. He was finally found in the town of Caleture, at a distance of six leagues. Brought before the Regent, he was put to death and trampled on by elephants.

Then Rama Raya decided to send the citizens back to the town after exacting a tribute of a hundred thousand pagodas; half to be given at once, and the other half a year later. Fifty thousand pagodas were paid down to him on the spot, and he took with him five of the chief citizens as hostages for the other half. Then, before leaving, he caused all the property to be returned to their owners. A silver spoon was found missing. Such diligent enquiries were made by his command, that the spoon was finally discovered and returned to its owner. This episode is mentioned by the two chroniclers who relate the history of this campaign [1].

Rama Raya at once left for his capital. On reaching Vijayanagara he released the five hostages and sent them back to Sao Thome, in recognition of their services during the retreat. Such was the end of the expedition, which would have been fatal to the town of Sao Thome if the advice of Pero de Taide Inferno had been followed [2].

8. This was only a passing cloud brought on by the cupidity of Rama Raya; for the intercouse between Vijayanagara and Portugal continued in the following years as friendly as ever. Caesar Frederick, who was an eye-witness of the trading of the Portuguese in the city of Sao Thome at the end of the reign of Sadasiva, says to this effect: "It is a marvellous thing to them which have not seene the lading and unlading of men and merchandize in Saint Tome as they doe: it is a place

1. With these details, given by both Couto and Faria y Sousa the account of Fr. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, does not agree. According to it Rama Raya robbed the Catholic Church of St. Thomas (p. 309) and even stole the very relics of the holy Apostle (p. 310).

2. Couto, VII, p. 54-60; Faria y Sousa, II, p. 327-8; Lafitau *Histoire des Decouvertes*, II, p. 553-4.

so dangerous, that a man cannot be served with small Barkes, neither can they doe their business with the Boates of the ships, because they would be beaten in a thousand pieces, but they make certain Barkes (of purpose) high which they call Masadie, they be made of little boards; one board being sowed to another with small cordes, and in this order are they made. And when they are thus made, and the owners will embarke any thing in them either men or goods, they lade them on land, and when they are laden, the Barke-men thrust the Boate with her lading into the streame, and with great speed they make haste all that they are able to row out against the huge waves of the Sea that are on that shore untill that they carrie them to the ships: and in like manner they lade these Masadies at the ships with merchandise and men. When they come neere the shore, the Bark-men leape out of the Bark into the Sea to keep the Barke right that shee cast not thwart the shore, and being kept right, the Suffe of the Sea setteth her lading drie on land without any hurt or danger, and sometimes there are some of them that are overthrowen, but there can bee no great losse, bacause they lade but a little at a time. All the Merchandise they lade outwards, they emball it well with Oxe hides, so that if it take wet, it can have no great harme" [1].

The anonymous author of the life of St. Xavier quoted above informs us that Sao Thome traded specially with the kingdoms of Pegu and Bengal: with the first in gold and sealing-wax, and with the second in eatables, particularly sugar. The trade of Sao Thome was also famous throughout Portugal for the beautiful cloths of different kinds coming from the Coromandel Coast. In the month of September they used to send to Malacca a ship laden with these coloured cloths, for which they obtained yearly great quantities of money [2].

9. Trade continued to flourish between Goa and Vijayanagara itself. In 1585, the Italian traveller Philippo Sasseti sent from Goa to Giambatista Strozzi, at Firenze, the following information on the Portuguese commerce between both cities previous to the battle of Raksas-Tagdi. He says that before

1. Purchas, o. c., p. 109.
2. *M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 59.

that disaster, Vijayanagara "had such great traffic going through its streets that it was beyond imagination, and that there dwelt in it very rich people not as rich as the people of our country but as Cresus and other rich of days gone by. Large quantities of goods that came from our possessions via Alexandria and Soria were then consumed, and all the cloths and linen, which were made in such a large quantity, could be disposed of there. The traffic was so great that the road going from here (Goa) to that town was always as crowded as the roads leading to a fair, and the profit was so sure that the only trouble was to bring the goods there. Anything that was carried there by the merchants after a fortnight of walking, was sold there with a profit of 25 or 30 per cent. Besides they came back with other merchandise, and what a merchandise! diamonds, rubies, pearls. In these things the profit was even greater[1]. And finally the tax on the horses that came from Persia to go to that kingdom yielded in this town a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty thousand ducats"[1].

There were always Portuguese merchants at Vijayanagara. Frederick says that they used "to sleepe in the streets, or under Porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they never had any harme in the night"[2]. The same traveller gives a list of the different kinds of cloths and other goods that

1. A letter of Simao Botelho, Veedor de Fazenda, to the King of Portugal, dated Cochin, January 30th, 1552, confirms this information of the Italian traveller; "O visorei", says he, "detremina mandar hum aluaro mendez ourivez, que dizem que entende em pedraria, que de la veo o anno passado, a bisnaga (Vijayanagara), asi para vemder alguas joias das que se ouuerao em ceilao, por non serem pera mandar a Rainha nosa senhora, segundo a todos qua pareceo, e poderem se vender por muito mais em bisnaga, por serem da laya que eles muito costumao e ystimao, porque sao topazios e olhos de gato, e tambem pera do dinheiro disto se averem alguns diamaes bons pera vosa alteza: o aluaro mendez promete fazer nisto grandes servicos, e pede que lhe faca merce de feitor da pedraria; la o devem de conhecer se he ele para ysto; e avendo laa de ir alguen, milhor he portugues que estrangeiro, e comtudo ha d ir com ele hum homem honrado, e de confianza, for scripvao. *Cartas de Simao Botelho*, Lima Teiner, *Subsidios*, p. 39.

2. Purchas, o. c., p. 98.

were commonly sold at Vijayanagara by the Portuguese merchants: "The Merchandize that went every yeere from Goa to Bezeneger were Arabian Horses, Velvets, Damaskes, and Sattens, Armesine of Portugall, and pieces of China, Saffron and Scarlets: and from Bezeneger they had in Turkie for their commodities, Jewels, and Pagodies which be Ducats of gold." [1]

Of all these goods, the horses from Arabia and Persia were the merchandise most profitable to Goa, as they were absolutely necessary to the imperial army. Again the author of the life of St. Xavier mentioned above, who was a contemporary of these events, says that "this King (of Vijayanagara) is on friendly terms with the state of His Highness (the King of Portugal) on account of horses. For all the horses that are sent to his country from Ormuz pass through Goa, and as both cities belong to His Highness, he cannot get them if the Viceroy of India is not pleased; and this is the reason why all the Portuguese do safely go from Sao Thome to Goa, that is, they cross one hundred and fifty leagues, almost all of which belonging to him" [2].

1. Ibid., p. 99.
2. *M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 63.

CHAPTER V

RAMA RAYA AND THE DECCANI MUHAMMADANS

SUMMARY.—1. Policy of Rama Raya with the Muhammadans of the Deccan.—2. First encounter of Venkatadri with Ibrahim Adil Shah.—3. Bijapur and Ahmadnagar against Vijayanagara and Bidar.—4. Successful campaign of Rama Raya against Ahmadnagar.—5. Bijapur attacked by Vijayanagara, Ahmadnagar and Golkonda.—6. Capture of Kaliyani by Vijayanagara from Bidar.—7. Friendship between Rama Raya and Ibrahim Qutb Shah.—8. Last expedition of Vijayanagara and Ahmadnagar against Bijapur.—9. First campaign of Vijayanagara and Bijapur against Ahmadnagar.—10. Second campaign. Siege of Ahmadnagar. Depredations of the Hindus in Muhammadan territories.—11. Rama Raya's intervention against the pretensions of Abdulla Adil Shah to the throne of Bijapur.—12. End of the friendship between Rama Raya and Ibrahim Qutb Shah.—13. Rebellion of the Naigwaris against the Sultan of Golkonda fostered by Rama Raya.—14. Concerted plans of the Muhammadans against Vijayanagara. Rama Raya's preparations.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Ferishta, Anonymous Chronicler of Golkonda, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*.—2. Couto, Faria y Sousa, Souza.—3. *Ramarajiyamu, Vasucharitramu, Annals of Hande Anantapuram.*

THE policy of Rama Raya in his relations with the Deccani Muhammadans was that of a shrewd diplomatist of the modern type. He always tried to keep his opponents divided so as to weaken their power. To attain this, he used to ally himself now with one, now with another sovereign, for the purpose of waging war against the rest; so that during the twenty three years of his rule, he successively made war against all the Sultans of the Deccan, and always returned home victorious over the followers of the Prophet.

The *Vasucharitramu* states that "the Nizam (of Ahmadnagar), Kutupasahi (Kutb Shah of Golkonda) and the Sapada (Adil Shah of Bijapur) fled to the forests before his march" [1]. And in the *Svaramelakalanidhi* it is said that with his brothers'

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 216.

aid he 'conquered all Parasikas', that is the Muhammadans [1]. The British Museum plates of Sadasiva state that "the dust raised by his armies appears like smoke that drives away those gnats", *viz.*, the Muhammadans [2]. And probably also his wars with the Mussulmans inspired the statement of the Mangalampad grant of Venkata II that "Rama Raya had slain in battle all his enemies" [3].

2. The struggle between Vijayanagara and the Muhammadans started early in the reign of Sadasiva, almost on the very day of his coronation. Ferishta says that when Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur heard of the revolution that took place in Vijayanagara to dethrone the usurper Salakam Timma Raju, and of the subsequent election of Sadasiva as Emperor of Vijayanagara, he thought it a good opportunity, and despatched Asad Khan with the bulk of his army to reduce the important fortress of Adoni. No sooner did this news come to Vijayanagara, than Rama Raya likewise sent his brother Venkatadri with a strong force to relieve the fort, which was on the point of surrendering. On his approach Asad Khan raised the siege and moved towards him. A sharp engagement ensued and the Muhammadan general, finding that he was likely to have the worst of the action by reason of the vast superiority of the enemy, retreated in good order, followed by Venkatadri at a distance of about twenty one miles. In the evening Asad Khan encamped, and Venkatadri, with a view to obstructing further retreat, halted likewise at a distance of about eight miles. On the following day before sunrise, Asad Khan with four thousand chosen horse surprised the camp of Venkatadri, whose self-confidence had thrown him wholly off his guard against this manoeuvre. The Muhammadans penetrated the Hindu tents before the alarm was given. Venkatadri had scarcely time to make his escape, and left his treasures, family and elephants in the hands of the victors [4].

1. Ibid., p. 190.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 3.

3. Butterworth, I, p. 29, v. 16. Rama Raya's campaigns against the Muhammadans are recorded in the *Rama Raya Cheritra*. Cf. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 268.

4. This defeat is perhaps the one referred to by Correa, IV, p. 440.

At daybreak Venkatadri collected his scattered troops, and drew them up as if to give battle; but seeing Asad Khan prepared to maintain his advantage, and growing apprehensive of the consequences to his wife and children, he declined battle, and retiring some miles away, pitched his camp there. From thence he wrote to Rama Raya, told him of his disaster and requested reinforcements. The Regent at once sent supplies of men and money, and gave out his intention of carrying on the war. He privately informed his brother, at the same time, that he had reason to think Ibrahin Adil Shah had not been induced to besiege Adoni of his own accord; but that he suspected the zemindars of that quarter had urged him to make war, and that many of Venkadri's officers were likewise secretly in the enemy's interest; therefore, he finally advised him to exercise prudence, by making peace with the Mussulmans for the moment and obtaining the release of his wife and family from Asad Khan.

In consequence of this advice, and having procured the mediation and influence of Asad Khan himself by means of a heavy bribe received for this purpose from his brother Rama Raya, Venkatadri made overtures to Ibrahim Adil Shah for peace. This was at once granted. The terms of peace were settled to the satisfaction of both states. Ferishta does not specify these terms. After this, Asad Khan joined his master, the Sultan, and proceeded to Bijapur whilst Venkatadri retired to Vijayanagra after the rescue of his family [1].

3. But not long after he had reached the capital, Ibrahim Adil Shah, invited by Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, entered whole-heartedly into a confederacy with him against Bidar and Vijayanagara. It was then agreed that the Ahmadnagar Sultan should invade the country of Amir Barid Shah, and leave the Sultan of Bijapur unmolested in any attack he might choose to make on the territory of Vijayanagara. This scheme was soon carried out. Burhan Nizam Shah attacked and carried by storm the fort of Kandahar, whilst the Bidar Sultan, unaware of the secret treaty formed between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, left a strong garrison to defend Bidar and fled to his old ally Ibrahim Adil Shah, by whom he was seized and kept

1. Ferishta, III, p. 85-7.

prisoner. The Sultan of Bijapur then marched to the south to accomplish the second part of the treaty. Ferishta says that he succeeded in adding greatly to his territories by conquests from the Hindu state of Vijayanagara [1]; but we are sure there is great exaggeration in this statement, because, for one thing, we are not aware of any territorial loss to Vijayanagara about this time and, secondly, because we find Rama Raya engaged in a war with Ahmadnagar, subsequent to these events.

4. Rama Raya perhaps suspected that the real promoter of the war waged by Adil Shah was the Sultan of Ahmadnagar. Hence he left Bijapur alone and, being resolved to establish division between these two allies, marched against Burhan Nizam Shah. To reach his dominions, however, he had to cross the states of Golkonda and Bidar; so, to be prepared for any emergency, the Regent divided his army into three sections. Rama Raya took command of the section sent to attack the Sultan of Golkonda; his brother Tirumala was at the head of the troops despatched against the Sultan of Bidar; and Hande Hanumappa Nayudu of Sonnalapuram was sent with the rest of the army against Ahmadnagar [2]. The actions in this war are recorded in the Hindu poems: the capture of the city of Kaliyani, a pitched battle between the Muhammadans and the Hindus, and the sack and destruction of the city of Ahmadnagar. The *Vasucharitramu* does not give any information about the capture of Kaliyani, which belonged to the Sultan of Ahmadnagar [3]; but the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* give a short but precise account of the battle. It seems that the three sections of the army were again united that day, while the three Sultans had likewise joined their forces. The battle resulted in a tremendous defeat for the allies; the three Sultans fled from the battle-field after seeing the rout of their troops, while the Hindu army followed in

1. Ferishta, III, p. 387.

2. It is evident from the sources that we shall refer to that the object of the campaign was the defeat of the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, the war against the other two Sultans being a necessary means to reach Ahmadnagar state.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 216.

pursuit in the course of which Hande Hanumappa Nayudu took Burhan Nizam Shah prisoner [1]. After such a disaster the city of Ahmadnagar could not resist the might of the victorious army. It was probably then that Rama Raya captured the capital of the Nizam Sultans, razed it to the ground and sowed castor seeds there, a fact recorded in the *Ramarajiyamu* [2]. On account of this victory, Rama Raya is given in the same poem the title of 'Destroyer of the fortifications of Ahmadnagar' [3].

After this Burhan Nizam Shah, now in the hands of Rama Raya, was forced to repudiate his alliance with Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur [4]. This was the main object of the Regent of Vijayanagara for the time being. As a result of this, Burhan Nizam Shah was promptly set at liberty.

5. And he kept his promise to Rama Raya very faithfully; because Ferishta informs us that at the end of 1543 or in the beginning of 1544, that is shortly after these events, Burhan Nizam Shah appointed Shah Tahir ambassador to the court of Jamshid Qutb Shah of Golkonda, in order to make private overtures to induce him to form a league with Rama Raya of Vijayanagara against the state of Bijapur [5]. The pretext given by Nizam Shah was his desire to recover from Bijapur the five districts he had been compelled to relinquish to Adil Shah, probably in his previous alliance. The three princes agreed to wage war against Bijapur: Rama Raya was to attack the Bijapur territories on the South, the Sultan of Golkonda on the East, while Nizam Shah, with his own army and with troops of Ali Barid and Kwaja Jahan, was to invade them on the North-East. Shortly after he entered the Bijapur territory, laid waste many districts, and on more than one occasion defeated the troops of Adil Shah. In the meanwhile the Golkonda Sultan entered Bijapur on the East, seized the whole district of

1. *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, l. c.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 182.
3. Ibid., p. 183.
4. *Vasucharitramu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, p. 216. I differ from the opinion of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, who thinks that the Ibharam mentioned in the poem is Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda.
5. Ferishta, III, p. 230.

Kakni, in which he built a strong fort, occupied the whole country up to the walls of Gulburga, and laid siege to the fortress of Etgir, near the city of Sagar. Finally Rama Raya deputed his brother Venkatadri to reduce the fort of Raichur; and he defeated the Sultan near the river Bhima, and drove him from the field. This action is recorded in the *Narasabupaliyamu* [1].

The kingdom of Bijapur, thus attacked simultaneously by three powerful armies, was really at stake. Ibrahim Adil Shah at once sent for his best counsellor, Asad Khan, who was in Belgaum, and asked his advice. This experienced general suspected that the Sultan of Golkonda was the real enemy who had instigated the others to hostility; and that if he could be removed, the rest would be easy. He therefore advised that peace should be concluded with him, by resigning the five districts dependent on Sholapur—which had furnished the pretext for the war. At the same time he recommended that separate overtures should be made to Rama Raya, offering him presents to propitiate his friendship. He stated finally that when free from the attacks of these two enemies, Asad Khan would himself undertake the chastisement of Qutb Shah, and promised that in a short time he would recover all the places the Sultan of Golconda had taken from Bijapur.

Ibrahim Adil Shah acted upon this advice, and peace was concluded separately with Burhan Nizam Shah and Rama Raya. Asad Khan then marched against Jamshid Qutb Shah, who was finally defeated in a severe action under the walls of Golkonda. Such was the end of the first campaign of the allies against Bijapur [2].

But this peace did not last long. "Some time after this campaign", says Ferishta without recording the exact date, "Burhan Nizam Shah was instigated by the same Rama Raya to march for the purpose of reducing Gulbarga, and naturally Ibrahim Adil Shah moved from Bijapur to oppose him. After a campaign of several months, in which both armies lay inactive for a long period in sight of each other, with the river Bhima

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 224.
2. Ferishta, III, p. 92-4.

between them, the Nizam's army was totally routed with heavy loss" [1]. Thus the purpose of the Machiavellian policy of Rama Raya was obtained; it was to weaken the Muhammadan power by fostering wars among the Mussulman Sovereigns.

6. During the following years Vijayanagara was not engaged in war with the Muslim powers of the Deccan. But about the end of 1548 or the beginning of 1549, Burhan Nizam Shah, as soon as he was made aware of the death of Asad Khan, the great general and counsellor of the Sultan of Bijapur, despatched ambassadors to Rama Raya, inviting him to a confederacy with the purpose of making another attack on the Bijapur dominions. Rama Raya was much pleased with the proposal, so dear to his heart, and accordingly presents and professions of good will were interchanged between him and the Ahmadnagar ambassadors. News of this alliance came to the ears of Ibrahim Adil Shah, who on that account treated the ambassadors of Vijayanagara resident at his court with marked disrespect; hence they quitted his capital with great indignation, without even taking any leave [2]. On arriving at Vijayanagara, they told Rama Raya about the behaviour of Ibrahim Adil Shah after the league between Vijayanagara and Ahmadnagar; and concluded by saying that had they not made their escape, they would probably have been put to death. Rama Raya, enraged at this affront, at once wrote to the Sultan of Ahmadnagar that as Ali Barid Shah of Bidar had preferred the alliance of Ibrahim Adil Shah to his, it would be desirable to take from him the fort of Kaliyani which had been recovered by him after the campaign narrated above.

We have two different versions of the siege of this fortress: the narrative of Ferishta and the minute account of the Hindu poem *Sivatattvaratnakara*. But neither does Ferishta say a word concerning the deeds of Rama Raya and the Hindus

1. Ferishta, III, p. 94-5.

2. This conduct of the Bijapur Sultan was a tacit reply to the treatment given by Rama Raya to his own ambassador who went to Vijayanagara for the tribute requested by Adil Shah, Correa IV, p. 601, relates that the Muslim ambassador was stoned to death by order of Rama Raya.

during this action, nor does the Hindu writer even mention the part taken in the capture of the fort by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar [1]. From both accounts we shall presently draw conclusions.

Both allies moved without delay towards Kaliyani. Burhan Nizam Shah was at the head of his troops; while Rama Raya, being unable for the present to command his own army, placed it under Sadasiva Nayaka, the Ikeri ruler. The Sultan of Bijapur sent his army against the Hindus to oppose their entry into his territory; but Ibrahim Adil Shah's forces were defeated and driven from the field by the valour of Sadasiva Nayaka, who captured the valuable spoils of the enemy's army. It seems that after this battle Rama Raya met his troops, and under the two chiefs, the Vijayanagara army proceeded towards Kaliyani.

The allies met under the walls of this fortress and, having surrounded it, effectually cut off all comunications from without. Ibrahim Adil Shah himself then marched to relieve it and, advancing within sight of the allies, pitched his camp and entrenched himself. The allies, unwilling to raise the siege, also fortified their lines. The Bijapur Maratha horse were employed to block the roads leading to the allies' camp and to cut off their supplies; and they were so successful that they caused the greatest distress, through want of provisions to the Vijayanagara and Ahmadnagar troops. A council of the nobles of the allied armies was held at this stage. Some of them proposed to raise the siege, and that they should retreat and make peace; while others recommended a sudden and vigorous attack on the enemy. Ferishta mentions two Muhammadans who supported this opinion, Shah Jafar and Qasim Beg; and we are sure that Sadasiva Nayaka was one of the Hindus who sided with them—encouraged as he was by the victory he had obtained

1. It is very strange of Ferishta to say that Rama Raya was invited to this war by Burhan Shah, and to record their mutual agreement, and yet not speak at all of the Hindu chief while relating the happenings of the campaign; this shows Ferishta's hatred towards the Hindus. After a careful examination of both sources, it is evident that these two different accounts need reconciling.

a few days earlier over the Bijapur army. The latter opinion prevailed. The allies surprised at dawn the army of Ibrahim Adil Shah. The Sultan himself, who was then in a warm bath, had scarcely time to make his escape, and to fly towards Bir and Parenda; while his troops were so completely surprised that they deserted their tents, baggage and artillery, all of which fell into the hands of the victors.

At the same time an attack was made on the fortress, which surrendered without much opposition. There is no doubt that Sadasiva Nayaka greatly distinguished himself in this final attack; but the achievements narrated by the author of the Hindu poem evidently bear all the signs of a poetic episode introduced to extol the figure of the old ancestor of the poet's chief. [1]. The capture of the city of Kaliyani by Rama Raya is recorded, without of course mentioning the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, in the Padmaneri grant of Venkata II [2]; and in the *Ramarajiyumu*, the glorious Regent of the Vijayanagara Empire is given the titles of 'capturer of the fort of Kaliyani' [3] and 'ruler of the city of Kaliyani' [4]; from which we may conclude that Rama Raya remained in possession of the captured fortress.

7. In the following year, 1550, a sudden event took place that influenced for several years the relations between Rama Raya and the Deccani kingdoms. Jamshid Qutb Shah, the Sultan of Golkonda, had been for two years in a failing state of health. On this account his temper grew worse, his disposition become morose, and he put many persons to death on the most trivial charges. His cruelty excited the terror of his subjects; his two brothers, Haidar Khan and Ibrahim, fled to Bidar, where Haidar Khan, the eldest, died shortly after.

It happened that not long after the demise of Haidar Khan, somewhat before 1550, the Sultan of Bidar, Qasim Barid Shah, was engaged in a war with the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and

1. Ferishta, III, p. 233-5 and 102-3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 195.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 293.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 183.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 182.

Golkonda; and while in retreat before the advance of his enemies, he took advantage of the situation of Prince Ibrahim, but so far forgot the rights of hospitality as to attempt to seize the elephants and private property belonging to that Prince. The latter, discovering his intention, immediately left him, retreated to Vijayanagara and claimed the friendship of Rama Raya.

When Ibrahim reached Vijayanagara he was accompanied by Syud Hye, by an Abyssinian called Raihan, who bore the title of Hamid Khan, by a Brahmin named Kanaji, and by a few personal attendants. The Prince was received in Vijayanagara according to his rank, and treated with the utmost respect and attention. Rama Raya, whose power had at this time considerably increased by reason of the imprisonment of Sadasiva, realized at once that his friendship with the brother of the Sultan of Golkonda could be employed as a valuable means for attaining his political aims. Hence he assigned for the support of the Prince an estate, which was at that time possessed by Ambar Khan the Abyssinian, an officer in Rama Raya's pay. And this was precisely the cause of a singular duel, in which Ibrahim showed what a skilful swordsman he was.

It would appear that Ambar Khan, much enraged at the alienation of his estate, once met Prince Ibrahim in the streets of Vijayanagara and charged him with depriving him of it. Ibrahim replied that monarchs were at liberty to dispose of their own property, and that Rama Raya had chosen to give him the estate. The Prince proceeded on his way, whereupon the Abyssinian called him a coward for refusing to dispute his title with the sword. Ibrahim Qutb Shah warned him of his imprudence; but the Prince's coolness only added fury to the anger of Ambar Khan, who proceeded to abuse him all the more. At this the Prince dismounted and drew; the Abyssinian rushed upon him; but Ibrahim killed his antagonist. The latter's brother, standing by, insisted on taking up the cause, and he also fell a victim to his temerity. [1].

1. The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda instances another duel of Ibrahim Qutb Shah in the streets of Vijayanagara. Cf. Ferishta, III, p. 382. Perhaps both facts are the same, although some of the circumstances vary.

In the year 1550 Jamshid Qutb Shah died; and the nobles of the court elevated his son Subhan Kuli, a tender child [1], to the throne, under the regency of Saif Khan Ain-ul-Mulk, at the request of his mother the Dowager-queen. The nobles however were not pleased with the appointment of the Protector, a man who had been exiled to Ahmadnagar by the late Sultan. They finally became so obstreperous that Mustafa Khan, the Prime Minister, immediately wrote to Ibrahim Qutb Shah at Vijayanagara, inviting him to court. On receipt of this letter his two friends in adversity, Syud Hye and Hamid Khan, advised him to proceed instantly to the capital and proclaim himself king. He also consulted his friend Rama Raya, who not only acceded to Ibrahim's wishes, but even offered to send his brother Venkatadri with ten thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry to support him [2]. Ferishta says that Syud Hye and Hamid Khan advised the Prince to decline this large force, which might in his name effect anything to favour the views of Rama Raya, even the usurpation of Government, if it chose. But the *Narasabupaliyamu* states openly that Rama Raya 'helped him (Qutb Mulk, viz., Ibrahim Qutb Shah) to get back his lost kingdom' [3]. Knowing the tendency of Ferishta, we are inclined to believe that the Qutb Prince left Vijayanagara accompanied by Venkatadri's forces [4]; during the journey he was advised by his friends to dismiss the Hindu troops and he actually did so; perhaps on reaching the town of Pangul, where he was met by Mustafa Khan on whom he bestowed the office of Mir Jumla

1. Ferishta says he was ten years old, but according to the anonymous chronicler he was seven.

2. We cannot admit the story of Ferishta who says that in the beginning Rama Raya "would by no means consent to his quitting his service to set up vague pretensions (as he termed them) to the throne of Golkonda." Such a statement disagrees with the character and policy of Rama Raya and with the subsequent events.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 224.

4. The emphasis of Ferishta on this point is striking: "The Prince Ibrahim, therefore, having left Vijayanagara *without any Hindu auxiliaries* proceeded" etc. This emphasis strengthens my doubt as to his veracity in the matter.

and a dress of honour. Here he was shortly after joined by Salabat Khan, with three thousand foreign cavalry and many other officers who now deserted the infant King. On his arrival at Golkonda, Ibrahim Qutb Shah was enthroned without opposition; in consequence—says Ferishta—of the extreme popularity of his minister Mustafa Khan [1].

8. After the last campaign of Vijayanagara and Ahmadnagar against Bijapur, apparently no peace was established; for as a matter of fact, by the end of the same year 1551 the Sultan of Bijapur began to make preparations for retaking the fort of Kaliyani. Burhan Nizam Shah, on receiving intimation of this design, sent ambassadors to Rama Raya, who agreed to meet him in the vicinity of Raichur in order to concert a plan of operations for the ensuing year. Rama Raya accordingly moved with a considerable force to that place, where it was resolved that the forts of Raichur and Mudgal should be conquered for Rama Raya, and that he should aid in reducing the city and dependencies of Sholapur and the town of Gulbarga. The allies took Raichur; and on its falling into their hands, the garrison of Mudgal also surrendered without opposition. Then Rama Raya left his younger brother Venkatadri with an army to assist Burhan Nizam Shah, and returned to Vijayanagara. The Sultan of Ahmadnagar, with Venkatadri's aid, captured Sholapur in a short time, and having strengthened it returned to his capital. Ferishta, in the history of the Sultans of Bijapur, makes no mention of the purpose of the allies in conquering Gulbarga; but in the history of the Sultans of Ahmadnagar he states that Nizam Shah could not conquer the city, because he was abandoned by his Hindu ally. Possibly some misunderstanding arose between the Sultan and Venkatadri. The latter having left for Vijayanagara, Nizam Shah could not accomplish his desires, and as he died shortly after, his successor, Husain Nizam Shah, concluded peace with Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur [2].

1. Ferishta, III, p. 327-9; Anonymous chronicler, Ferishta l. c., p. 380-3 and 392; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 4-5.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 104-5 and 235; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 78.

In one of these campaigns with Ahmadnagar, Rama Raya captured the fortress of Turkal [1]. This was the last expedition in which Rama Raya joined the Sultan of Ahmadnagar against the Sultan of Bijapur. On account of all these campaigns he is said, in the *Narasabupaliyamu*, to have helped the Sultan of Ahmadnagar [2]; and in the *Ramarajiyamu*, he is called 'the terror of the city of Bijapur' [3]. But we shall presently see the Regent of Vijayanagara in close alliance with the Sultan of Bijapur against the Sultan of Golkonda.

9. This happened in the year 1555, when the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, Husain Nizam Shah, and the Sultan of Golkonda, Ibrahim Qutb Shah, met in the vicinity of Gulbarga, and Kutb Shah promised to aid the army of Ahmadnagar in capturing that fort. "The fort of Gulbarga", says Ali ibn Aziz, "although built on the plain, is yet very strong, and is surrounded by a deep and broad ditch full of water. It is so constructed that the walls cannot be damaged by artillery, for the ground at the top of the counterscarp of the ditch rises so high that all shot fly above the walls; while the depth of the ditch and the fact that is always full of water prevent running." The old Bahmani capital was accordingly besieged after a while, but it resisted every effort of the allies for a whole month. Then at last, after two breaches had been effected, an assault was made in which, after the loss of many of the best officers of the Ahmadnagar army, the allies were repulsed. "The fighting before the fortress and in the breaches continued not only throughout the day, but for a whole month more. At length the garrison were reduced to great straits; and having no more strength to fight, sent a messenger to Adil Shah setting forth their desperate circumstances." The Sultan of Bijapur, to whom Gulbarga belonged, unable any longer to cope single-handed with the united forces of the allies, sent an ambassador with magnificent presents to Vijayanagara, to beg the aid of Rama Raya, who immediately marched in person at the head of his

1. Ferishta, III, p. 135.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 224.
3. Ibid., p. 182.

army to the assistance of Ibrahim Adil Shah. On the way he addressed the following letter to Ibrahim Qutb Shah, preserved for us by the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, who perhaps saw the original in the archives of the court:—

"Be it known to Your Majesty, that it is now many years since the two courts of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar have been in constant state of warfare; and that the balance of power between them was so equal, that although every year each of these Sovereigns had been in the habit making a campaign on the other's frontiers, yet no advantage accrued to either. It now appears that Your Majesty (whose ancestors never interfered in these disputes) has marched an army to turn the scale in favour of Husein Nizam Shah without having any cause of enmity against Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, who has accordingly sought our alliance. As a friendship has long subsisted between our court and Your Majesty, we have thought fit to lay these arguments before you, to induce you to relinquish the offensive alliance which Your Majesty has formed; and by returning peaceably to your capital, show a friendly disposition towards both parties, who will afterwards conclude a peace, and put an end to this long protracted war."

Such was the letter of Rama Raya to his old friend and protégé, Ibrahim Qutb Shah, who also received letters from Ibrahim Adil Shah himself at the same time. "The letter and the news of Sadasiva Raya's (Rama Raya's) approach," says the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, "reached Ibrahim Qutb Shah at the same time." Then he heard also that Tirumala, the brother of Rama Raya, with a body of cavalry accompanied by some of the Bijapur officers, was laying waste the Pangal district. Accordingly the above mentioned work states that Ibrahim Qutb Shah at once violated the solemn treaty with Husain Nizam Shah and left Gulbarga for Telingana in the middle of the night. The news of his flight was brought to Husain Nizam Shah in the morning...[who] perceived that it would be unwise to tarry any longer and so marched to Ahmadnagar" [1].

1. Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, Ferishta, III, p. 396-7; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 101-2. The account of the flight of Ibrahim Qutb given in the work seems more reliable than the

After this, Rama Raya again helped the Sultan of Bijapur by sending him his brother Venkatadri with a considerable force to expel from the Bijapur territory Ain-ul-Mulk, who had rebelled against the Sultan. This chief was thoroughly defeated and, having fled to Ahmadnagar, was put to death by Husain Nizam Shah [1].

10. Shortly after this meeting, in the year 1557, Ibrahim Adil Shah died and was succeeded by his son Ali Adil Shah, then a youth. The new monarch, intent on adding to his dominions and repairing the losses sustained by his father, entered into close alliance with Rama Raya. But it happened that Husain Nizam Shah, suddenly taking advantage of the youthfulness of the Bijapur Sultan, invaded his dominions with a great force. Ali Adil Shah, unable to defend himself, evacuated his capital and, attended only by a small body-guard of one hundred horse, proceeded in person to the court of Vijayanagara.

It is mentioned by Ferishta that about this time Rama Raya had lost one of his sons; and that the young Sultan of Bijapur took the opportunity of offering him his condolence in person, thus hoping to get immediate reinforcements to oppose the victorious army of Ahmadnagar. Rama Raya received him with the greatest respect. The Sultan "with the kindest persuasion," says Ferishta, "prevailed upon him to lay aside his mourning." The wife of Rama Raya, on this occasion, adopted the Sultan as her son; and at the end of three days spent in an interchange of friendly professions and presents, Rama Raya was induced to march with his whole army, accompanied by Ali Adil Shah, towards Ahmadnagar [2]. They at once invaded the territory of Nizam Shah, "with an army more numerous than the raindrops," says the *Burhan-*

narrative of the Golkonda chronicler evidently concocted to please the Sultan.

1. Ferishta, l. c., p. 110-1.

2. Ferishta relates that Ali Adil Shah left Vijayanagara alone and that Rama Raya did not attend him out of the city, for which the Sultan of Bijapur was offended and treasured up the affront in his mind. This is evidently a slandering statement of the Muhammadan writer against the Hindu chief, whose subsequent conduct cannot satisfactorily be explained if we grant the truth of

i-Ma'asir. They laid waste the invaded kingdom so thoroughly that for miles not a vestige of population was left. Husain Nizam Shah, declining any opposition in the field, retired to Paithan ; and after some time, purchased peace by giving the fort of Kaliyani to Ali Adil Shah. Nevertheless Sadasiva Nayaka, one of the chief officers of the army of Vijayanagara, seems to have once been severely defeated by the Ahmadnagar army.

Now the allies had no sooner retired from Ahmadnagar than Husain Nizam Shah entered into an alliance with Ibrahim Qutb Shah, and marched to retake the fort he had just surrendered. Ali Adil Shah, on receiving intelligence of this league, again despatched Kishwur Khan and Abu Turab to Vijayanagara to solicit aid from Rama Raya, who marched at once ' with a mighty army ' to join the Bijapur Sultan. Then the two Sovereigns sent a letter to Ibrahim Qutb Shah, calling upon him in pursuance of the late treaty to join them. Ibrahim Qutb Shah, however unwilling to act against Husain Nizam Shah, considered it politic not to incur the imputation of a breach of treaty, and thus perhaps draw on himself the vengeance of the allies. He accordingly joined them at the city of Gulbarga ; when the whole army including Ali Barid Shah, the Bidar Sultan, who had also joined the allies, marched to Ahmadnagar. The Vijayanagara troops laid waste all the towns and villages on their route. Husain Nizam Shah, unable to resist their united forces left a strong garrison and plenty of provisions in his capital and retired to Junar [1]. In the meantime, Ibrahim Qutb Shah wrote to him privately, informing him of the political necessity which had induced him to join the allies ; but at the same time he assured him that he would endeavour to assist him, and would do all in his power to induce his enemies to

this statement. The *Narasabupaliyamu* states that Rama Raya left his kingdom to Adil Shah on his agreeing to pay him tribute. This information probably refers to this occasion. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 224.

1. The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda says that Husain retreated to Daulatabad. I prefer the authority of both Ferishta and Ali ibn Aziz, who wrote their works in Ahmadnagar itself.

retreat and abandon the war. He also made the same communications to the officer commanding the fort of Ahmadnagar, advising him to make every possible resistance, and to hold out till the last. The allies besieged the place with vigour for two months. The garrison were beginning to lose their spirits, when Ibrahim Qutb Shah with seasonable donations bought over some of the principal nobles of Vijayanagara and induced them to propose the return of the troops to their respective capitals; specially now that the rainy season was approaching and they were very far from Vijayanagara. Rama Raya, convinced of the truth of their remonstrances, consented to retreat; but Ali Adil Shah, who knew that the besieged were suffering from lack of provisions, had a conference with Rama Raya, and begged him not to think of withdrawing till the place fell. He promised to cede to him the district of Indgy if he would only continue the siege for a month longer. Ferishta states that the Sultan of Bijapur 'suspected the causes of the obstinacy of the besieged.' Rama Raya consented. The siege was prosecuted with redoubled vigour. Meanwhile Ibrahim Qutb Shah permitted supplies for the garrison and a number of artillery-men from Ahmadnagar to pass through his camp into the fort. But the approaches of the allies were brought closer to the walls, and the speedy reduction of the fort appeared so certain that Ibrahim Qutb Shah was induced to try, if possible, to avert that extreme evil. He accordingly deputed his minister and commander-in-chief, Mustafa Khan, to wait on Rama Raya, and to endeavour to persuade him to raise the siege; if he did not succed in this, he was to inform him that the Golkonda troops had to return immediately to their capital. Mustafa Khan in his conference with Rama Raya made use of every argument he could devise in order to gain his end. He also engaged secretly, on behalf of the king his master, to cede the fort and district of Condapilli to Rama Raya, if the latter would return to his capital. This last motive was perhaps the most weighty. For Rama Raya immediately consented to retreat, and sent a message to Ali Adil Shah to that effect. The three Kings then retired to their respective capitals [1].

1. Ferishta, III, p. 117-22; Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, Ferishta, l. c., p. 402-5; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 104-6, 141-2.

But, in the following year 1558, the Sultan of Ahmadnagar deputed Maulana Inayatullah to Golkonda to effect a marriage-alliance with the family of Qutb Shah. It was agreed that the two Kings should meet the following year for that purpose in the neighbourhood of Kaliyani; and that after celebrating the proposed marriage, their armies should proceed to recover that fortress from the hands of Ali Adil Shah. Accordingly, at the stated period Husain Nizam Shah and Ibrahim Qutb Shah collected their respective forces, and met at Kaliyani, where the former gave his eldest daughter Bibi Jamalli in marriage to Ibrahim Qutb Shah; and after one month employed in celebrating the nuptials, the Kings laid siege to Kaliyani. Ali Adil Shah upon hearing this proceeded to Vijayanagara, and again solicited the aid of Rama Raya, who marched with his army to his support. On the road he was joined by Ali Barid Shah of Bidar and Burhan Imad Shah of Berar, who had been invited by him to enter the confederacy. In the meanwhile the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Golkonda had marched, with seven hundred pieces of ordinance of different calibres and five hundred elephants, to within twelve miles of Kaliyani. It happened that they had scarcely encamped, when a violent storm came on which blew down all the tents, the rain pouring down in torrents; cattle and heavy guns, in particular, were rendered almost useless, for the latter were immoveable in the heavy black clay on which the camp stood. At the same time, on the approach of the allies, Ibrahim Qutb Shah received intimation that Rama Raya, taking advantage of his absence, had sent his brother Venkatadri, accompanied by Jagdeo Rao and Ain-ul-Mulk, at the head of fifteen thousand cavalry and thirty thousand infantry, to invade his southern districts. On receipt of this news Ibrahim Qutb Shah consulted Husain Nizam Shah. It was resolved that they should raise the siege of Kaliyani and return to their respective capitals [1]. Husain Nizam Shah however deputed Qasim Beg and Maulana Inayatullah to Rama Raya to sue for peace. This was granted on the following conditions :—

1. Ferishta here relates another siege of Ahmadnagar, but as the anonymous chronicler does not say a word about such a siege

III. Rama Raya of Vijayanagara.

(By kind permission of the Curator, Art Section, Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay.)

First, that he should cede the fortress of Kaliyani to Ali Adil Shah.

Secondly, that he should put to death Jahangir Khan, the commander of the auxiliary troops of Duria Imadul-Mulk, who had been extremely active against the enemy.

Thirdly, that Husain Nizam Shah should submit to pay Rama Raya a visit and to receive a pan or aromatic leaf from his hands in token of the superiority of the donor.

The Sultan of Ahmadnagar, to save his kingdom, accepted the terms, and fulfilled the second article by employing a band of assassins to put to death Jahangir Khan in his tent. "Thus," Ferishta says, " at the instigation of an infidel he murdered one of the faithful, and verified the proverb, that 'there is no faith in princes." Then he proceeded to the camp of Rama Raya, who rose on his entering his tent and took him by the hand. Husain Nizam Shah, who was very haughty, called for a basin and ewer and washed his hands as if they had been polluted by the touch of the Hindu Sovereign; who, according to Ferishta, on seeing that said in his own language: " If he were not my guest, I would cut off his hands and hang them round his neck"; and calling for water he also washed his hands; and such was the bad feeling which prevailed that a tumult nearly occurred on the spot. The treaty of peace was concluded by Qasim Beg and Maulana Inayatullah on the part of Ahmadnagar and by Tirumala and Venkatadri on the part of Vijayanagara.

Ferishta relates that during these two expeditions of the Vijayanagara army through the territories of Ahmadnagar, the religious feelings of the Muhammadans were much excited on account of the damage done by the Hindu soldiers to their mosques and sacred objects. " The infidels of Vijayanagara,"

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during this second campaign, it may be a chronological mistake on the part of that author. The treaty of peace, the terms of which, as given by Ferishta, may be read somewhat lower down, must be placed after the second campaign; because neither Ferishta nor the chronicler of Golkonda speaks of any treaty at the end of the first. Moreover, such humiliating terms cannot be conceived at a time when the allies' armies were retiring from Ahmadnagar, not having captured this city.

says he, "who for many years had been wishing for such an opportunity, left no cruelty unpractised. They insulted the honour of the Mussulman women, destroyed the mosques, and did not respect even the sacred Kuran. They committed the most outrageous devastations: burning and razing the buildings, putting up their horses in the mosques, and performing their abominable idolatrous worship in the holy places" [1].

II. At about the same time, the intervention of Vijayanagara put an end to a long family dispute that had annoyed the Sultan of Bijapur. During the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah the Prince Abdullah [2], having effected his escape to Goa from the harsh treatment of his brother, was induced, by the advice of some of the nobility who attended him, to proclaim himself Sultan of Bijapur. One of those nobles was Asad Khan, the lord of the fortress of Belgaum, the most powerful subject of Adil Shah [3]. This chief entered into correspondence with the Captain of Goa, Dom Garcia, who was governing in the absence of Dom Martim Affonso de Souza, then in the South. Asad Khan offered to give to the Portuguese the whole of the Konkan that belonged to him if Garcia would dare to fetch Prince Abdullah who had retired to the kingdom of Gujarat, and set him up against the power of Ibrahim Adil Shah as the real Sultan of Bijapur. Dom Garcia was much pleased with this proposal and at once sent a lateen to Cambay, in which Abdullah with the whole of his family reached Goa some time after. He was received as a king, and entertained by the Captain in a magnificent house near the Jesuit College of St. Paul. Dom Martim Affonso de Souza reached Goa shortly after. Ibrahim Adil Shah at once

1. Ferishta, III, p. 120-1, 239-43 and 331; Anonymous chronicler, Ferishta, l. c., p. 406-7. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* does not say a word on this treaty so humiliating to the Sultan of Ahmadnagar.

2. This Prince is always called by the Portuguese Meale or Meale Khan, and they call him nephew of the Sultan. I prefer Ferishta's authority in this case.

3. Ferishta states that the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Golkonda fostered the ambition of Prince Abdulla and invited Asad Khan to join him.

despatched ambassadors to him to renew the old friendship, and to ask for the expulsion of his brother from Goa. But, at the same time Asad Khan, too, sent his messengers to the Governor and renewed his old offer. There was hot discussion on this question in the Council of State. At last it was decided not to join the cause of Abdullah, on account of the old friendship with the reigning Sultan. But Ibrahim was not fully pleased. The presence of his brother at Goa was a continuous menace to him: so he wished Abdullah to be handed over to him; but as this prince was a guest of the Portuguese State the Governor promptly refused to do so. Again the Sultan insisted, and asked that at least his brother should be sent to some distant country where he could not endanger the peace of his kingdom. The Governor then agreed and Abdullah was sent to the fort of Cananor. It was then that the Sultan of Bijapur, on August 22, 1546, declared that the territories of Salsette and Bardez should be the property of the King of Portugal for ever [1]. But Abdullah re-appeared in Goa after a while; and although the Governor promised the Sultan to send him in exile to Malaca, this was never intended.

Some years after, while Dom Pedro Mascarenhas was the Viceroy, Burhan Nizam Shah, the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, proposed to him to proclaim the unfortunate Prince at Goa Sultan of Bijapur, and to win for him the fortress of Penda. Nizam Shah was already meditating the ruin of his neighbour of Bijapur. This idea appealed to the Viceroy; and he at once ordered a majestic stage adorned with cloth of silk and gold, to be put up in the square in front of his palace. There in the presence of a great multitude of Portuguese and Goans and of many nobles of Bijapur, his partizans, he crowned with his own hands Prince Abdullah Adil Shah Sultan of Bijapur. The new King, as a mark of his thankfulness, resigned at once all his rights over the territories of Salsette and Bardez. After this ceremony, the Viceroy despatched an army of three thousand foot and two hundred horse to conquer the fort of Penda, which was then in possession of the real Sultan. The cavalry was

1. Cf. Ch. IV, No. 6.

sent first under the command of Gaspar de Mello, Captain of Goa ; the rest of the army followed, led by the five captains : Fernando Martins Freire, Martim Affonso de Miranda, Dom Fernando de Monroy, Dom Antonio de Noronha and Sebastiao de Sa. The garrison of that fortress was unable to resist for long. Its surrender was communicated to the Viceroy after some days. He went there accompanying Abdullah Adil Shah with great ceremony. The new Sultan took possession of the fort, and set out at once to conquer the whole kingdom ; leaving in the fort a detachment of six hundred men under the command of Dom Antao de Noronha, while Mascarenhas returned to Goa where he died shortly after. Dom Francisco Barreto succeeded him as Governor in 1555, and continued the policy of his predecessor towards Abdullah. The King of Portugal was much pleased on hearing this news, as he wrote to that effect to the City of Goa in a letter dated Lisbon, March 20th, 1557 [1].

In the meanwhile Abdullah, aided by the Portuguese, was advancing triumphantly towards Bijapur ; so that even in this city many of the nobles openly declared themselves partizans of the new Sultan. Ibrahim Adil Shah had already died by this time, and his son Ali Adil Shah again sent ambassadors to Rama Raya begging his protection.

The Hindu chief sent him a body of fifteen thousand soldiers, with whom Ali Adil Shah so completely defeated his rival uncle that the latter had to flee and take refuge in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. But this Sultan of Ahmadnagar, who had concluded a treaty of peace with Rama Raya and Ali Adil Shah a little before, caused Abdullah to be imprisoned in the hills of Brula. After the demise of Burhan Nizam Shah, Abdullah was given his freedom at the request of the Sultan of Golkonda, and went back to Goa where he died. In 1611 a grandson of his, who had become a Christian, was still living in the same city [2].

1. *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, Fasc. I, p. 42.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 98-100 ; Couto, V, 11, 8; Faria y Sousa, II, p 251-2, 298 and 300 ; Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p.72-7 ; Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, p.550-3. Some years before Rama Raya had requested

12. The second campaign of Vijayanagara and Bijapur against Ahmadnagar, which we have related just above, marks also the end of the friendship between Rama Raya and Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda. "Although at times they had to espouse the cause of hostile powers", says Mr. G. Yazdani, "yet, owing to their friendship and mutual regard, they refrained from fighting against each other and effected a reconciliation between the powers whom they joined" [1]. But when Rama Raya despatched his brother Venkatadri along with Jagdeo Rao and Ain-ul-Mulk to invade the southern districts of Golkonda, the old friendship was considered broken for ever. Ibrahim Qutb Shah after retiring from Kaliyani deputed Mujahid Khan with a force to oppose them. An action took place in the neighbourhood of Torkal which lasted for several days; but it was not decisive. Rama Raya at the same time sent Sida Raya Timapa, chief of Kandbir, with fifty thousand horse, against Condapilly and Masulipatam; and his son-in-law, Jotumraj, with twenty thousand horse against Dewurconda and Indraconda; while his own forces were employed in plundering the neighbourhood of Golkonda. Several skirmishes took place near the gardens of the Sultan and the village of Bijwara. Four months were occupied in these operations, till Jagdeo Rao induced the Naigwaries of Pangal, Rovilconda and Ganpura to deliver up those forts to Rama Raya. At the same time Kasi Rao made over the keys of Indraconda.

The southern territories of Golkonda were then all attacked by the allies of Rama Raya. The Raja of Kandbir attacked Kondapalli; the Setupati and Vidiadri from Raja-

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the aid of the Portuguese Viceroy for defending the rights of Prince Abdullah against the Sultan of Bijapur. Cf. Ch. IV, No. 5, note. Lafitau, *Histoire des Decouvertes*, II, p. 532-3, says that the Emperor of Vijayanagara requested by the Sultan of Bijapur offered a shelter to Prince Abdullah and his nobles. Some of these were killed and the Prince was retained as prisoner, though "traite avec la dignite qui convenoit son rang."

1. Yazdani, *Inscriptions in the Golkonda Tombs, Ep. Indo-Moslem.*, 1915-6, p. 23.

mundry attacked the fort of Ellore; Chinnapa Naidu, Raja of Venkatagiri, and his two sons Nayanappa and Timma distinguished themselves in capturing the fort of Gandikota. The Sultan thus confined to his capital resolved to march out in person and attack the confederates at Tarpalli; when a messenger most opportunely arrived from Ali Barid Shah, one of the confederates, proposing that Ibrahim should send his minister, Mustafa Khan, to camp, in order to negotiate for peace. Mustafa Khan received secret instructions to conciliate Jagdeo Rao, without whose good-will he despaired of obtaining terms. Through his means Mustafa Khan held a conference with Ali Adil Shah, and was accompanied by him to the tents of Rama Raya, who agreed with reluctance to retreat to Vijayanagara, on condition of being allowed to retain the forts of Ganpura and Pangal. The confederacy now broke up, and the allies returned to their capitals [1].

13. Ibrahim Qutb Shah then considered that his situation during the last war had been very grave. For the garrisons of all the forts in the kingdom were composed of Naigwaris; and when their chief Jagdeo Rao received the approval of Rama Raya in his rebellion against Ibrahim, they all became disloyal. The King resolved by degrees to reduce the power of the Naigwaris. His first step in this matter was the execution of Kasi Rao, one of their chiefs, who had been concerned in the late rebellion. Suria Rao, the commandant of the Naigwaris in the fort of Golkonda, discovering the Sultan's intention, entered into a plot with the chiefs of the other garrisons. It was resolved that, on a pre-arranged signal, when the King went out to hunt in the country, they were to secure all the forts, and Suria Rao was to seize the treasury of the capital and put all the Muhammadans to the sword. This plot was communicated to Rama Raya, who undertook to send a force to aid in the project.

Acordingly, when the hunting season came on, the Sultan gave orders for his troops and camp to be pitched on

1. Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, Ferishta, III, p. 407-9; *Valugutivaru Vamsavali*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 274 Cf. Vadivelu, *The Ruling Chiefs*, I, p. 490.

the plain. After some days he left Golkonda, at about two o'clock in the morning, to proceed to his camp and make his first move out. As soon as he had quitted the fort, the gates were closed, and the Naigwaris began to attack the Muslims. Two of the latter made their escape and informed the King of the circumstance. Ibrahim, on hearing this, gave orders to return to the capital and to attack the fort with the troops that were with him. The mutineers, at daylight, seeing the whole of the army around the fort, appeared upon the ramparts. They said they were willing to return to their duty if the King would give up his minister, Mustafa Khan, whom they accused of maltreating the Naigwaris of the out-garrisons ever since his accession to power: they added they were afraid that the same treatment might fall to their own lot. The King sent for Mustafa Khan, and related to him the state of affairs brought on during his administration. The minister replied that, if the Sultan thought his death necessary for the good of the state, he was ready to surrender himself into the hands of the mutineers. Ibrahim then refused to accede to the demand of the Naigwaris, who after some days, with Suria Rao at their head, were compelled to give in. Every one of them was executed, as an example to the disaffected Naigwaris in the other garrisons [1].

14. All these expeditions and depredations of Rama Raya against the Muhammadan kingdoms, although they occasionally were temporary allies of his, finally caused every one of the Deccani Sovereigns to join in a common alliance to put an end to the unbearable arrogance of the Hindu Monarch. Such was the origin of the confederacy of all the Muhammadans of the Deccan against the Hindu Empire. The result was the so-called battle of Talikota, a battle that had such a dire influence on the future of Vijayanagara. We shall relate all these events in one of the following chapters.

Rama Raya, however, was not blind in his arrogance. He had long foreseen a future attack of the Muhammadan powers on his capital. In order to repulse this danger, early in the first year of the reign of Sadasiva he had constructed another

1. Ferishta, III, p. 409-11.

bastion in the walls of Vijayanagara under the superintendence of Era Krishnappa Nayaka, the head of the Belur family, who obtained the title of bearer of Sadasiva's betel-bag [1]. Moreover he had fortified the hills of the northern frontier in the Bellary and Cuddapah Districts, by erecting new forts and repairing the old ones built in the time of Krishna Deva Raya [2]. But all these preparations proved useless before the terrible onslaught of combined Muhammadan power.

1. *M. A. D. 1920*, p. 38.
2. Cf. Gribble, *Manual of Cuddapah*, p. 87.

CHAPTER VI

EARLY TELUGU INVASIONS INTO THE SOUTH

SUMMARY.—1. Muhammadan conquest of Madura.—2. Vira Ballala III's war against the Muhammadans.—3. Foundation of Vijayanagara. Reconquest of Madura by Kumara Campana.—4. Restoration of the Pandyas. Expeditions of Harihara II.—5. Lakkana and Madana instal the Pandya heirs on the Madura throne.—6. Campaign of Narasa Nayaka.—7. Krishna Deva Raya's conquests in the south.—8. The King of Travancore invades the Pandya country.—9. Achyuta's expedition against Travancore.—10. Results of this campaign.—11. The Paravas of the Fishery Coast put themselves under Portuguese protection.—12. Nagama Nayaka and his son Visvanatha Nayaka.—13. Visvanatha's first Viceroyalty in Madura.—14. Nagama Nayaka's campaign against Vira Sekhara Chola.—15. Visvanatha reinstates Chandra Sekhara Pandya on the throne of Madura.—16. Second Viceroyalty of Visvanatha in Madura.—17. Visvanatha Nayaka appointed King of Madura.

Contemporary Sources.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. *Pandyan Chronicle; Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra; Mrtyunjaya MSS.; Supplementary MSS.; History of the Karnataka Governors; The Royal Line of the Karnataka Princes; Description of the Karnataka Lords.* 3. Amir Khusru, *Tarikh-i-Alai;* Travels of Ibn Batuta. 4. St. Francis Xavier's letters.—5. Nuniz's Chronicle; Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado;* Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*; Nieuhoff, *Travels.*—6. *Jaimini Bharatamu; Saluvabhyudayam; Ramabhyudaya; Achyutarayabhyudayam; Varadambika—Parinayam.*

IN reviewing the history of the Telugu domination over the South of India, the climax of which was reached during the fourth Dynasty of Vijayanagara, it is now opportune to give a brief account of the early Telugu expeditions into the southern dominions, which will enable us to understand better the subsequent military exploits of the Aravidu Emperors and their subordinate Telugu chiefs in those regions.

The city of Madura, which was the capital of the kingdom of the Pandyas several centuries before the Christian Era, had

fallen into the hands of the Muhammadans in the beginning of the 14th century. In or about 1310, the Sultan of Delhi, Alau-d-din Khilji, sent an expedition to the South under the command of his Minister Malik Kafur, at the request of Sundara Pandya who had been driven from his kingdom by his rival half brother Vira Pandya [1]. When Malik Kafur arrived at the city of Madura, he found it empty. Vira Pandya had abandoned it on hearing of the approach of the Muslim army [2]. It seems however that Malik Kafur set out from Madura in pursuit, and at last succeeded in capturing Vira; for the *Pandyan Chronicle* and the *Supplementary MSS.* say that Paracrama-Pandyon-dever (Vira Pandya) was seized by the Muhammadans and sent to Delhi [3]. The Muhammadan historian says that after some months, Malik Kafur accompanied by his army returned to Delhi with all the plunder [4]. But we are sure that part of the military garrison remained in Madura; as the *Pandyan Chronicle* states that three years after the conquest of Malik Kafur, "all things were conducted in the Muhammadan manner; men were in dread of showing themselves to each other; all things were in strife and disorder". Subsequently several Muhammadan governors are mentioned [5].

We may take it, however, that the native rulers of the South, some years later, defeated the Muslim usurpers [6]. For Ferishta informs us that in the year A. H. 727, corresponding to our 1327, the Sultan of Delhi, Muhammad Tughlak, "subdued the whole of the Karnatik both in length and breadth, even to the shore of the sea of Oman", that is the Indian Ocean [7]. But it seems that the Muhammadan general who led this

1. Amir Khusru, *Tarikh-i Alai*, Ellioit, III, p. 88.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

3. *Pandyan Chronicle*, Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I, p. 33; *Supplemnetary MSS.*, Ibid, p. 203.

4. Elliot, l. c.

5. *Pandyan Chronile*, l. c.

6. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, in his *Introduction* to R. Sathyanatha Aiyar's *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, p. 5, mentions a "temporary turning out of the Muhammadan garrison by the Malabar ruler, Ravi Varman Kulasekhara, in 1316."

7. Ferishta, I, p. 413.

expedition into the south, knowing the difficulties of the Sultan in the North, broke allegiance with the Sovereign and declared himself independent Sultan of Ma'bar. Ibn Batuta only says that " those parts (Ma'bar) were seized by the Sherif, Jalal-ud-din Hasan Shah " [1]. We are told that this happened when he killed the lieutenants and agents of his sovereign, and struck gold and silver coins bearing his own name [2]. Now the earliest date of the coins of Jalal-ud-din is 1335, while coins of Muhammad Tughlak have been found in Madura bearing the dates of 1330, 1333 and 1334. We may conclude from these dates that the rebellion of the Sherif of Madura took place at the end of 1334 or in 1335. Ibn Batuta, who was the brother-in-law of the first Madura Sultan, states that Jalal-ud-din Hasan Shah reigned for five years. Before his death he appointed one of his Amirs, Alai-ud-din, as his successor, who was, however, soon after accidently killed by an arrow during a sally. He was succeeded by Qutb-ud-din, his brother's son; but he too was killed, in consequence of his bad conduct. Then another Amir of Jalal-ud-din was elected named Ghiath-ud-din, who married a daughter of the same Jalal-ud-din [3].

2. The Muhammadan conquest of Madura naturally had very bad consequences for the Hindu population. *The Pandyan Chronicle* says that " the proper tutelary god of Madura went into the Malayalam country. Then the wall of the temple, the fourteen towers on it, and the streets inside were destroyed. The shrine of the god, the small choultry and the great choultry escaped" [4].

The old Pandya rulers, enfeebled by previous internal disensions, were unable to resist the fanatical power of the Muslims. But there was another Hindu Monarch in the South who ventured to uproot the followers of the Prophet from the soil; and although he did not succeed himself, yet he paved the

1. Defremery, *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah*, IV, p. 189.

2. Elliot, III, p. 618. There is one of these coins in the British Museum.

3. Defremery, l. c.

4. *Pandyan Chronicle*, Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I, 35.

way for his successors, the Emperors of Vijayanagara, who finally obtained a triumphant victory over the Muhammadans. This monarch was the Hoysala King Vira Ballala III.

This sovereign, whose army amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men, had been at constant war against the Muslims. In one of his campaigns he even reached the southern point at Rameswaram. At the entrance of its bridge he set up a pillar of victory. [1].

Ibn Batuta speaks of one of the battles that took place at Madura between Vira Ballala and Sultan Ghiath-ud-din in 1342. This was the last battle fought by the brave Hoysala Monarch. He says that Vira Ballala made an attack on the town of Cobban[2], which belonged to the Madura Sultan and was garrisoned with six thousand soldiers. Having defeated them, he invested the town. "This was reported to the Sultan", says Ibn Batuta, "and the town was nearly lost. He then marched out with his forces amounting to seven thousand, every man of whom took off his turban and hung it upon the neck of his horse, signifying that they were bent upon death. They then made a charge upon the infidel king, while his men were taking their midday repose; and routed them thoroughly. The greater majority were killed; not one escaping except the cavalry and some of those who concealed themselves in the woods, escaping. The Sultan (*viz.* King Vira Ballala) was taken prisoner, his wealth seized, himself afterwards killed, and I saw his body hanging against a wall in the town" [3].

3. Such was the glorious end of Vira Ballala III. His rival, the Madura Sultan, died shortly after and was succeeded by his nephew Nasir-ud-din, whom Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar makes responsible for the murder of Vira Ballala [4]. We know several coins of some of his successors, during whose

1. *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mr, 82.

2. Lee. *The Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. 193, reads Kiar Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India*, p. 238, says that Cobban may be read Koppam, and identifies it with Kannanur-Koppam, a little north to Srirangam.

3. Defremery, o. c., p. 195-8.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India*, p. 186.

time the Madura Sultanate became every day more and more enfeebled. This period witnessed the separation of the southern provinces from the old kingdom of Madura. On the eastern-coast particularly the extensive districts of Ramnad and Marava had given up all allegiance both to the Pandyas and to the Muhammadans [1].

When the Hoysala Empire became extinct, as a result of this continuous fighting with the Muhammadans, five princes feudatory to that family retired northwards. They wished to oppose any Muslim invasion coming from the Deccan, in order to isolate the Muhammadans of Madura. Thus "through the influence of Vidyaranya, the Kingdom of Anaikhondi (Vijayanagara) was established" [2]. Prince Bukka, by the foundation of Vijayanagara, became "an elevator of the Hoysala Empire" [3]. This glorious event may be placed about 1340. The Vijayanagara Empire had inherited from the Hoysala Emperors the war traditions against the Madura Muhammadans, and faithfully carried them on.

One of the founders, Bukka, sent his son Kumara Kampana Odeyar towards the South in order to drive the Muhammadans from Madura [4]. We know from lithic records that this prince [5] conquered Tondai-mandalam [6], took possession of

1. Wilson, *Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pandyas*, *The Madras Journal of Literature and Sciences*, VI, p. 199.

2. *Koyilolugu*, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 323. Cf. S. Srikantaiya, *The Hoysala Empire*, *Q. J. M. S.*, VIII, p. 74; S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India*, p. 181; the same author in his *Introduction* to Sathyanatha Aiyar's *History of the Nayaks*, p. 1; Krishnamacharlu, *The Origin, Growth and Decline of the Vijayanagara Empire*, *Ind. Ant.*, LI, p. 233; H. Krishna Sastri. *The Hoysalas in the Chola Country*, *A. S. I.*, *1909-10*, p. 159.

3. *M. E. R.*, *1918*, sec. 47.

4. Sewell, p. 27, and, after him, Hemingway, *Trichinopoly Gazatteer*, p. 48, say that Bukka conquered all the kingdoms of the South: but Nuniz, whose authority Sewell refers to, only says that "he conquered many lands which, at the time of the destruction of that kingdom, remained rebellious". Sewell, p. 300. Were these lands the southern kingdoms? If so, perhaps these words of Nuniz also refer to the conquest of Kampana.

5. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, in his *Introduction* to Sathyanatha Aiyar's *History of the Nayaks*, p. 3, says that the local chronicles of Madura assign him the task of 'door-keeper of the last great Hoysala King, Vira Ballala.'

6. *Ep. Carn.*, III, Nj, 117; IV, Yl, 64, and Gu, 32. It seems that at Kanchivaram and Tiruvannamalai there are inscriptions confirming the same. Cf. Francis, *South Arcot Gazetteer*, p. 36.

the kingdom of Rajagambhira, (the Pandya kingdom) [1], and captured a portion of the Ramnad zamindari. This is stated in two inscriptions of his in the old temple of Vishnu at Tiruppullani [2]. The *Kamparayacharitam*, a historical poem written by Ganga Devi, one of the wives of Prince Kampana, informs us that, while proceeding to the South, he reduced the city of Kanchivaram, after defeating the forces of the Tamilian King Chanparaya and killing him in a duel. The poem likewise states that, in the battle with the Muhammadans previous to the capture of Madura, the Sultan ruling in the place was also killed [3]. The *Pandyan Chronicle* also gives a very interesting account of the conquest of Madura and of subsequent events. It says: "Kampanuduaver (Kampana Odeyar), a native of Karnata, having conquered the Muhammadans, took possession of the kingdom. He opened the Siva and Vishnu temples, which had been locked up. He opened the god's temple at Madura, and obtained a personal view of the god. Things were found precisely as on the day when the temple was shut; the lamp that was lighted on that day, the sandal wood powder, the garland of flowers, and the ornaments usually placed on the morning of festival days, were now found to be exactly as it is usual to find them in the evening of such festival days [4]. The general seeing this miracle was glad, struck his eyes, and with great piety made the customary offerings; he gave many villages to the temple and many jewels, and established ordinances for the regular perfomance of worship." [5].

The *Supplementary MSS.* inform us that he removed the covering of sandal paste from the images of the Siva and Vishnu temples. Since the time of the Muhammadan invasion the performance of *pujas* had been discontinued [6].

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1. 18 of 1899. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 324, and *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 289.
2. Sewell, I, p. 301 and 302.
3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 23-4; *Ramabhyudaya*, Ibid., p. 32.
4. Evidently these facts are exaggerated by the chronicler.
5. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I, p. 35-7.
6. Ibid., p. 205.

The Hindu cult was likewise restored in Srirangam as a result of Kampana's campaign. In the *Prapannamrtam* it is related that when Gopanaraya, Prince Kampana's minister [1] and Governor of Jinji, learnt of the progress of his master in the Pandya country, he went to Tirupati, took with him the idols of the god Ranganatha and of his two queens, which had been sent there from Malabar and Mysore [2], and proceeded to his own town of Jinji, where for a time he kept the idols in a rock-cut temple at Singavaram. Staying at Jinji he obtained information as to the strength of the Muhammadans, and at a favourable moment set out for Srirangam with his army. The Muslim forces were defeated by Gopana, who replaced the three images in their shrine at Srirangam, after re-consecrating the god and his two consorts [3]. Saluva Mangu, one of the ancestors of Saluva Narasimha, the founder of the second Dynasty, was also one of the generals who took part in this expedition against the South. He was an intimate friend of Prince Kampana [4].

As to the date of Kampana's expedition Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar [5] puts it prior to 1358. Certainly, if the date of the inscription referred to by the learned Professor, and those of the above mentioned inscriptions at Ramnad are correct, we must perforce assign that early date to the military exploits of the son of Bukka I. But since this is not yet proved, we cannot explain how, if he and his successors were Viceroys in Madura, the Muhammadan Sultans could have struck money in the same capital. We have coins of the last Sultan Ala-ud-din Sikandar Shah, dated A. H. 779, which

1. 250 of 1901.

2. An inscription on the Ranganatha temple at Tiruvasi states that Gopanaraya himself recovered the images of Ranganatha and his consorts from the Muhammadans. 55 of 1892.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 35-6. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, VI p. 322-3.

4. *Jaimini Bharatam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 29; *Saluvabhyudayam*, Ibid., p. 30 and p. 90; *Ramabhyudaya*, Ibid., p. 32.

5. *South India*, p. 182.

corresponds to A. D. 1377 [1]. And since we know that Kumara Kampana drove out of Madura the followers of the prophet, we think it reasonable to assign this final date for the completion of his conquest in the South [2].

After his conquests Prince Kumara fixed his residence at Madura. He ruled all over the South as a semi-independent Viceroy. We know from epigraphical records that "he was pleased to conduct the rule of the earth on a permanent throne" [3]. His prime minister Somappa is mentioned in two of his inscriptions at Melpadi [4] and at Achcharapakkam [5]. He was succeeded by his son Jammana Odeyar [6], called sometimes Embana Udeiyar [7], or Ommana Udaiyar [8]. It seems that his brother-in-law, Porkasa or Prakasa succeeded him, and he ceased to reign in 1404 [9]. During this length of time the Emperors of Vijayanagara always remained the over-lords, as a Srirangam inscription of Harihara II, dated 1379 or 1399, evidently shows [10].

4. One of the most transcendental acts of Kumara Kampana in the South was the restoration of the Pandya monarchs. He made inquiries concerning persons of their race and their respective rights. The result of these inquiries was the coronation of Soma Sekhara Pandya as the Pandya

1. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 82.

2. Mr. Rangachari, *The Life and Times of Sri-Vedanta-Desika*, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XXIV, p. 308, states that the whole conquest of the South was over in 1365. The fact that the date assigned for the restoration of the sacred images to Srirangam was 1371-2, according to a local inscription, does not prove that the conquest was finished at that time, since such a restoration could take place before the final conquest of the whole country.

3. 18 of 1899.

4. Ibid.

5. 250 of 1901.

6. Hultszch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, 72.

7. Nelson, *Madura Country*, III, p. 82.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 325. Cf. *Pandyan Chronicle*, Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I, p. 35-7.

9. Nelson, l. c., Sewell, II, p. 223.

10. 29 of 1890.

sovereign. The *Supplementary MSS.* mention fourteen of his successors until the conquest of Visvanatha Nayaka [1].

These Pandya chiefs were probably content to be dependent on Vijayanagara. They maintained a modified subordinate authority in at least a part of their dominions. But when the dynasty founded by Kampana was tottering, they began to think of independence, and actually, more than once, it seems, tried to expel from their country the officials of the Emperors of Vijayanagara. There is good evidence of a successful Pandya inroad as far as Kanchivaram in 1469 [2]. This explains the subsequent military expeditions sent by the sovereigns of Vijayanagara from time to time.

The Alampundi Plate of Virupaksha informs us that this Prince, son of Harihara II, conquered the kingdoms of Tundira, Chola and Pandya in the beginning of his father's reign and brought the booty to him [3]. And this same Prince in his poem *Narayanivilasam* calls himself the governor of the Karnata, Tundira, Chola and Pandya Mandalas, and even claims to have set up a pillar of victory in the island of Ceylon [4].

5. Two officers of the Empire were again governing in Madura during the reign of Devaraya II. Their names were Lakkana and Madana. The *Pandyan Chronicle* gives forty-seven years as the period of their governorship. In this case, the time of their rule lasted more than the reign of the aforesaid Emperor. We may take it, however, to be a mistake on the part of the *Chronicle*; since it is quite evident that the dates and especially the figures given are inaccurate. Probably Madana died before Lakkana or was deprived of his post earlier, because the *Chronicle* says that Lakkana, "having brought the children of a Pandya King by his (the King's) concubine, one Abirami, a dancing girl of the Kali temple, he crowned them, paid them homage, and delivered over the

1. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I, p. 205.
2. Cf. Hemingway, *Trichinopoly Gazetteer*, p. 49.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, p. 53, v. 6.
4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 53.

kingdom to them, they being children of the Pandya; and they reigned". Madana is not mentioned at all on the occasion of this ceremony, *viz.* the installation of the Pandya heirs on the ancestral throne by a representative of Vijayanagara. This perhaps means that their task in the South was either to subdue the country which had rebelled against the Pandyas, or to put an end to a family fight springing from a lack of legitimate offspring; for the Pandyas finally enthroned by Lakkana were the sons of a concubine. This fact would perhaps indicate that, from this time, the legitimate descent of the Pandya family was at an end. Some years later Achyuta Raya learnt from Nagama Nayaka that Chandra Sekhara Pandya, the King of Madura, who had been deposed by the Chola King, and whom he had to re-instate, also was an illegitimate heir of the Pandya kingdom[1]. The Pandyas raised by Lakkana to the throne were, according to the *Chronicle*, Suntara-tora-mavili-vanathi-rayer, Kaliyar-somanar, Anjatha-perumal and Muttara-satiru-mali-mavili-vanathi-rayer[2].

6. The expedition led about a century later by Narasa Nayaka, the founder of the third dynasty, was supposed to be against a Pandya sovereign named Manabusha. This is based on the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva. Manabusha was probably allied with a chief of Nadu-nadu, Sundarattoludaiyan Mavalivanadarayan, who was in possession of the city of Madura[3]. Narasa Nayaka was then a great general of the army of Vijayanagara. The *Varahapuranam* extols him as the generalissimo of all the forces of the Empire, and in great favour with king Saluva Narasimha[4]. But his expedition to the South was somewhat earlier, because the Pandya King Manabusha, who must be identified with Arikesari Parakrama

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1. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 320.

2. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I, p. 37.

3. Gopinatha Rao, *Inscriptions of Later Pandyas*, *T. A. S.*, I, p. 53.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 87-8.

Pandya bearing the surname of Manakavacha[1], ruled till about 1466. This date brings us up to the reign of either Mallikarjuna or Virupaksha, during which this general's glorious achievements in the South must be placed.

In the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, it is stated that the Pandya king and his confederates of the South were forced "to bear his commands (*viz.* Narasa Nayaka's) on their heads as flowers on their crowns"[2]. This clearly indicates a victory on the part of the Vijayanagara general. But the *Achyutarayabhyudayam* gives a full account of the campaign. According to it, Narasa Nayaka captured the fort of Manava (Manuva?) Durga from its Muhammadan ruler and gave it back to him. Laying a bridge across the Kaveri, he captured Srirangam and after defeating and killing the Marava ruler, finally seized the city of Madura. Then in another battle he defeated a chief called Konetiraja, who opposed him with his elephant forces,[3].

It seems certain that there were many rebellious princes in the South at or about this time. The *Varadambika-Parinayam* gives a more minute account of the campaigns of Narasa, and more than once mentions kings defeated by him. Marching across the Tondai-mandalam Narasa approached the Chola kingdom, whose king had been opposing his troops and harassing the country, then crossed to the South of the Kaveri and awaited the arrival of the enemy who prepared to fight. But in the fierce battle that ensued Narasa imprisoned the Chola chief and took possession of his capital, probably Tanjore. Then the Vijayanagara general entered the town of Madura and was presented by its sovereign with valuable articles. He proceeded to Rameswaram across the sea. This means probably that the Pandya King declared himself tributary to Vijayanagara, with-

1. Cf. Gopinatha Rao, o. c., p. 52, and *Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 330. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, in his *Introduction* to Sathyanatha Aiyar's *History of the Nayaks*, p. 7, says that the expedition took place in the period of the usurpation of Saluva Narasimha.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 340, vv. 9-11.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 108.

out opposing the army of Narasa. But before reaching Rameswaram he had to defeat and kill the Marava ruler, according to the other poem referred to above. Thence he proceeded against Seringapatam. It was easily reduced, after constructing a bridge across the Kaveri which was then in flood. The Seringapatam ruler surrrendered with all his relatives. Narasa forgave him and restored his kingdom to him [1].

These vicissitudes of the Vijayanagara power and the power of the Pandyas over the kingdom of Madura are also mentioned in the *Pandyan Chronicle*, which states that before Krishna Deva Raya "the kings who ruled over the Mathurai-mandalam were for a part of this period of the Pandya race. In some portion of it, some of the afore-mentioned kings (of Vijayanagara) expelled the Pandyas and ruled themselves. During all this" adds the same chronicle, "twice they (the Pandyas) took refuge in other villages" [2].

7. During the reign of Krishna Deva Raya we find a great expedition of this King, probably into the Tamil country. We say 'probably' because the town mentioned by Nuniz while narrating this campaign has not been hitherto identified. He narrates that, after having finished the war with the king of Orissa, Krishna Raya "made ready a large army and prepared to attack Catuir, which is the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years; this land is on the Charamandel (Coromandel) side. And he marched against it, and laid siege to one of the principal cities where the lord of the land was; and it is called....(Unfortunately there is here a blank in the original) and is surrounded with water".

"Now at the time when Crisnarao attacked this city," continues Nuniz, "it was winter, for which cause the river that surrounded it was so swollen, and carried down so much water, that the king could do no harm to the place. And King Crisnarao, seeing this, and seeing that time was passing away without his attaining his desire, commanded his men to cut many new channels in order to be able to attack that principal

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 170-1. Cf. *Pandyan Chronicle*, Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I, p. 37.

2. *Pandyan Chronicle*, Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I, p. 32.

(river) which had opposed itself to the fulfilment of his wishes. And this was done in a short time, since he had many soldiers; and after the (new) water-courses were finished and brought to where the water should go, he opened mouths in the river, the water of which very soon flowed out so that the bottom could be seen; and it was left so shallow that it enabled him to reach the walls of the city; and the river was thus diverted into fifty different beds. Inside the city were one hundred thousand foot-soldiers and three thousand cavalry, who defended themselves and fought very bravely; but this availed little to prevent Crisnarao from entering in a few days and slaughtering all of them. He found large treasures in this city, including a million and six hundred thousands pardaos in ready money, besides jewels and horses, which were numerous, and elephants. And after he had finished the capture of this land Crisnarao divided it amongst many of his captains, giving to each one what was necessary for him: and the chief who lived in the city and who was lord of the land was taken captive and carried to Bisnaga, where he died in the King's prison" [1].

The account of Nuniz is supplemented by a more recent but not less trustworthy work. In the beginning of the 19th century, Colonel William Macleod, acting Commissioner in Arcot, requested a learned man of Jinji, named Narayen, to write a history of the Karnataka country. Narayen making use of the old traditions as well as of the available documents, produced the *Karnataka Rajakal Savistara Charitram.* Section eight of this work is all devoted to the history of Jinji. There he narrates that during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya, the Jinji country was divided among several petty chiefs who did not acknowledge the authority of the emperors of Vijayanagara. In order to reduce them, Krishna Raya sent a considerable army into the Karnatik, which is said to have consisted of 100,000 men, under the command of four chiefs named Vaiyappa Nayaker, Tubaki Krishnappa Nayaker, Vijaya Raghava Nayaker and Venkatappa Nayaker. The army encamped near

1. Sewell, p. 320-2.

Vellore. No battle or attack on the fort is there mentioned but the submission of all the chiefs of the surroundings seems to point to a victory of the imperial army. Narayen says that the chief of Chittoor and other petty rulers of the Tondamandalam country had an interview with Vaiyappa Nayaker, who seems to have been the generalissimo. One of the chiefs mentioned is Bomma Reddi of Calastri. On this occasion Vaiyappa fixed their rate of tribute. From Vellore the imperial army proceeded to Jinji. Hear another meeting was held with the chiefs of the Chola mandalam, and their tribute was also settled. In the meantime, while in Jinji, he despatched the subordinate generals towards the South to levy tribute on the Pandya, Chola and Chera Kingdoms. They were respects fully received by the rulers of these kingdoms, and the tribute was paid. Krishna Deva Raya derived three crores of rupees from the eastern Karnataka. For the administration of these newly acquired dominions, he divided the whole country into three parts under three Viceroys. The first extended from Nellore to the river Colerun ; this was placed under Tubaki Krishnappa Nayaker, who fixed his capital at Jinji. The second was the fertile country washed by the Kaveri river, and was governed by Vijaya Raghava, who resided at Tanjore. Finally the third was the whole country South of the said Kaveri river, and this was assigned to Venkatappa Nayaker, who eventually settled at Madura [1].

1. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, III, p. 39. Both expeditions, the one of Nuniz and this of Narayen seem to refer to the same event, for the aim of both was the same, *viz.* the subjection of the eastern Karnatik. After both expeditions the country was divided among the generals of Krishna Raya. Moreover Catuir may be a corruption for Chittoor. Finally the first city that fell into the hands of the imperialists seems to have been, according to Narayen, Vellore. Now Sewell, p. 320, note, identifies the unnamed city captured by Krishna Deva Raya in Nuniz's chronicle with this city of Vellore: "The description of the town answers to Vellore in North Arcot, the fine old fort at which place is surrounded with a deep moat. According to tradition, this place was captured by Krishna Deva Raya from a Reddi chief". An apparent objection to the identification of these two campaigns may be the fact that the expedition mentioned by Nuniz was led by the same sovereign, who is not mentioned in Narayen's account. But if we consider that the capture of Vellore seems to have been omitted by the latter, we may also conclude that the fact of Krishna Deva Raya not being mentioned cannot afford a valid argument against our theory.

Moreover Paes says that Krishna Raya "has five kings, his subjects and vassals" [1], and Nuniz gives a fuller information; "The kings who are subject are these," says he, "besides this king of Bengapor, namely the king of Gasopa (Gersoppa) and the king of Bacanor (Barkur) and the king of Calecu (Calicut) and he of Batecala (Bhatkal) and these, when they come to the court of Bisnaga, are not held in higher esteem than any other captains, either by the king or by the other nobles" [2].

No more information concerning the south is given during the time of Krishna Deva Raya; but from a fact narrated in the beginning of the reign of Achyuta, we note that a rebellion took place in the Tamil country at the end of the reign of Krishna. This forced Achyuta to prepare a new expedition into the south on the first day after his coronation.

8. One of the subordinate governors of Krishna in the South, named Sellapa, had revolted against him. He was defeated by an imperial army, fled from his province, and took refuge in the kingdom of Travancore. What province was the one ruled by Sellapa is not quite clear; but it seems probable that Sellapa was the same ruler of the Chola kingdom whom the *Achyutarayabhyudayam* speaks of a little later on [3]. Travancore was supposed to be at this time tributary to Vijayanagara, [4]. Its king not only received the fugitive under his protection, but made an alliance with him. Both invaded the Pandya kingdom, waged war against its ruler and drove him from his ancestral dominions [5].

There had been occasional fights between Travancore

1. Sewell, p. 281.

2. Ibid., p. 374. Naturally Nuniz mentions only the king of Kanara who was in the vicinity of the Portuguese forts.

3. Canto VI, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 159.

4. Faria y Sousa, I, p. 81, while relating the history of the year 1506 says: "Aqui empieca el de Travancore, a que llamamos Grande, por ser mayor de los Malabares; y es sujeto al de Narsinga".

5. *Achyutarayabhyudayam*, canto IV, S. Krishna swami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 158-9.

and the Pandyas from the beginning of the fifteenth century. In the first half, Chera Udaya Marthanda Varma had captured all the south-eastern possessions of Travancore on the Tinnevelly side which, he said, had been taken from his predecessors by the Pandya king. This Chera Udaya often resided at Valliyur and Chera Maha Devi, in the newly conquered territories[1]. The *Balabhagavatam* records the campaign of another Raja of Travancore against the Pandya kingdom in which he was aided by Chinna Timma, a Prince of the Aravidu family who received the title of Tiruvadi Rajyasthapanacharya[2]. The monarch of Travancore who received in his territory the insurgent Sellapa and afterwards invaded the Pandyan dominions, was Bhutala Sri Vira Udaya Marthanda Varma (1494-1535) of the Tirupattur branch. He had previously exacted tribute from Ceylon, and used to keep a corps of three hundred female archers[3]. With the aid of Sellapa and taking advantage of the decease of the Emperor, which Nuniz speaks of,[4] Marthanda Varma over ran a large part of the Pandya country consisting practically of the whole present district of Tinnevelly[5]. The Tumbichchi Nayaka Kumaralinga, (1502-1535), whose rebellion is recorded in these years, probably joined the invaders against the neighbouring Pandya[6]. This unfortunate ruler was Srivallabhadeva, the son of Ahavarama[7]. He was unable to challenge the allies and retreated without giving battle to the enemy. No encounter is mentioned anywhere between these

1. Shungoonny Menon, *A History of Travancore*, p. 94 S. Parameswara Aiyar, *Travancore and Vijayanagar*, *C. C. M.*, XXII, p. 181.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 205.

3. Nagam Aiya, *Travancore Manual*, I, p. 297.

4. Sewell, p. 336.

5. Nagam Aiya, o. c., p. 295.

6. Cf. Rangachari, *The History of the Naik Kingdom*, *Ind. Ant.* XLIII, p. 189.

7. Cf. Gopinatha Rao, *Vellangudi Plates*, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 303, and *Inscriptions of Later Pandyas*, *T. A. S.*, I, p. 55-6. Rangachari, o. c. p. 190, thinks that the Pandya ruling at this time was Srivallabha's father Ahavarama.

parties. But he appealed at the same time to the Vijayanagara Emperor for help.

When this news reached the capital, Krishna Deva Raya was probably near the last days of his life, and consequently nothing was said to him. But as soon as Achyuta Raya arrived from Chandragiri and was crowned at Vijayanagara, his minister informed him of the affairs of the Empire, and reported to him the rebellion of Sellapa and the war of the Travancore sovereign against the Pandya. Achyuta Raya consequently resolved upon making war against Sellapa and king Marthanda Varma, and ordered his brother-in-law, the Mahamandalesvara Salakaraja Chinna Tirumalayyadeva-Maharaja,[1] whom he appointed generalissimo, to be ready with his army to march southwards after some days.

9. The King in person commanded the expedition. Achyuta started from Vijayanagara after a while and went straight to Chandragiri in a few days. "There he stationed his troops," says the *Achyutarayabhyudayam*, which gives a full account of this campaign, " and went to Tirupati to worship the god at the place. He presented to the god a pair of earrings, a padaka[2] and a jewelled crown, and stayed there for a few days. He then went to Kalahasti, worshipped the god at the place and gave him large grants. From there Achyuta proceeded with his army to Kanchi. There the King weighed himself against pearls, which were distributed in charity. While at Kanchi, several forest-kings (or chiefs) waited upon him with tribute and presents. Accompanied by them, he proceeded farther south and went to Arunasaila (Tiruvannamalai). After worshipping the god of the place, he entered the Chola country and, after a few days march, reached Srirangam." Achyuta Raya did not proceed further; either lured to stay there by the pious and lonely character of the place, or persuaded by the generalissimo that in subduing and capturing such a miserable rebel as Sellapa his presence was unnecessary. So the poem mentioned above tells us that the Emperor remained at

1. 51 of 1912.

2. 'A jewelled medallion hung on the necklace and worn on the breast'. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 159.

Srirangam and his army went from there southwards under the command of Salakaraja Chinna Tirumalayyadeva.

After passing the city of Madura, the imperial army encamped on the banks of the Tamraparni. Thence Salaka Chinna despatched one of his subordinate officers to march against the confederates. The Travancore King with his army advanced against him near the mountains. There a great battle was fought. Having been defeated in this battle Marthanda Varma, with the remnant of his troops, approached the general, acknowledged his own defeat, and handed over to him the fugitive Sellapa. He also made him presents of elephants and horses. The general accepted these presents on behalf of his Sovereign and, accompanied by the King of Travancore, proceeded to Trivandrum, to worship the god of the place. Hence in a few days he returned to Srirangam, where the Emperor had stayed and was spending his time in the company of poets and scholars. The general presented to him the King of Travancore and the other prisoners, and submitted to him a report of the expedition. Achyuta ordered Marthanda Varma, who had invaded the Pandya territories, to be punished, and the Pandya King to rule over his ancestral territories. Thence Achyuta returned to Vijayanagara, marching along the Kaveri and passing through Seringapatam [1].

10. The effects of this campaign greatly influenced the future of the South of India in its relations with Vijayanagara. The King of Travancore professed himself a tributary of the Emperor of Vijayanagara. We suppose this to be the punishment inflicted by Achyuta. We have this information from an inscription of Bhutala Vira Rama Varma at Suchindram in Travancore [2]. As to the Pandya King, he remained very grateful to Achyuta for restoring his old territory to him. An inscription at Kanchivaram states that, after this campaign the Emperor married a daughter of the Pa ıdya King [3].

1. *Achyutarayabhyudayam*, cantos V-X, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c.,p. 159-60.

2. 64 of 1896.

3. 49 and 50 of 1900 ; *M. E. R., 1900*, p. 27.

This shows the latter's gratitutde and his desire to cement the friendship between the Emperor and himself. With the aid of Vijayanagara, he "brought back the Pandya kingdom to its pristine glory". On account of that, in the Pudukkottai Plates of Srivalabha and Varatungarama Pandya, he is given the title of "*Pandya-rajyasthapanacharya*" that is 'establisher of the kingdom of Pandya' [1].

But he is not the only person who bears this title. Achyuta Raya himself is honoured with it in the *Achyutarayabhyudayam* [2]. The Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva also give the same title to the Nayaks of Madura [3]; most probably some of their ancestors took part in this campaign of Achyuta. But as a matter of fact, we know from other sources that Nagama Nayaka, the father of the first Nayak of Madura, was one of the generals in this campaign. It seems that he lived in Kanchivaram, while holding the military command over the Tondai-mandalam. He would therefore have been taken by Achyuta when the latter went to Travancore. For Nagama was naturally able to give first class advice, on account of his familiarity with the Tamil people and their language [4]. Nagama's son Visvanatha was also probably in the imperial army [5]. Another in the army was probably the powerful magnate called Nagappa [6].

The *Pandyan Chronicle* records that the Viceroy of Madura at the time of the expedition of Achyuta was Aiyakarai Vai-

1. *T. A. S.*, I, p. 54.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 165.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 341, vv. 46-57.
4. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 303, and *T. A. S.*, I, p. 56.
5. Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 297, vv. 58-59; Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, Ibid., p. 320; *M. E. R.*, 113 of 1988; 1905-6, App. A, copper-plate 14; 1909, p. 119. The *Tiruppanimalai* says also that Visvanatha defeated Tiruvadi in battle and compelled him to pay tribute. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 305. Gopinatha Rao, *Vellangudi Plates*, o. c., p. 303, thinks that Visvanatha was not in this campaign, but in some other later on, perhaps in that of Vitthala.
6. *M. E. R., 1900*, p. 119.

yappa [1]. Very little is known of the Madura Viceroys previous to Nagama Nayaka and Visvanatha. The *Pandyan Chronicle* gives a list of six of them from the time of Narasa Nayaka up to 1535 [2], reproduced by Nelson and Sewell [3]; the above mentioned Aiyakarai Vaiyappa appears ruling in the last period before Visvanatha's first rule, from 1530 to 1535, during which the expedition of Achyuta to Travancore took place. All seem to be Telugus excepting one, Narasa Pillai, a Tamilian, who ruled from 1515 to 1519. Pandit Subramania Sarma gives another name *viz.* Tirumal Nayaka as ruling in Madura before the re-establishment of the Pandyas by Visvanatha Nayaka [4].

11. About the same time, when Achyuta and his generals were waging war with the sovereign of Travancore in favour of the Pandya king, several events took place in the Fishery Coast that occasioned many disagreeable encounters between the Nayaks of Madura and the inhabitants of that coast. Many influential Muhammadans had retreated there after their expulsion from Madura. They had practically become the ultimate owners of the pearl fisheries. Their tyranny over the poor Paravas, who for a long time had been the sole masters, was without limit. They would not allow the Paravas to fish without their permission, and they claimed the monopoly in dealing in pearls. The oppression of the Muhammadans had excited even the quiet poor people of the coast, when in 1532 a fight between a Parava and a Muslim occurred, from which the former emerged badly wounded and with one of his ears torn.

That was an unbearable offence to the whole Parava caste; who, after some days of secret plotting, suddenly attacked the Muhammadan quarters of Tuticorin and killed a great number of Muslims. The rest had to commit themselves to their little boats and fly from the city for their lives.

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1. *Pandyan Chronicle*, Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I. p. 137
2. Ibid.
3. Sewell, p. 385, note.
4. Subramania Sarma, *A Short History of the Pandya Kingdom*, p. 7.

The revenge of the Muhammadans was terrible. They collected an army, made an alliance with all the petty rulers of the neighbourhood dependent on the Viceroy of Madura, and together advanced against Tuticorin by land and sea. The Nayaks of Bembar (Pedambur?) and Vaipar (Viranar ?), far from joining this confederacy with the Muhammadans, even defended the Paravas' territories. The poor Paravas of Tuticorin and its vicinity were pitilessly massacred on this occasion. The persecution lasted for some considerable time.

It happened that a Christian Malabarian named Joao da Cruz, who had been in Portugal as an ambassador of the Zamorin of Calicut, found himself on the Fishery Coast at this time. He advised the Paravas that since they could not expect help from the Viceroy of Madura, as the past events showed, they must go to the Portuguese Captain of Cochin who would willingly help them. Accordingly, fifteen of the most influential Paravas, whom Fr. de Sousa calls *Patengatis*, accompanied by da Cruz proceeded to Cochin. The Captain of that place was then Dr. Pero Vaz de Amaral, who received them in a very fatherly way and promised to take up arms against the Muhammadans, and to take the Paravas under the protection of the Portuguese nation on condition of their all becoming Christians. To this they gladly consented, and being instructed in the Christian faith by Fr. Miguel Vaz, Vicar General of India, who was then at Cochin, they were baptized some days after [1].

1. Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 129-30; Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 447-50; Juvencio, *Epitome Historiae Societatis Jesu*, I, p. 489; Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, p. 538; Nieuhoff, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 225 and 246. Cf. Besse, *La Mission du Madure*, p. 370; D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India*, II, p. 31. I have read in a recently published book the following: "The Paravas, the fisher-folk along the coast, were being rapidly converted to Christianity, and such conversions were interpreted as involving a change of allegiance of the inhabitants from their Indian rulers to the King of Portugal". No reference is there given to any historical source. How far it is from the truth, our narrative, based on contemporary sources shows. Nieuhoff, o. c., p. 225 says: "To shew their gratitude, they (the Paravas) received baptism immediately." He adds that 20,000 Paravas were then baptized. The right of the Portuguese

In the meanwhile a fleet came from Goa, commanded by the Governor-General, Dom Nuno da Cunha, who proceeded personally to chastise the Muhammadans. About this St. Francis Xavier wrote from Tuticorin to St. Ignatius ten years later; "When the Governor received this information, he went personally with his fleet to chase the Moors (the Muhammadans), and overtaking them, made a great slaughter. He dispersed all, and captured all their boats without exception, and even those which they had taken from the Christians of this country [1]. He gave back all these boats to the Christians. To those who had none nor means to acquire them, he handed over the boats captured from the Moors. It was certainly a great victory, and of happy remembrance. There are no Moors at all in that country at present" [2].

John Nieuhoff while relating in his *Travels* the events of

possession over the Fishery Coast proceeded from the fact that they protected from the oppression of the Muhammadans the poor folk, who were abandoned to their tyrants' hands by their rightful lord, the Nayak of Madura. Even if we suppose that the Nayak could not have defended the Paravas because he was at war with the Travancore king or with any other rebel, the right of lordship over the Paravas would still remain with the Portuguese. The Paravas had been abandoned by the Nayak of Madura and had willingly selected the Portuguese as their protectors and owners of their country. How the latter accomplished their task may be deduced from the following extract of a letter of a French Missionary of the South, Fr. P. Martin, who on the 1st of July, 1700, wrote from Caima Naiken Patty: "The freedom of trading with their neighbours, that the Paravas enjoyed under the Portuguese, was the cause of their being rich and powerful; but since they had been deprived of their protection, they have been again oppressed and reduced to an extreme proverty". Bertrand, *La Mission de Madure*, IV, p. 34. In the same letter Fr. Martin relates that the Portuguese protection was given on condition that they should become Christians.

1. When the boats were taken there were no Christians; St. Francis Xavier means those who became christians after the event.

2. From St. Francis Xavier to St. Ignatius, at Rome, Tutucurin, October 28, 1542, in *M. H. S. J.*, *Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 275.

the year 1533, says: "After all the Nayak of Madura, having found means to get possession of this country, left the Portuguese in full possession of their jurisdiction over the Paravas and of the free exercise of their religion" [7]. If this is true, the Nayaks of Madura did not fulfil such an agreement, as we shall see in the following chapter.

12. We have already mentioned Visvanatha Nayaka and his father Nagama Nayaka, and now propose to deal with them in the rest of this chapter and in the following one.

Nagama Nayaka, a descendant of the Kasyapa gotra [2], was born at Kanchivaram [3]. He had been Tosekhana Adhikari, or officer of the treasury [4], and is said to have founded a village on the hill at Tirukkachchur for the merit of the king [5]. He was much in favour with the founder of the Saluva dynasty, and was called, in two different inscriptions, "the foremost of the servants of the Saluva King Narasimha Raya" [6]. His birudas may be seen in the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva [7]. There is an inscription about him of the time of Saluva Narasimha in one of the gopurams of the temple at Virinjipuram. Another inscription at Chidambaram seems to mention him also [8].

The Kuniyur plates of Venkata III say that Visvanatha was the fruit of the severe austerities and many virtues of his father, granted by the god Visvesvara [9]. We do not know whether among these austerities we must account the traditional pilgrimage of Nagama to Benares [10]. The *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, say that Visvanatha used to accompany

1. Nieuhoff, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 246.
2. Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 254, v. 49 Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 320.
3. Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 330
4. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 319.
5. 318 of 1909.
6. Ibid and 391 of 1912..
7. 48 of 1887.
8. 331 of 1913.
9. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 254, v. 49.
10. *Mityunjaya MSS.*, Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 105.

the King in his hunting excursions when he was sixteen years of age, and relate, along with the *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra* and the *History of the Karnataka Governors*, that once he destroyed a wild bison that was advancing upon Krishna Raya, with a single stroke of his sword[1]. When already of age he was deputed by that Emperor to march against several princes of the north, who disputed their subjection as tributaries to the Emperor. The *Mrtyunjaya MSS.* say that these kings were the sovereigns of Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Casmira and Nepala, [2], which is nothing but an empty boast. They were probably the Kings of Orissa and some petty Rajas of the surroundings. Visvanatha "having successfully warred against them", says the *History of the Karnataka Governors*, "took them prisoners, appointed proper persons for the management of the conquered countries, and returned triumpantly to the Rayer, with the captives, elephants, camels, horses and all the treasure belonging to them. The Rayer was so well pleased with the bravery and success of Visvanatha, that he forthwith honoured him with distinguished tokens of approbation and favour, in bestowing on him all the banners or trophies which belonged to the refractory tributaries" [3].

13. On account of these military exploits of the young

1. *Mrtyunjaya MSS.* o. c., p. 107; *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, o. c. p. 321; *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor o. c., II, p. 7. Sewell, p. 327, note 3, says that the Nayaks of Madura "descended, so Barradas tells us, from the 'Page of the betel' of the King of Vijayanagara"; but on p. 230 referred to by Sewell, Fr. Barradas does not say anything of the kind. Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 44, relying upon Barradas's misgiven testimony, supposes that when Nuniz tells us that the "page who served the king with betel, had fifteen thousand foot and two hundred horse, but he had no elephants" he is dealing with the early career of Visvanatha. That may be so; but as far as the ancient authorities show, we cannot accept such a statement. Hence we are not able to affirm that he was present at the battle of Rachol.

2. Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 107.

3. Ibid., p. 9.

Visvanatha, he "was honoured on earth as the foremost of of great heroes". This is stated on the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III [1]. These exploits were the beginning of his illustrious career in the South as Viceroy of Vijayanagara and founder of the Nayak Dynasty of Madura. The *Maduraittalavaralaru* records three different periods of his viceroyalty [2]. According to the *Pandyan Chronicle*, Visvanatha's rule in Madura lasted two years and four months [3]. This must be a reference to the first period of his governorship; the copyist, after copying at length the first, probably forgot the other two, and passed straight to the reign of Visvanatha's successor. The other two periods must be counted within the length of 26 years assigned to him by the *History of the Karnataka Governors* [4]; thus the second period will extend from his appointment as Viceroy of Madura, after the deposition of his father, to the demise of the old Pandya, when he took royal rank. The third period will date from this, ending with the accession of his son.

As to the first period of his rule, there is no doubt that he was in charge of the government of Madura as early as 1535. This is borne out by an inscription of this year already calling him 'Visvanatha Nayaka' [5]. This inscription at Tirupattur, Ramnad, records a gift of the village of Varagunaputtur for the merit of Visvanatha Nayakkar, son of Nagama Nayakkar [6]. It seems that there were at Madura at this time, the Mavali Vanada Rayar chieftains, who had been in the country from the time of Kumara Kampana [7]. The Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, [8] and the Vellangudi plates

1. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 254, v. 49.
2. Cited by Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 46.
3. *Pandyan Chronicle*, Taylor, o. c., I, p. 38.
4. Taylor o. c., II, p. 26.
5. 113 of 1908. Rangachari, *History of the Naik Kingdom*, *Ind. Ant.*, XLIII, p. 218, and S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 18 put also in this year the beginning of Visvanatha's rule.
6. 113 of 1908.
7. Cf. Rangachari, l. c., p. 219.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 297, vv. 58-59.

of the same monarch [1] inform us that Visvanatha defeated their head Vanada Rayar, and that this was probably the occasion when the newly appointed Viceroy expelled this Vanada Rayar from Madura and its surroundings for alleged plotting against the Empire.

We know nothing further of the first viceroyalty of Visvanatha in the South, nor of the reason of his removal. Probably his removal encouraged the Chola king in his ambitious projects against the Pandya. This was the indirect cause of the final return of Visvanatha to rule over the Madura kingdom [2].

14. The King of Tanjore was then Vira Sekhara Chola, who was entertaining the ambitious project of extending his territory and authority. He seized the opportunity of the removal of Visvanatha from the city of Madura, to invade the Pandya country; and marching at the head of a formidable army against its sovereign, Chandra Sekhara Pandya, defeated him, thus establishing his rule over both the Chola and the Pandya kingdoms. Having now been deprived of his kingdom Chandra Sekhara effected his escape, together with his son, and fled to Vijayanagara to inform the Emperor of his distress [3].

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1. Ibid., p. 320.

2. The fact that it has always been taken for granted, that Visvanatha's rule was never interrupted, has created much confusion and started many theories to explain his first appointment to the viceroyalty and his war against Nagama Nayaka.

3. The sources of this and the following number are the *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 319-23; *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, p. 9-15, and several other documents to which we shall refer in the course of our narrative. The *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra* mentions Krishna Deva Raya as the Emperor of Vijayanagara at the time of this and the following wars, and Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar follows this opinion in his *History of the Nayaks*, p. 44-9; but I am sure that the Emperor was then Achyuta Raya, and not merely in the beginning of his reign. When the latter ascended the throne the king of Travancore had just entered the Pandya country, taking possession of some of its forts and cities. No mention is then made of

Achyuta, in great anger, summoned his general Nagama Nayaka, and ordered him to muster an army and march to the South, to chastise the refractory Chola and to reinstate the Pandya on his throne. Accordingly Nagama Nayaka set out against Vira Sekhara Chola, and defeated and killed him near Tanjore. He then proceeded to Madura and drove out the garrison stationed there by the Chola [1]. Nagama Nayaka then offered the kingdom to the dispossessed Pandya. But the old Chandra Sekhara considered himself unable to rule over so turbulent a province (for there was not perfect order throughout the country, and several villages had not sent their revenues regularly to the treasury). So he answered that, since he had no legitimate son to succeed him as king, he would be content if Nagama Nayaka should rule the kingdom and give him an adequate allowance. Nagama closed with the Pandya's proposal. But later on, finding the allowance too

Visvanatha, who must have been in Madura according to the *Tanjavuri Charitra*; and although it seems possible that Visvanatha was in that expedition, some authors think that he did not take part in it at all. Cf. p. 117, note 5. Even supposing this, how could Visvanatha tolerate the incursions of the Travancore sovereign into the territories belonging to his jurisdiction? Moreover, after the execution of Vira Sekhara Chola the Tanjore country was annexed to Madura; and Visvanatha was ruling for a time over the Chola and Pandya countries till the appointment of Sevvappa as Nayak of Tanjore. Nevertheless, if we suppose these events to have occurred in Krishna's reign, after the extinction of the Chola dynasty, another Chola appears in the reign of Achyuta invading the Madura country. Cf. above, No. 11. All these difficulties disappear at once if we suppose a mistake on the part of a copyist while writing, or a subsequent wrong addition. The other sources do not give the name of the emperor. As to the date of these events, it is evident that the war of the Chola against the Pandya took place after the removal of Visvanatha, and that was after two years and four months of administration; hence we cannot suppose that the war of the Chola was prior to 1539. Therefore, the appointment of Visvanatha as Viceroy of Madura in this second period took place at the end of Achyuta's reign.

1. This conquest of Madura is also mentioned by the *Supplementary MSS.*, Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, I, p. 205.

meagre, he considered his agreement with Nagama as already broken, and again fled to Vijayanagara and informed Achyuta that Nagama Nayaka, instead of restoring him to his throne, had usurped it himself. The Emperor at once despat ched an imperial mandate reprimanding Nagama for his conduct, and commanding him to restore the kingdom to the Pandya. This order was entrusted to the Pandya himself, who was thereupon dismissed.

In the meanwhile Nagama had established order in the South, and brought under subjection many refractory places which had not rendered submission to any ruler for a considerable time. An inscription at Tittagudi, South Arcot, refers to a dispute between two factions in that village which had lasted for several years, and which had been finally settled by the agent of Nagama Nayaka [1]. This valiant general, on receiving the order, wrote back to his sovereign saying that the Pandya, after he was re-installed had, till then, no hope of bringing back all the parts of his kingdom under his control. Specially "five illegitimate sons of his grandfather who had taken to themselves the title of Pancha Pandavas, and were possessors of Kayattaitur with the neighbourhood, had given him great trouble, and would continue to do so if he held the kingdom" [2]. Moreover, the Pandya was content to wait till the whole province came under subjection, if he would receive a pension as a maintenance. This pension had already been handed over to him. Nagama added that if the kingdom were once more given to the Pandya, the Emperor would not be able to collect even the quit-rent from the province. Finally Nagama stated that he himself had spent, in addition to the money belonging to the treasury, a large sum out of his own sources in order to re-conquer that country [3].

1. 6 of 1903.

2. *Genealogy of Ramabhadra Nayaka of Periyakulam*, Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne*, III, p. 376.

3. Gopinatha Rao, *Vellangudi Plates, Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 304, says that the tradition of Nagama Nayaka's rebellion cannot be upheld; and Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 50, also tries to defend

On receiving this despatch Achyuta was thoroughly roused to anger, and calling all his counsellors and generals together, asked which of them would immediately march against Nagama Nayaka and bring back to him that rebel's head. The whole assembly heard this demand in silence. Thereupon Visvanatha Nayaka rose up and approaching the Emperor said :

" If you will give me leave, I will go and bring it to you."

" What," replied the Emperor in great fury, "will you go and join your father?"

But Visvanatha peacefully answered :

" As I eat your food, your service is my duty, and before the service of my master, make light the duty to my father : as you command I shall act, and in no other manner."

Accordingly after extolling Visvanatha's loyalty to his own person, the Emperor gave him permission. Visvanatha collected an army at once and set out for Madura with his own contingent of two thousand horse and six thousand infantry.

15. When he reached the territory of Madura he halted in one of the districts ; and from thence sent word to his father, announcing that at the command of the Emperor he had come with a great army to force him to obedience, should he refuse to restore the territory to the Pandya. Both the *Tanjavuri Charitra* and the *History of the Karnataka Governors* here describe Visvanatha's father as a real rebel, who waged war with his own son and was defeated. We cannot admit this story. It stands in evident contradiction with the previous conduct of Nagama and with the subsequent events in the court of Vijayanagara. This episode is evidently a concoction of the poet, thrust into this narrative for dramatic effect.

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him. Really the conduct of Nagama, as related hitherto by the *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, cannot be called rebellion at all ; he acted as the most faithful servant of the Emperor. If Achyuta sent an army against him, it was due to a temporary access of fury stirred by the strange and perhaps criminal accusations of the Pandya. But the *History of the Karnataka Governors* describes Nagama as a real rebel chief, making partisans among those who came with him,

I am sure that, after receiving his son's letter, Nagama Nayaka proceeded to meet him; and that this meeting between father and son was the solution of the misunderstanding between Achyuta and his general.

Visvanatha then went to Madura, and by the special command of Achyuta, reinstated the Pandya on his ancestral throne. The old king was so overcome with joy at this event that the *Description of the Karnataka Lords* puts in his mouth the following words addressed to Visvanatha:

"Your father once settled the difference between me and the Chola by vanquishing him, and now you have overcome your father on my behalf and have given me the kingdom; what fair return shall I make you? As my family is diminished, and I have no heir, the Chola after my death will take forcible possession of my kingdom. You therefore are my adopted son, and to you I wish the kingdom to descend after me." [1].

After this he conducted him to the temple of Minakshi, where, in the presence of the goddess, he had him invested by the Pattar, or chief Brahmin, with the crown, dagger, sceptre, seal and fish-umbrella, just as if the goddess herself had delivered them to him. [2].

This ceremony over, Visvanatha, accompanied by his father and Chandra Sekhara Pandya, returned to Vijayanagara. The Emperor was much pleased with Nagama's submission; and when the general related the series of events and the whole of his transactions with the Pandya, Achyuta expressed his anger at the latter, but was appeased by Visvanatha. Then the Pandya himself, in the presence of the Emperor, said that, even at that stage, he had no objection to give over his kingdom to Visvanatha according to the agreement.

Some days later the Emperor summoned both the Pandya and Visvanatha before him. He asked the Pandya whether, as he had no heir to succeed him, he still adhered to the agree-

1. Accordingly the *Tiruppani-malai* states that Visvanatha saved the Pandya. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 305.

2. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 109; *The Royal Line of the Karnataka Princes*, Ibid., p. 117.

ment by which he gave the kingdom over to Visvanatha. Chandra Sekhara Pandya replied that he had absolutely no objection to it; whereupon the Emperor informed Visvanatha that he would appoint him the Viceroy of the Pandya country.

16. Visvanatha left Vijayanagara for Madura at the head of a large army. On reaching the capital of his new viceroyalty, he devoted himself earnestly to the task of repairing the fort, by building eight gates and seventy-two bastions [1]. He likewise built the fort of Trichinopoly, after exchanging this place for Vallam, which was given to the newly appointed Nayak of Tanjore. He built in this new place a double-walled fort around the city and dug out an extensive ditch in front; then he erected dwelling houses inside and caused a teppakulam, or sacred tank, to be dug. He built a palace, had the jungle-wood on both sides of the river Kaveri cleared away, laid out new fields for tillage, and engaged new inhabitants to cultivate them [2]. He also ordered the restoration of the temples of Minakshi and Sundaresvara, adding new structures as enlargements to the old temples. One of these improvements was to throw down the small Pandya fort which surrounded the temple [3]. Instead of this he built " an extensive double-walled fort."

In these enterprises he was considerably helped by Ariyanatha Mudaliar, his prime minister, of whom we shall speak at length further on, and by Kesavappa Nayaka, the commander of his forces.

We cannot say how long the period of this second viceroyalty of Visvanatha in Madura lasted; we may only affirm

1. *Description of the Karnataka Lords,* Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 111. This was really one of the first acts of Visvanatha on his arrival at Madura; because from the account of Ramabhadra Nayaka of Periyakulam it is evident that he lived for more than twenty years after the erection of these bastions. Cf. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne*, III, p. 376-8.

2. *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Ibid., p. 15-7.

3. Sewell, I, p. 293, says that " the sanctuary of the great temple is attributed to Visvanatha Nayaka".

that it lasted but a few months. The *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra* says expressly that "as the Pandya was very old, he lived for only a few months and died. Then Visvanatha became the sole ruler of the Pandya and Chola kingdoms". The other chronicles seem to agree with this statement. Therefore it appears probable that when this event took place, Achyuta was still reigning in Vijayanagara.

17. On the demise of Chandra Sekhara Pandya, the Emperor summoned Visvanatha to the court in order to appoint him King of the Madura country. A durbar was probably held on this occasion; and it was then that Achyuta solemnly before his court bestowed the Southern Kingdom upon Visvanatha:

"All that country was, as you know," said the Sovereign, "under your father's control: and now, as there is no heir to the throne, through defect of posterity to the Pandya; and seeing that you, in a public emergency, killed the wild buffalo, and by offering it to the Goddess Durga, prevented the occurrence of public calamity; moreover, as you conquered several northern Rajas when they revolted and refused to pay tribute, making their countries to become fully our own by right of conquest; and besides when your father disobeyed our commands, you considered the right of your sovereign as entitled to precedence over those of your father and brought him here; further, as you must remember, when we formerly gave you a throne like our own, we promised you also a kingdom. And since the Pandya adopted you, as his adopted son, giving you the kingdom and the seals, the government will be yours. Therefore now be the King of the Madura country" [1].

1. Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 13 and 109.

IV. Visvanatha Nayaka of Madura.

Pudu Mandapa, Madura.

CHAPTER VII

THE NAYAKS OF MADURA

SUMMARY—1. Idea of the Nayakship of Madura.—2. Erection of the Palaiyams.—3. War against the five Pandyas.—4. Officers of Visvanatha. 1 His minister Ariyanatha Mudaliyar.—5. Rama Raya Vitthala appointed Viceroy of the South. His campaign of 1544 against Travancore.—6. St. Francis Xavier stops the Telugu army.—7. Consequent friendship between St. Xavier and the Travancore ruler.—8. Peace between Travancore and Vijayanagara.—9. First expedition of Vitthala to the Fishery Coast.—10. Vitthala's Viceroyalty in the South. Relations with Visvanatha Nayaka.—11. Campaign of 1549 against Coromandel. Murder of Fr. Criminali.—12. Campaigns of 1551 and 1552.—13. A combined attack with the Muhammadans of Calicut against Punney Kayal in 1553.—14. Conflict of Travancore and Vijayanagara on the Fishery Coast.—15. End of Vitthala's Viceroyalty A criticism of it.—16. An expedition of Visvanatha against Punney Kayal in 1560.—17. Accession of Krishnappa Nayaka I and death of Visvanatha. A criticism of his reign. His relations with the Empire.—18. Krishnappa's wars against Tumbichchi Nayaka and the King of Kandi.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Taylor's Telugu Manuscripts, *Singhala dvipa Catha.*—3. Letters of St. Francis Xavier, *Selectae Indicarum Epistolae.*—4. *Processus de Sanctitate et Virtute S. Francisci Xaverii, Chronicon Societatis Jesu,*—5, Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado;* Bartoli, *L' Asia ;* Du Jarric, *Thesarus ;* Guzman, *Historia de las Misiones* ; Tursellini, *De Vita Sti. Francisci Xaverii ;* Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI.*—6. Couto, Faria y Sousa.

THE foundation of the Nayak kingdom of Madura was laid by the Emperor Achyuta Raya of Vijayanagara towards the end of his reign, when Visvanatha Nayak had become "the master of the kingdom of Madura", as the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II read [1]. Accordingly his full title was to be in time

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 320. I do not know why the date 1558-9 is assigned for the foundation of the Nayak or semi-independent rule in Madura. This theory invented by Nelson, *The Madura Manual*,

to come "Maharaja Mahnie Raja Sri Visvanatha Naayane Ayelugaru". The Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva inform us that his Queen was named Nagama [1]. His kingdom extended from Urrattur and Valikondapuram in the North to Cape Comorin in the South, and from Coimbatore, Erode and Dharapuram in the West to Remeswaram and the sea in the East [2].

It has been asserted that "the Nayak regime developed first into a governorship which become hereditary, and then into what was practically a hereditary monarchy" [3]. This is incorrect. Visvanatha was, after Chandra Sekhara Pandya's death, appointed by Achyuta real King of Madura, subject to the empire. This subjection practically consisted only in the payment of an annual tribute of 30 to 45 laks of rupees [4]. The Pandya King himself had nominated him his successor, as he had no legitimate offspring; and Visvanatha himself wanted to be considered as the rightful successor of the Pandyas. One of his coins, in the Bangalore Museum, shows on the obverse a sceptre between two fishes, the racial sign of the Pandyas, and above them the Tamil legend, *Pandiyan*; on the reverse it bears the name *Visvanatha*, in Tamil-Grantha characters. [5].

2. One of the first acts of Visvanatha after taking possession of his new kingdom was to divide it into *Palaiyams* or counties, for the better administration of the country and to repay the faithful services of many of his officers who had help-

p. 87, and followed by Sewell and his successors, is perhaps concocted to explain the appointment of Vitthala as Viceroy in the South in 1543-4. When the time of his governorship was over, then, they suppose, Visvanatha's rule began. But the above mentioned chronicles say that the Pandya died a few months after Visvanatha's expedition against his father, and that Visvanatha was then appointed king. To my mind the foundation of the Nayakship dates from the last year of Achyuta Raya.

1. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 341, vv. 46-57.
2. *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 117.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 90.
4. From Fr. A. Vico to Fr. A. Laerzio, Madura, August 30,1611 Bertrand, *La Mission de Madure*, II, p. 124.
5. Hultzsch, *South Indian Copper Coins*, *Ind. Ant.*, XXI, p. 325. No. 16.

ed him in his former campaigns. There is no doubt that this was one of the first deeds of Visvanatha after his accession to the throne; because the *History of the Karnataka Governors* records that the reign of Visvanatha lasted twenty-six years after this settlement [1]. The towns and the villages belonging to each of these Palaiyams were specified from the beginning, in order to avoid quarrels among their petty lords. These Palaiyams were held in military tenure, and the *Palaiyakaran*, or Polegar as he was afterwards called, was responsible for the defence of each of the seventy-two bastions of the Madura fort: the very title of *Palaiyakaran* shows the basis which the power of these chieftains rested upon, because it means 'a holder of an armed camp'. The Palaiyakarans were theoretically at the disposal of their sovereign [2].

Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar seems to question the number of Palaiyams created by Visvanatha [3]; but the said *History* categorically states that Visvanatha "divided the whole of the countries acquired into seventy-two Palaiyams".

Again the same *History* shortly after: "In case of attack or siege, these seventy-two Palaiyakkarans were each one to have charge of a particular bastion with a connected portion of the wall, and to defend the same with his retainers against all assaults" [4]. One of the Mackenzie MSS., translated and published by Taylor, gives a *List of the seventy-two Palaiyams appointed to guard the bastions of the Pandyan Capital*, as they were in the time of Tirumala Nayaka. They are divided into nine sections, of which the first contains the kingdom of Malayalam (Travancore), and the principalities of Ramnad, Sivaganga and Pudukkottai. "These three last," says the list," are like adopted children of the Madura government". Then the second section, without heading, contains the Palaiyams of Ayalur-Nainar, Turaiyur-Rettiyar, Iluppur, Kulattur, and Kattalur; and thus, successively, the third section numbers eight counties attached to the Manapadu Taluk; the fourth gives the names of

1. Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 21.
2. Ibid.
3. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 58.
4. Taylor, l.c.

fourteen attached to the Dindigul Taluq; the fifth has thirty nine, the rulers of which were called Kamban Gudalur Rajas; the sixth contains one attached to Koyambutur; then in the seventh come two Palaiyams attached to the Salem District; and finally two more, the Mannimai Palaiyam and the Raja Palaiyam, each forming a separate section by itself [1].

Although the system was not completely new, in asmuch as we find some Palaiyakarans in the southern country before the enthronement of Visvanatha [2]; nevertheless to him was due its institution as a permanent and efficient body for the administration of the country and for the defence of the capital, to which they had to pay their tribute annually. Moreover, the fact that Tamil and Telugu chiefs were indiscriminately appointed Palaiyakarans, was supposed to foster the necessary union for establishing a lasting peace between both the subjects and their foreign rulers. This was by far the most important political event of the time, in spite of the fact that it fomented ambitions in these petty chiefs and weakened the royal authority of Madura, of which they were too independent from the very beginning. Had they been more systematically attached to, and dependent on, the central power, Madura might have been saved from many of the troubles caused by the Palaiyakarans.

3. The first of these troubles came soon after. In the country lying to the south there were five kings who had been tributaries to the Pandya. These now joined together and refused to pay tribute to the new foreign ruler at Madura. The *History of the Karnataka Governors* [3] does not say who these five kings were. The *Mrtyunjaya MSS.* call them merely "five independent princes of the South, who acknowledged no earthly superior" [4]. But according to the *Genealogical Narrtaive of the House of Appiya Nayak, the Palaiyakaran of Kannivady,* (one of the MSS. of the Mackenzie Collection), they were collateral

1. Taylor, o.c., II, p. 161-3.
2. Cf. ch. VI, No. 9.
3. Taylor, o. c., II, p. 17.
4. Ibid., p. 111.

descendants of the ancient Pandya race [1]. Who, then, were these five collateral descendants of the Pandya family? Mr. Rangachari seems inclined to believe that this uprising was headed by the Pandya of Tenkasi himself, Tirunelveli Kulasekhara Perumal [2]; the other four Pandyas being four of his close relatives, who perhaps shared with him the honor of royalty [3]. But it seems to us more probable that the chief of this rebellion was the brother and predecessor of Tirunelveli Kulasekhara Perumal, named Perumal Parakrama Pandyadeva, alias Kulasekharadeva. He was crowned in Tenkasi in 1543, and his Singottai inscription of three years later calls him "the unrivalled hero of the world, the light of the Chandra-kula, the lord of the three worlds" [4]. These titles, so unusual in the inscription of the Pandyas of those days, do certainly bespeak a man who refused to acknowledge any earthly superior. In this case, the rebellion of Perumal Parakrama Pandyadeva with his four partners in the throne took place after the year 1546; and if we suppose that he was the Pandya finally killed by Visvanatha, we must place the war at about 1552, since his successor was crowned in 1553.

On receiving the news of this revolt, Visvanatha sent his prime minister against the five Pandyas; but this officer 'was not strong enough to meet them', says the *History of the Kar-*

1. Ibid., p. 168. Subramania Sarma, *Short History of the Panyya Kingdom*, p. 9, says that they were sons of Chandra Sekhara Pandya and Kamestri.

2. Rangachari, *History of the Naik Kingdom, Ind Ant.*, XLIV, p. 37.

3. It seems that there were five Pandyas actually ruling together from the most ancient times. The *Mahavanso*, ch 82, v. 23 speaks of the five fierce Tamil tyrants routed in open battle by Vatta Gamani of Ceylon in about 200 B. C. Cf. *The Mahavanso* (Translation of L. C. Wijesinha), p. 229; Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, *New Dates on Pandya Kings, Ind. Ant.*, XLII, p. 166. According to the last Pandya ruler of Madura all the Pandyas of Tenkasi were illegitimate descendants of the former Pandyas. Cf. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 322.

4. *T. A. S.* I, p. 104.

nataka Governors [1]. The Pandyas were in the fortified town of Kayatattur, and for some time successfully resisted the Madura army. Ariyanatha and the Palaiyakarans who were with him were defeated, and "they actually retreated in disgrace to Madura" [2]. Visvanatha himself then went in person with the rest of the army to meet those insurgents. The war was carried on for the space of six months, but the five Pandyas could not be reduced: "a great many men on both sides fell", says the *History of the Karnataka Governors*, "and the lamentations of the families of the deceased, alike in the camp and the country around, being heard by Visvanatha Naicker, he reflected within himself how many families were absorbed in grief merely that he, a single person, might enjoy undisturbed prosperity; and, in consequence, wrote a letter to the five opponents, which he sent by a herald; of which letter the contents were the following:—

'You are five persons, and I am one: for our sakes so much grief and lamentation is caused. Let it not be thus; but, withdrawing the two armies and restraining all attacks, let a stone pillar be erected midway between both armies, and an agreement be written and placed in it; then advance and meet me alone in personal encounter; if I conquer you, than you must depart with nothing more than the garments you wear; relinquishing your countries with all treasure and appurtenances to me; and if I am conquered, than I give up to you, in like manner, my country and all my possesions. Let a solemn vow to this effect be made, and let the agreement be recorded in a copper-plate and placed on the stone pillar; after which we will engage in combat at its foot and decide the question between us".

The reply of the five Pandyas was as follows:—

"For you being one, to meet us five together, would not be equitable; but one from among us will come, and do you come and meet him".

The valiant Visvanatha did not want to be defeated by the chivalry of his five opponents; accordingly the Madura Sovereign answered to this effect:—

1. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 17.

2. *Genealogical Narrative of Appiya Nayak*, Ibid., p. 108.

" You, being five persons, are at the head of five countries, which I, being one person, have come in order to subjugate to myself alone; and therefore it is quite right that all five of you should meet me at once."

" They however would not consent ", adds the said *History*, " but selecting the bravest of their number, clothed him in body armour, and mounting him on horseback, being duly furnished with a sword, they conducted him to the appointed arena of combat".

The fight did not last long. When both Visvanatha and the Pandya champion were ready, the former invited the Pandya saying:—

"Do you strike first".

The Pandya did so, but Visvanatha parried the blow with his sword. The Pandya then bade Visvanatha strike, but the Madura ruler declined, and three times bade the other strike. The Pandya champion did so. Then Visvanatha Nayaka, addressing his rival, said :—

"Now, for the rest, take good care"

And he "struck the king, cutting him into two pieces, falling to the ground", says the *History*.

The victory of Visvanatha over the Pandyas was decisive [1]. The four kings gave their countries to the Madura Sovereign, according to the agreement, "and departed as emigrants, or solitary wanderers into other lands" [2] As a matter of fact, we hear no more about the institution of the Five Pandyas as in former times; so we may suppose that the victory of Visvanatha marked the end of it. Nevertheless, the appointment of a member of the Pandya family as subordinate king in Tinnevelly, was politically the best means

1. It is very strange that Wheeler, *History of India*, IV, pt. III, p. 574, in the *Hindu Annals compiled from the Mackenzie Manuscripts*, after saying that Visvanatha defeated and slew his Pandya opponent, states: "After this Visvanatha died upon the field of battle, and a monument was built to his memory". It cannot but be a misunderstanding of the text, because the *Mityunjaya MSS.* state likewise that Visvanatha "conquered the five independent Princes of the South, who acknowledged no earthly superior". Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 111.

2. Taylor, o.c., p. 17-21.

to establish union between Tamilians and Telugus; and accordingly we find several Pandyas ruling at Tenkasi after this event. It was probably then that Tirunelveli Kulasekhara Perumal, the younger brother of Perumal Parakrama Pandyadeva, was crowned in 1553 "in the presence of the lord of the Universe at Tenkasi" [1]. He took on this occasion the title of Vira-vel, a title suggestive of a subordinate rank [2], probably to the king of Madura. His son Ativirarama Pandya Alagan, who is mentioned together with Visvanatha in an inscription of 1558 [3], also took on his coronation day, in about 1564, the name of Sivala-vel, [4] which has the same connotation. In their incriptions there are no boasts like those of Perumal Parakrama Pandyadeva, whose defeat had been a good lesson for the Pandyas. Neither Vira-vel nor Sivala-vel thought any more of rebellion and war, but devoted themselves to poetry and literature. The former, according to the inscription of his coronation, "feeling that flower garlands would all fade away, put on a garland of verses in the *venba* metre sung in praise of him by the poets" [5]. Was this not a fruit of the experience of his brother Perumal Parakrama, whose glory and pride faded suddenly before the sword of Visvanatha Nayaka ?

4. In these and other affairs of administration Visvanatha was aided, no doubt, by the agents he had throughout his dominions. According to an inscription of 1550, one of these agents, named Uddandar, remitted certain taxes due to the king, for offering cakes daily to the God for the merit of Visvanatha [6]. According to another inscription at Kiranur (Madura) Kalahastiyappa Mudaliyar, Visvanatha's minister, granted the village of Kondarinji Karanur as a free gift to the Brahmins [7]. In the genealogy of Ramabhadra Nayaka of Periyakulam, this chief is said to have exercised the office of fouzdar, or

1. Tenkasi inscription of his coronation, *T. A. S.*, I, p. 105.
2. Ibid., and p. 57.
3. 273 of 1908.
4. Tenkasi inscription of his coronation, Ibid., p. 106.
5. *T. A. S.*, I, 105.
6. 609 of 1916,

military chief and collector of revenue, during the time of Visvanatha [1].

His son, Krishnappa Nayaka, was also a great help to Visvanatha in the government of his state. He is often mentioned in the inscriptions of his father's reign. This fact proves the importance and influence of the Crown Prince at the court of Madura. According to an inscription of 1546, in the kitchen of the Bripadamba temple at Devikapuram, North Arcot, Surappa Nayaka made a gift of ghee to the temple for Krishnappa's merit[2] ; in 1550 the latter is mentioned along with Chinna Bomma Nayaka [3]; in 1553 he granted a piece of land for worship and for repairs in the Tyagarajasvamin temple at Ambasamudram, Tinnevelly [4] ; in 1555, his agent Ekambara Mudaliyar granted another piece of land for a flower garden of a temple [5] ; and two gifts of land made by him in 1562 to some temple are also recorded [6].

But the most efficient of his officers was his Dalavay and Pradhani, Ariyanatha Mudaliyar, "his second in power", according to the *Mrtyunjaya MSS* [7]. His *Biographical Notice,* translated by Taylor, is full of marvellous accounts, but contains nevertheless several facts that appear historical. He came from the Kanjivaram district, according to the *Royal Line of the Karnataka Princes* [8], and was presented to the Emperor at Vijayanagara by Nagama Nayaka ; later on, he aided Visvanatha in his campaign against his father [9]. The importance of Ariyanatha in Madura was so great, that an inscription of 1560 records the grant of twelve villages by Visvanatha, "the pious son of Kotyam Nagama Nayadu" and "Mandaraputtaneri Ariya Nayaka Mudaliyar"[10].

1. Rangacharya, II, p. 1023, 265-E.
2. 391 of 1912.
3. 417 of 1905.
4. 497 of 1916.
5. 530 of 1916.
6. 121 of 1894; 494 of 1916.
7. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 111.
8. Ibid,, p. 117.
9. *Biographical Notice*, Taylor, o. c., II, p. 113-5; *Royal Line of the Karnataka Lords*, Ibid., p. 117.
10. Sewell, II, p. 2, 10.

5. In the meanwhile several events had taken place in the South. In the West, the king of Travancore had withheld the tribute due to Vijayanagara; and in the East the Portuguese, who had taken possession of the Fishery Coast to protect the Paravas, were becoming more and more firmly established. Visvanatha, in the first years of his reign, was engaged in the two-fold task of regulating the administration of his kingdom and subduing the rebellious chiefs of his dominions in the South. Hence he was unable to meet those new emergencies. In these circumstances Rama Raya thought it reasonable to send an army from the imperial court under a valiant general to defend the interests of the Empire, which were then at stake. Such was the origin and the purpose of the expedition of Rama Raya Vitthala to the South [1].

It was formerly supposed that Vitthala was the son of the Regent Rama Raya himself [2]; but it has been proved that he was only his cousin [3], and the son of Ramaraja Timmaya [4]. It seems that before his appointment in the South, he had held in Penukonda some kind of authority over that fort and city, in view of the fact that he remitted certain taxes there [5]. He was also, according to Mr. Rangacharya, the one who exempted the barbers from taxes in Namala Dinnah, Cuddapah [6]; but in the year 1543 he was appointed generalissimo of the army of Vijayanagara to conduct a great expedition to the South,

1. Mr. Rangachari, *Ind. Ant.*, XLIII, p. 231, supposes another inroad of the Travancore king into the Pandya territory; but he does not notice that the inscription he points out as a proof of his statement is dated 1546 and Vitthala's expedition had taken place two years before. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 17, states also that the Travancore sovereign "had established himself so far successfully in the South that he held Kayal on the Fishery Coast in his possession and appointed a Viceroy", but he does not prove his statement. I think sufficient reason for such an expedition the fact that the tribute was not paid by Travancore.

2. Cf. for instance Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State*, I, p. 229.

3. *M.E.R.*, *1911*, p. 86; *1912*, p. 82.

4. 250 of 1910.

5. 346 of 1901.

6. Rangacharya, I, p. 601, 322.

having for its object a firm establishment of the authority of the Empire in its most distant corners [1].

The first country that Vitthala invaded was Travancore. Its king was then Bhutala Vira Sri Vira Kerala Varma, alias Unni Kerala Varma, who had ascended the masnad a little earlier [2]. Visvanatha Nayaka offered Vitthala every facility for carrying out his enterprise, possibly gave him some detachments of his own army, and most probably himself joined the Vijayanagara troops; because it is recorded in the Tamil chronicles that Visvanatha subdued some chiefs of Travancore and levied tribute from them in the name of the Emperor of Vijayanagara [3]. Fr. Bartoli and Fr. Sousa also mention the Madura Nayak at the head of this expedition [4]. Krishnappa, his son, was most likely in the expedition too; since he is described in the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva as a man "who by his valour deprived the insolent king of the Tiruvadirajya (Travancore) of the seven parts of his kingdom" [5]. With Vitthala also went to Travancore Prince Chinna Timma, his brother [6], spoken of in the *Yadavabhyudaya Vyakhya*, as having planted a pillar of victory in token of his conquests in Travancore, near the moun-

1. 146 of 1896; *M.E.R., 1899-1900*, para 78. Cf. Sewell, II, p. 224.

2 Cf. S. Paramesvara Aiyar, *Travancore and Vijayanagar, C.C.M.*, XXII, p. 188; Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State*, I, p. 297. St. Xavier in his letters calls him *Iniquitribirim (M.H.S.J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 314, 337, 339, 343, 344, 345 and 349), a name that clearly sounds like a corruption of Unni Kerala Varma. Mackenzie, *Christianity in Travancore* p. 64, says In quitribirim "stands for Enakku Tamburan, meaning Our Prince. This is vulgar Tamil; but from the words of the Lord's Prayer in Tamil, which Francis gives in one of his letters, it appears that Francis spoke the vulgar Tamil of his fisher converts on the coast; and they, in their rude speech, would call the Maharaja Enakku Tamburan."

3. 17 of 1912. Cf. Nagam Aiya, o. c., p. 316.

4. Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu, L'Asia*, I, p. 128; Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 142.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 341, vv. 46-57.

6. 250 of 1910.

tains of Malaya (Malabar) [1]. He had been, it seems, governor of Chandragiri [2]. An inscription of Sadasiva of 1542, at Tindivanam, records the gift of a village for the merit of the Mahāmandalesvara Ramaraja Chinna Timmayyadeva Maharaya [3]. Another inscription at Narasingapuram, Chingleput District, refers to a remission of taxes by a certain Sankara Nayaka Linganayaka, in 1545, for the merit of Chinna Timmayadeva Maharaja [4]; this was done during the governorship of his brother over the South. Sadasiva Nayak of Keladi was likewise probably in this expedition; in the *Sivatattvaratnakara* he is said to have defeated the Keralas or people of the Malayalam country and to have planted a pillar of victory on the spot [5]. An inscription of Tiruvidaimarudur also mentions a Brahmin of this place named Tiruchchrrambala Bhattan, who "joined Vitthala's army and continued to fight on his side from Anantasayanam in the South to Mudugal (Mudgal) in the North." After the war he was rewarded with two villages [6].

After halting with his army at Madura, Vitthala set out for Travancore in the beginning of July accompanied by all these chiefs. Nagam Aiya says that St. Francis Xavier in one of his letters states that the army of Vitthala entered the territory of Travancore through the Aramboly (Aruvaymoli) pass [7]. I could not find this letter in the critical edition of that missionary's letters. This, however, seems to be the actual tradition in Travancore, that through that pass the army of Vitthala invaded the country. Fr. Sousa only says that they came down through the mountains in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin, that divide Travancore from the Coromandel Coast [8].

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1. Rangacharya, I, p. 402, 717.

2. 33 of 1905. Other records of Prince Chinna Timma will be found in Rangacharya, II, p. 915, 60 and 70; p 976, 608.

3. 250 of 1910.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 210.

5. Ibid., p. 195.

6. 140 of 1895.

7. Nagam Aiya, o. c., p. 297.

8. Souza, o. c., p. 142. Fr. J. Mahe, S.J., Superior of St. Mary's High School, Madura, writes to me as follows: "I think Fr. Souza means

6. When news of this inroad reached Travancore, all the people grew extremely frightened, and a great number of the inhabitants of the villages of the South emigrated northwards carrying with them all their belongings. "I went *via* the Cape by land to visit these miserable Christians, who were coming, persecuted and plundered by the Badagas", says St. Francis Xavier, an eye-witness of these events ; "it was indeed pitiful to see them ; some had nothing to eat ; others had become blind on account of their age and hardships ; many were married men, and their wives brought forth their children while *en route*, and there were many other pitiful things ; had you seen them you would, I am sure, have pitied them even more than myself. I ordered the poor people to assemble at Manapar (Manapadu)" [1].

Unni Kerala Varma collected an army from all his dominions and was ready to encounter his enemies. When they were approaching the capital he was made aware of the fact that the Telugu army was not only more numerous but also more formidable than his own, on account of their cavalry and equipment. According to Fr. Sousa, the Brahmin Chronicles of Travancore relate that the King at this juncture called Xavier to where he was and asked him for help, since the independence of his kingdom was at stake. Perhaps the Sovereign expected to make an alliance with the Portuguese through the influence of St. Francis ; but the holy missionary, who was engaged only in spiritual affairs, answered that the only help he was able to offer him were his prayers, since he was a missionary and not a soldier. No doubt, Xavier fulfilled his promise. [2].

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that same pass in the passage (of Nagam Aiya) you refer to. That is the only way to Travancore on that side, with the way round by Cape Comorin. Across the hills of Papanasam, near Ambasamudram, there is a way which was probably in good use formerly, for there is there an old fort on the top of a high hill very visible from our property close by." This was likely the way followed by the army of Vitthala on this occasion. Cf. Ramanatha Ayyar, *The Aruvaymoli Pass or the Open Gateway of Travancore, J. I. H.*, IV. p. 19-20.

1. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapar, August 1st, 1544, *M.R.S.I., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 330.

2. Souza, o. c., p. 142-3.

In the meanwhile, Vitthala's army was advancing triumphantly through the Travancore country, and before it the panic-stricken villagers abandoned their homes to seek refuge in the forests. But when the army was only two leagues North of the village of Kottar [1], the vanguard stopped suddenly, unable to take another step further. The officers who were in the rear ordered the soldiers to march on, and then they learnt the reason of that sudden halt. "A tall majestic man dressed in black appeared in front of us", they said, "who reprimanded us and ordered us to retire at once" [2]. The officers of the army, and among them perhaps Visvanatha and Vitthala themselves, could realize then that the fact was true; for Xavier was still standing in front of the army, in gigantic form and dignified countenance, [3] barring the way to the capital. Such an order the valiant commander could not disobey, and accordingly the troops were ordered to retreat. Thus was Travancore saved from the invasion of the Vijayanagara army through the prayers and at the request of St. Francis Xavier [4].

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1. Kottar, known to Ptolomy under the name of *Kottiare Metropolis*, and a town of importance in the Chola period, is a suburb of Nagircoil at present. Fr. P. Martin in a letter to Fr. Le Gobien, dated Camia Naicken Patty, June 1,1700, records the tradition of fifty six years later that pointed out Kotate (Kottar) as the place where this event took place. Bertrand, *La Mission de Madure*, III, p. 18.

2. These words are taken from the eldest testimonies of note 4, infra. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 148, who relates the fact (as also does Fr. Souza), puts in the mouth of Xavier a short invective against the troops, which sounds more like one of the speeches of Livy's heroes than words of the sainted missionary.

3. These details are given by Souza, o. c., p. 143.

4. This fact, however extraordinary, cannot be denied by critical and impartial history. True, St. Xavier himself does not say a word of it; but this is his way in all his letters—never to mention a case which may be interpreted as a miracle or as something marvellous. But the authorities on whom our narration is based are too numerous and too weighty not to be admitted by impartial historians. We will enumerate them here :—

A. *Processus de sanct(itate) et Virtu(e) S. Francisci Xaverii Paite Prim(a) e second(a).* Manuscript in the Archives of the Society of

7. It seems that when Unni Kerala Varma was informed by eye-witnesses of the retreat of the Vijayanagara troops at the command of Xavier, he had already set out from his capital Kalkulam, five leagues West of Kottar, and was ready with his army to meet the enemy at any moment. When subsequently the missionary reached the royal camp, the King himself proceeded to receive him and embraced him most affectionately; and after having thanked him, addressed him as follows:

" They call me the Great King (Maharaja), but hereafter they will always call you the Great Father. "

Jesus. This volume in folio contains the processes made in India on the life and miracles of Xavier for his beatification and canonization. The first part of the volume deals with processes made at Goa, Cochin, Bassein and Malaca, in 1556 and 1557, at the request of the King of Portugal Joao III, by the local ecclesiastical authorities. In the process of Cochin the witness, Francisco Mansilhas, a Lay Brother of the Society of Jesus, who had worked with Xavier both on the Coromandel Coast and in Travancore, gave evidence of the fact as narrated above. Considering that the process was held only twelve years after the event, his statement is of exceptional value. The same is declared by Thomas de Gouvea in the second part of the volume, which is a summary of the processes of Cochin, Tuticorin and Kalkulam made in 1616 and 1617.

B. Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 142-3. The authority of this work has already been declared. See *Bibliographical Introduction.*

C. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, I, p. 148. See *Bibliographical Introduction.*

D. Guzman, *Historia de las Misiones*, p. 31. See *Bibliographical Introduction.* Fr. Guzman gives a concise narration of the fact, but suggests that the invading army was of Moors (Muhammadans).

F. Bohours, *The Life of St. Francis Xavier*, p. 145-8.

G. Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Campagnia di Gesu, L' Asia*, I, p. 128. See *Bibliographical Introduction.*

H. Tursellini, *De Vita S. Francisci Xaverii*, l. II, c. XI, p. 109. This is one of the earliest Jesuit authors, who wrote towards the end of the 16th century; the first edition was published in 1594; his work is a compilation of the early traditions of the Society.

I. Lucena, *Historia da vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier*, II, 17. It also represents the early tradition of the Society of Jesus; its first edition appeared in 1600.

Accordingly, the King issued a proclamation throughout his kingdom commanding all his subjects to give that title to the Father in the future, and also to obey him as if he were

J. Acosta, *Rerum e Societate Jesu De rebus Indicis Commentarius*, p. 7.

K. Maffei, *Vita de S. Francisco Xaverio*, l. II, c. 2. Several other modern authors have admitted this fact:—

L. Brou, *Saint Francois Xavier*, I, p. 256.

M. Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, I, p. 214.

N. Mackenzie, *Christianity in Travancore*. p. 64, regards this fact as a story: "The story that Francis Xavier went to meet the Madura troops, crucifix in hand, and that they retired before him, is told in *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 143". Neither in *Oriente Conquistado*, nor in any other of the above mentioned authorities mention is made of the crucifix in Xavier's hand. This is an invention of Mackenzie.

O. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State*, I, p. 298, says as follows: "The Raja of Travancore was indebted to Xavier for deliverance from danger; a panic having, it is said, been produced in the ranks of the Badagas by the sudden appearance of Xavier in front of their host, crucifix in hand; and thus the Badagas failed in their attempt to conquer Travancore." The detail of the crucifix must have been taken from Mackenzie. The fact that no battle is mentioned in the Hindu inscriptions and poems between the forces of Vitthala and the Travancore army confirms also the extraordinary event narrated above. It was a war without a formal battle.

P. D'Orsey, *Portuguese Discoveries*, p. 130. The author, though an Anglican clergyman, says: "A band of mountaineers had poured down upon the plains of Travancore, and were plundering the possessions. The Rajah's force inferior in number, went out to meet the invaders; but Xavier resolved, if possible, to save their lives by being himself their champion. Raising the crucifix aloft, he rushed forward to meet the advancing foe and exclaimed in a voice of thunder: "I forbid you in the name of the living God, to pass further. Return to your homes, and leave the land in peace." Astounded by this apparition the superstitious multitute broke and fled. We give this story as it is recorded. Though improbable it is not impossible; and there must be some foundation for it, as the Rajah, grateful for this heroic deed did all in his power to further the interests of Xavier and his mission".

Q. Astrain, *Historia de la Compania de Jesus en la Asistencia de Espana*, I, p. 469-70. See *Bibliographical Introduction*.

the person of the King himself[1]. Xavier does not mention these honours given by the Maharaja. But the extraordinary friendship between Unni Kerala Varma and Xavier which can be gathered from his letters abundantly proclaims the King's gratitude.

At the end of August, news was spread that a Portuguese had captured a servant of the King and brought him over to Tuticorin. Xavier in his letter to Mansilhas dated September 2nd, 1544, evinces his interest in ascertaining the truth of this fact, on account of his friendship with the King, who had just then kindly entertained another Jesuit Missionary, Fr. Francisco Coelho : and then he adds: "For God's sake write to the Captain (of Tuticorin) on behalf of myself, saying that I beg him most earnestly not to order nor permit, in any way that any injury be done to the Hindus who belong to the kingdom of the Great King, since they are such great friends of ours "[2]. On the 7th of the same month he wrote again to Mansilhas : "(Fr. Coelho) wrote to me besides that Iniquitriberim was sending me an *olla* through three or four of his servants, who being somewhat fatigued, were taking some rest in Manapar; and that by these *ollas* he requested me to go there to meet him, since he wishes to speak with me on certain points of great interest to him. Something else is written to me by Iniquitriberim, *viz.* that the Christians residing within his kingdom are quite safe, and he will always

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R. S Parameswara Aiyar, l. c., p. 190.

S. Mr. S. A. Ramanantha Ayyar in his learned article on *The Aruvaymoli Pass*, l. c., p. 18, states that the retreat of Vitthala's army before Xavier "is perhaps reminiscent of a diplomatic mission, which this friend of the Travancore King 'Iniquitribirin' accomplished, and which stayed the punishing hand of the imperial Viceroy from committing much slaughter and shedding much innocent blood." We cannot support this view. The details given by the sources are so many and so characteristic that the account cannot be taken but literally, though no miracle is to be supposed to explain the case.

1. Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 143 ; Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 148; Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu, L' Asia*, I, p. 127.

2. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, September 2nd, 1544, *M. H. S. J.*, *Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 338.

protect them" [1]. It was not at all strange that Unni Kerala Varma should want to speak with Xavier on certain points of great interest to him, seeing that Xavier was the saviour of his kingdom.

This friendship with the King was used by Xavier to protect the poor people who had fled at the approach of the army of Vijayanagara and taken refuge in the rocky islands South of Cape Comorin. " I am going ", he says, " with twenty boats of provisions to succour the Christians who are on the rocks near the Cape of Comorin. They fled from the Badagas, and are now dying of hunger and thirst " [2]

8. But the war was not over. A treaty had to be made between Travancore and Vijayanagara. Unni Kerala Varma was the first to send an ambassador to Vitthala to open pourparlers to establish peace firmly. Xavier took an active part in sending this envoy to the Telugu general at Tuticorin. " Iniquitriberim" says he in a letter of the 19th of August, "sends a Brahman along with a captain to make peace with this people. I do not know what they will do ; they are at present here, and will soon leave by sea " [3]. Again he wrote on the following day to Mansilhas : "This Brahman now goes there with despatches for the Badagas

1. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Trichandur, September 7th, 1544, Ibid., p. 343.

2. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Virandapatanam, June 23rd, 1544, Ibid., p. 327. Cf. another letter from Xavier to the same of June 30th, 1544, Ibid., p. 328. The text of the first is as follows: "Eu me parto para o Cabo de Comorim com vinte tones ou embarcacoens de mantimento a socorrer aquellos pobres christaos, que com medo dos badegas infieis, seus inimigos so meterao pelo mar, e estao dentro d'elle postos pelas pedras e penedos do Cabo ao sol, padecendo grandissima fome e sede e morrendo alguns com ella, que he para haver grandissima piedade." Both Souza, o. c., p. 141, and Du Jarric, I, p. 144, were mistaken in placing this expedition of Xavier to the Christians of the Comorin Cape, after the invasion of the Fishery Coast; for it took place a little after, about the end of July or begining of August. After Souza and Du Jarric several authors have committed the same mistake. See for instance, *Historia Chronologica dos Prelados e Fundacoes Ecclesiasticas*, *O Gabinete Litterario dos Fontainhas*, I, p. 112.

3. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, August 19th, 1544, Ibid, p. 333.

and for their King Betermemal (Vitthala) [1]. For God's sake try to give him at once a boat to go to Tutycurim"[2].

The making of this peace was by no means an easy task. At that time the army of Vitthala had invaded the Coromandel Coast, as we shall see later on ; and the Vijayanagara General was busily engaged in subduing both the Portuguese and the Paravas. Then the terms of Travancore were perhaps not easily accepted by the powerful cousin of Rama Raya. This delay was perhaps the cause of the alarming rumours spread through Travancore in the month of September of the same year, rumours that we find echoed in one of Xavier's letters: "They say that Beterbemao (Vitthala) is going full speed by sea to encounter king Iniquitriberim (Unni Kerala Varma) and to fight with him" [3].

Peace was also delayed through the demise of Unni Kerala Varma, who must have died soon after the Vijayanagara invasion ; for an inscription of his successor Bhutala Vira, of the year 1547, is found at Suchindram [4]. There is another inscription of his and of the same year in the Nelliappa temple at Tinnevelly itself [5]. Mr. Rangachari believes that this inscription proves another inroad by Travancore into the old Pandya territory [6]; but it seems to us that these inscriptions may mark the date of the final peace between Travancore and Vijayanagara. The King of Travancore on the occassion went perhaps

1. Such is the name given by Xavier to the Viceroy Vitthala, and this is the only place in which he is called king by him ; in the other five cases in which he speaks of him, he calls him a captain. The spelling of the name is defferently given in each case: Betebumar (*M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.*, 1, p, 340), Betimunal (Ibid.), Betermeal (Ibid., p. 342), Beterbemao (Ibid., p. 344), Beterbemal (Ibid., p. 944) besides the form given above.

2. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, August 20th, 1544, Ibid., p. 335.

3. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, September 10th, 1544, Ibid., p. 344.

4. Inscription in possession of Mr. Gopinatha Rao, Trivandrum. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 304.

5. 120 of 1894.

6. *Ind. Ant.* XLII, p. 231.

personally to Tinnevelly to sign the treaty. By this treaty the district of Tinnevelly was ceded for ever to Vijayanagara, which in return agreed not to molest Travancore. Finally the Travancore sovereign capitulated, and promised payment of an annual tribute; and moreover made arrangements for the celebration, in the Vishnu shrine at Suchindram, of the day of Rohini, the natal star of Vitthalesvara Maharayar [1].

It was beyond doubt on this occasion that Rama Raya, the powerful Regent of the Empire, gave the Tiruvanidesa to Visvanatha as an amara-nayakam [3].

Such was the end of the war with Travancore. One of the two objects Rama Raya had in sending Vitthala to the South was already attained.

9. As to the other, it seems that the Fishery Coast was invaded by the Badagas [4] even before the retreat of their

1. Inscription in possession of Mr. Gopinatha Rao of Trivandrum, l. c.

2. 64 of 1896.

3. 17 of 1912.

4. Badagas or Badugas is the name given by St. Xavier and the old Jesuit writers to the soldiers either of Madura or of Vijayanagara. This was another corruption of the name *Vaduquer*, northener, given to the Telugus because they came from the North. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State*, I, p. 297, says that St. Xavier in one of his letters dated March, 1544, describes the Badagas as 'tax gatherers' and 'lawless marauders'. But I could not find such a description among the letters of Xavier in their critical edition, *M. H. S. J,. Mon. Xav.*, I. The anonymous author of the life of St. Xavier, quoted above, after describing the city of Vijayanagara, adds as follows: "These people, called Badagas, although having the same complexion and qualities as ths rest of the people of India, are stronger and more powerful in war; because they are rich people aud have much cavalry, and their behaviour is more showy than that of the others. And they have all the cities and villages surrounded with brick or stone walls, with bastions here and there as in our fortresses." *M. H. S. J., Mon Xav.*, I. p. 62. Fr. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, I. p. 144, describes the Badagas as follows: They are "wild and cruel people, naturally fond of stealing, coming from Bisnaga, foes of everybody, but specially of Christians." This last note given by almost all the early Jesuit writers needs

army from Travancore. St. Francis Xavier informs us in a letter dated September 7th, 1544, that when he was at Trichendur, Tinnevelly, in the beginning of June of that year, he heard "of a rising in the country because the Portuguese had captured a brother-in-law of Betermeal (Vitthala), and they (*viz.* the insurgents) wanted likewise to capture the Christians of the Cape of Comorim" [1], that is the Portuguese and the Paravas who were under them.

The latter, after returning from Cochin in 1532,[2] had received some slight instruction in the Christians faith and were baptized by Fr. Michael Vaz, Vicar General of India, and by several other priests who had come from Cochin [3]. Then the Portuguese established themselves in Manapadu, Punnei Kayal, Tuticorin and Vambar, and took over the civil and

some explanation, since it might be misunderstood. The Telugu soldiers and their generals had nothing against the Christians as Christians. Both the Nayaks of Madura and the Emperors of Vijayanagara tolerated and received respectfully into their capitals the Jesuit missionaries. The Telugu armies that invaded the Fishery Coast were so often sent against the Christians, because the latter had put themselves under the protection of the Portuguese, and these had taken possessions of the Coast that belonged to Vijayanagara. Now Madura wanted to retain as her dominion that rich shore. The motive of this first invasion was a little different, as related above. These Badagas must not be confused with the agricultural caste of the Nilgiris, also called Badagas. Cf. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, I, p. 62-124.

1. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Trichendur, September 7th, 1544, l. c. Xavier calls Christians of the Comorin Cape all the Christians of both Travancore and Coromandel.

2. Cf. Ch. VI, No. 9.

3. Souza, o. c., I, p. 130. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, in his *Introduction* to Satyanatha Aiyar's *History of the Nayaks*, p. 13, supposes that St. Xavier converted the Paravas. Again the same is supposed in p. 123, note 43. I have been told that the Paravas themselves maintain they were converted by Xavier. Cf. Castets, *St. Francis Xavier's Indian Mission*, p. 7-12; Miranda, *The Introduction of Christianity into the Heart of India*, p. 6. But it is historically evident that the majority of the Paravas were Christians from 1533 or 1534, when St. Xavier was not yet in India. Xavier went there

criminal jurisdiction of the whole of the coast. Their principal settlement was Punnei Kayal [1].

On the 3rd of August, Xavier was sure that the army of Vitthala would overrun the Fishery Coast: "I sent one Father there", he writes from Manapadu to Mansilhas, "in order that the boats might be thrown into the sea in time and the people might embark when the occasion should offer itself; for I feel sure that they will attack and capture these your Christians" [2]. The first news of the invasion of the army of Vitthala reached Xavier's ears on August 19th, while at Manapadu. At the end of a letter written on that date he says: "I am given a letter of Guarim just now, in which he informs me that the Christians have fled to the forest, since the Badagas have robbed them of their property, stabbed two men, one a Christian and the other a Hindu" [3]. But most of the Paravas, embarking on their miserable boats, sought refuge in the small islands that face the Comorin Cape, leaving their country to the fury of their enemies. Those islands were inaccessible to the Madura soldiers on account of the frequent sand-banks separated by canals known only by the fishers of the coast. But this was certainly not an ideal place for the unfortunate refugees, from the lack of good drinkable water and of trees and vegetables of all kinds [4]. St. Xavier, in another letter of September 5th, tells us that Punnei

precisely to accomplish their instruction in the faith. In one of his letters, dated Tuticorin, October 28th, 1542, he says: "We are going through the villages of the Christians, who became Christians about eight years ago. There are no Portuguese in these places, because the soil is not fertile at all and very poor. When arriving at any of these villages, I baptized all the children who are not yet baptized; so I have baptized a great multitude of infants, *quid inter dextram and sinistram intersit ignorantes.*" *M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I. p. 273. The last remarks of Xavier show that the adults were already baptized at the time of his arrival.

1. Cf. *Tinnevelly Manual*, p. 43.

2. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, August 3rd, 1544, Ibid., p. 331. Cf. p. 332.

3. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, August 19th, 1544, Ibid., I, p. 333.

4. Souza, l. c.; Du Jarric, l. c.

Kayal was one of the cities attacked by the Badagas, while the house and boat of the Portuguese captain of the place were set on fire; and that the aforesaid captain fled to the islands with the rest of the inhabitants of the coast [1]. Tuticorin was also swept away by the Badagas [2] and was probably made the temporary residence of Vitthala, since the ambassador of Unni Kerala Varma was sent there [3]. In the two above-mentioned letters Xavier orders Mansilhas, who was instructing the Paravas in the North of the coast, to make a collection among the rich people of those places, to succour the poor Christians of the islands who were dying of hunger and thirst; he particularly urges him to carry there many casks full of water; the more, he says, the better. He was at Punney Kayal on August 21, and he wrote from there to Mansilhas that "the Badagas had left the place for Cabecate" [4].

We are not aware how long the army of Vitthala stayed on the Coromandel Coast; both Souza and Du Jarric say it remained there quite a long time, though it never reached the villages of the North [5]. We suppose that one of the reasons why Vitthala retreated was the recovery of his brother-in-law, which took place, no doubt, before he returned to Madura.

10. After these two compaigns in Travancore and in Coromandel, Vitthala remained in the South for a period of about twelve years, until 1558, as Viceroy of the southern country [6]. According to an inscription at Koiladi, he " was granted the whole country", *viz.* the South, by Sadasiva [7]. We know of one of his inscriptions at this time in the old temple of Perumal at Madura itself, in which he is called Rama Raya

1. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Alendal, September 5th, 1544, Ibid., p. 341.

2. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Alendal, September 5th, 1544, Ibid., p. 340.

3. Cf. above No. 8.

4. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Punnei Kayal, August 21st, 1544, Ibid., p. 337.

5. Souza, l. c.; Du Jarric, l. c.

6. 129 of 1905; *M. E. R., 1899-1900*, para 78. Cf. Sewell, II, p. 224.

7. 273 of 1901.

Vittaladeva Maharaya [1]. His authority was acknowledged in the whole Madura kingdom as far as Coimbatore and the South of Salem District; for we know that the old Kongudesa was under his sway [2], and he is said to have levied tribute even from Ceylon [3].

The epigraphical records acquaint us with two of the officers of Vitthala during his governorship of the South. One was Ramappa Nayak, his agent at Kalakadu, in 1552 [4]; and the other was Timmapa Nayaka, son of Basavana Nayaka. This Basavana Nayaka, made three grants to the Kudal Alagar temple at Madura for the merit of Vitthala [5]. In fact Basavana himself is, in an inscription at Tirukkurungudi, Tinnevelly, said to have been an officer of Vitthala [6].

The relations between Visvanatha Nayak and the Viceroy Vitthala must have been those of cordial friendship and mutual understanding; but pending the discovery of new inscriptions this question remains without a satisfactory solution. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar supposes that Visvanatha and his son Krishnappa Nayaka were subordinate to Vitthala [7]; perhaps his statement is based on an inscription of 1550, in which Visvanatha is called the agent of the Mahamandalesvara Rama Raya Vitthalayadeva Maharaja, for whose merit he presents a gift of a *devadana* hold of land [8]. But this only proves the friendly relations between the two chiefs.

The sphere of action of Vitthala was quite different from that of Visvanatha. The latter, as a ruler, had to administer his kingdom, and occasionally to subdue the rebel Palaiyakarans or other chiefs under his authority. But the aim of Vitthala was to re-conquer Travancore and Coromandel for the

1. Sewell, I, p. 292.
2. 5 and 27 of 1906.
3. 129 of 1905; *M.E.R., 1905*, p. 60. The date 1536 is evidently wrong.
4. 428 of 1916; 129 of 1905.
5. 557, 558 and 559 of 1911.
6. Rangacharya, III, p. 1472, 237.
7. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 14.
8. 599 of 1916. In the inscription 721 of 1915 Visvanatha is again called the agent of Vitthala.

Empire. There was no need of subordination to each other. Each could fulfill his aims independently. Nevertheless Visvanatha helped Vitthala in his expedition against Travancore, as well as in some of the expeditions against Coromandel. The relations between Vitthala and Visvanatha may be compared to those between the Agent of the Governor General and the Raja of one of the native tributary States in India now-a-days. And perhaps not to interfere in the matters of Visvanatha's Government, Vitthala spent a great deal of time during his viceroyalty in the city of Trichinopoly [1]. An inscription of 1545 at Ratnagiri, Trichinopoly, records that under the orders of Ramaraja Vitthalaraja, Timma, his younger brother, made a grant to the god on the said hill Ratnagiri [2]. Another of 1544 at Tiruvidaimarudur, Tanjore, refers to a gift of two villages to the Mahalingasvamin temple by Vitthala [3]. Again in 1546 he made another gift to the Ranganatha temple of Koviladi, Tanjore [4]. The action of the Viceroy over the the South was only opposed, as far as we know, by a young chief of the Chola country named Solaga, who became later on notorious for his cruelties [5].

II. During the time of his governorship Vitthala led several attacks against the Portuguese and their protegés the Paravas on the Coromandel Coast. These expeditions have not been narrated hitherto by any author of Indian History. We now propose to fill up this gap with the information given in the old Jesuit chronicles and Portuguese histories [6].

1. 273 of 1901.
2. 191 of 1914.
3. 140 of 1895.
4. 273 of 1901.

5. *Raghunathabhyudayam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 286. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, l. c., note, doubts the identity of the Viceroy Vitthala Raja opposed by Solaga and the nephew of Rama Raya. Fr. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 647, says that Solaga was eighty years old in 1597; hence he was thirty in 1547 during the viceroyalty of Vitthala over the South.

6. The sources consulted for the narration of the following raid of 1549 are these: Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 163-5; Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 451-5; Juvencio, *Epitome Historiae Soc. Jesu*, I, p.

The Portuguese possessions on the Coromandel Coast extended as far as Rameswaram; and between one and two leagues away from this famous town, in the village of Vedalai [1] on the frontier of the kingdom of Marava, they built a mud fort in which there was always a small garrison under a captain. Correa informs us that the Governor of Cochin went to inspect the fortress of Beadala, (Vedalai) near the sand-banks of Chilao (Ceylon) [2].

In the year 1549 there was at Vedalai a garrison of forty soldiers under the command of one Joao Fernandes Correa whose rapacity provoked an attack from the Badagas. He dug a trench close to his fort barring the path of the numerous Hindu pilgrims to the temple at Rameswaram, perhaps the most celebrated in the whole of southern India. Thus the pilgrims had to pay toll to the Portuguese; in consequence of which the alms received by the Brahmans of the temple at Rameswaram went on dwindling day by day. Accordingly the Brahmans, who were as covetous as the Portuguese captain, appealed to Madura, probably through the Setupati of Ramnad who was in charge of the causeway leading to Rameswaram; and the result was the Badaga invasion.

We have no knowledge as to whether Vitthala came over again to attack this fort; but we do know that six thousand soldiers appeared suddenly before Vadalai [3], among whom were some Muhammadans who easily made alliance with the Telugus against their former slaves. The Portuguese captain, seeing that it would be impossible to resist so large a force with such ammunition as he had, retreated towards the sea and

145-6; *Anonymous Life of St. Francis Xavier, M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 137-8; *Chronicon Societatis Jesu, M. H. S. J.*, I, p. 470; Nieremberg, *Varones Ilustres de la Compania de Jesus*, II, p. 137-8. Other documents will also be cited in the course of our narrative.

1. Bedala or Beadala say the Jesuit Chroniclers. About the location of Vedalai see Dessal, *Ou a ete martyrise le Ven. Antoine Criminal Soc. Jesu.*

2. Correa, IV, 6, p. 324.

3. Fr. Alphonso Cypriani wrote from Sao Thome, December 3rd, 1549, that there were only 15 Portuguese in Vedalai against five or six hundred Badagas: *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, p. 98.

with his garrison sought refuge in the islands of the coast. A great number of Paravas did the same, but their small boats could not receive the whole population.

Fr. Antonio Criminali, an Italian Jesuit, who had been appointed Superior of the missions among the Paravas of the Fishery Coast on St. Xavier's departure to Japan in May of the same year, was then in Rameswaram, instructing in the faith some Paravas who had been baptized shortly before [1]. On hearing that the Badagas were appaoaching Vedalai, he fled there to protect his Christians. He transported many in their frail craft. He was invited to do the same; but refused to do so until every one of his flock had left the village. From the landing place he walked to the small chapel of St. Vincent where many of the Christians had taken refuge: but before reaching it he encountered two detachments of Telugu soldiers, who however did not molest him. Then a third detachment arrived; and one of the solders in the rear, a Muhammadan on horse-back, pierced his left side with a lance. The father fell down, but getting up after a while walked again towards the chapel. There he met some other soldiers who finally beheaded him and, raising his head on the top of a spike, placed it afterwards as a sign of their valour over the door of the chapel [2]. Some Paravas were also murdered on this

1. Souza, Du Jarric and others do not mention the name of this place; but the following authorities record that it was Ramanacor or Rameswaram: Annual letter of the Goa Mission announcing the murder of Fr. Criminali, dated Goa, June 19th, 1549, *Litterae Indiarum nunc primum editae* (Florentiae, 1877), XXIV, para 15; Letter from the Bishop of Goa to the Queen of Portugal, Goa, October 25th, 1549, Massara, *Del P. Antonio Criminali* (Parma 1899); Letter from Fr. A. Gomez, Rector of the Jesuit College at Goa to the King of Portugal, *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, XXII, p. 102; *Chronicon S.J.*, *M.H.S.J.*, I, p. 470. Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, p. 627; Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad Sanguinis*, p. 212-4.

2. The Dutch traveller Nieuhoff, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 245, relates likewise the tragic death of this missionary. He says that the head and garments of Criminali were at last triumphantly carried by the soldiers to their temple at Trichendur. Fr. Criminali is supposed to be the protomartyr of the Society of Jesus. Certainly he

occasion, and others reduced to captivity. The chapel as well as the fort was razed to the ground, and the trench dug by the captain was filled up. The Jesuit chronicles conclude their account by saying that the soldiers went finally to Rameswaram to pay a visit to the temple. Probably on account of this and other similar expeditions, we read in the *History of the Karnataka Governors* that Visvanatha protected the pilgrims who used to go to Rameswaram [1].

12. But two years later, at the end of 1551, peace on the Fishery Coast was again disturbed by the soldiers of Vitthala. They captured a young Portuguese Jesuit Father named Paolo de Valle; but the Paravas, appearing suddenly in the Telugu camp after some days, succeeded in rescuing him. This valiant action of the Christians provoked another incursion of the Badagas. On reaching the sea-shore, they saw only the rafts of the Paravas at a distance carrying with them the Portuguese Jesuit, who died soon after as a result of the hardships of his captivity [2].

At this time, however, it appears evident that quite a good number of villages of the Fishery Coast, if not all, had promised to pay an annual tribute to the Nayak of Madura to obtain freedom from future molestation by occasional incursions [3]. This tribute consisted in the catch of

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died for the sake of the Christians, but it seems that the reason of his murder was not hatred of the Christian faith. These expeditions of the Badagas had a political reason; and beyond doubt his murderers supposed that he was one of the paranguis or Portuguese, against whom they were waging war. These remarks are not calculated to detract in any way from the virtue of Criminali. St. Xavier, writing to St. Ignatius from Cochin, on January 14th, 1549, described him as follows: "Antonio Criminali is now in Comorin with six others belonging to the Society. He is a holy man indeed, believe me, and just born to be the apostle of this country. I beg you to send here many like him, of whom you have plenty there, I am sure". *M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 482-3.

1. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 15.
2. Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 174; Du Jarric, I, p. 459.
3. Souza, o. c., p. 175.

one day's fishing, which, according to Couto, would amount to about ten thousand *pardaos* [1].

Now it happend in the year 1552 that one of the nobles of the kingdom of Travancore, with a strong detachment of soldiers, invaded several villages of the South of Coromandel near Cape Comorim, pillaging the poor villages and capturing some of them. The rest of thc inhabitants, who were all Christians, appealed to the Nayak of Madura, their protector; this was naturally an inducement to Visvanatha, who accordingly, proceeded at once with his army against the villages belonging to the Malayalam noble, entered them by surprise and ravaged them. On hearing this the Travancore Maharaja became furious; and since he could not oppose the forces of Madura, joined forces with Vitthala and overpowered the poor Christians of the villages who had appealed to Visvanatha. The combined army arrived in the silence of the night, and a great slaughter of people took place before dawn; one of the victims was a Portuguese Missionary, Luis Mendez, a Lay Brother of the Society [2].

13. But Vitthala was not satisfied with this apparent submission of the villages of Coromandel; the Portuguese were still the lords of the pearl fisheries and were practically in possession of the whole country. His object was to crush them completely. And since on former occasions they had always escaped by sea, he made an alliance with a Muhammadan pirate named Irapali (...Ali), a subject of the Zamorim of Calicut; so that now, while the Muhammadans attacked the Coast by sea, Visvanatha Nayak with the Telugu troops would attack the Portuguese by land [3]. The place for launching the assault was Punney Kayal, the capital of the Portuguese settlements of the Fishery Coast, with a garrison of 50 soldiers [4] under captain Manoel Rodrigues Coutinho.

1. Couto, VII, p. 249.

2. Souza, o. c., p. 175; Du Jarric, o. c., p. 459.

3. No mention is made here of Vitthala. I am inclined to believe that the apellation 'Vichuva, Capitao dos Badagas' must refer to Visvanatha Nayaka, because this chief is called Vizuva Naiche by Fr Bartoli, *Dell, Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu, L' Asia*, VII, p. 161. Cf. infra No. 16.

4. Seventy, according to Couto and Faria y Souza.

Accordingly at the end of June of the year 1553, the Muslim fleet took up a position in front of the Coromandel Coast ; it was composed of some galleons and forty sloops. A small village called Mugel, formed just a year before, was the first to be attacked; twenty fishing boats and many Paravas were captured. From there they went straight to Punny Kayal; and on the first of May five hundred Muhammadan soldiers landed on the shore but were valiantly repulsed by the fifty soldiers of the place. The standard-bearer, one Antonio Franco de Gusmao, attacked the standard-bearer of the Muhammadans, an Abyssinian soldier, and after capturing his standard killed him on the spot. On seeing the defeat of his detachment the Muslim chief who was on board his galleon came with reinforcements. But the Portuguese soldiers considered themselves unable to resist the horde of Muhammadan combatants who numbered fifteen hundred. Almost all the Portuguese retreated. But Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho, their captain, left alone with seventeen of his men, stood where he was till he was convinced by his men that he ought to retreat to the town, where behind the brick walls of the fort they could better resist the attack of the enemies. They did so ; but on reaching the town, were all captured by the soldiers of Vitthala, while the Muhammadans took possession of the town itself together with the fort. Irapali issued a proclamation to all the inhabitants of the Coromandel Coast announcing the end of the Portuguese rule, and inviting all to become the disciples of the Prophet unless they prefered to feel the edge of the Muhammadan sword.

When this news reached Cochin, the Portuguese of that settlement resolved to avenge the offence to the Christian name and the national honour. Gil Fernandez de Carvalho offered to lead the forces against the Muslims. He was given a huge galliot, three lighters and one sloop. After three days, with one hundred and seventy men, they left Cochin and arrived before Punney Kayal where the Muhammadan fleet was lying a little to the north at Calecare. They went there, but could not cross the sand-bank at the mouth of the harbour owing to an unfavourable wind; one of the lighters, however, commanded by Lourenco Coelho, attempted to cross

and ran aground. As soon as the Muhammadans who were anchored between the sand-bank and the shore saw this, they surrounded the boat and a great fight ensued. This lasted the whole day, the Portuguese being determined not to surrender to the enemy; by evening all of them had been slaughtered, and many of the Muhammadans had likewise perished, among them Irapali himself.

This unfortunate action took place within sight of the Portuguese Commander, who could not go to Lourenco Coelho's assistance on account of the wind. Accordingly he retreated to a small neighbouring island, where he found another Portuguese boat going to Negapatam which made up for the loss of the first. Then an envoy of a Marava chieftain reached the place, and promised Gil Fernandez to attack the Muhammadans at Calecare while the Portuguese attacked them by sea. After a few days the wind changed; and on the fifteenth of May in the morning the two fleets met before Calecare. The Muslim forces outnumbered the Portuguese, but by evening all the Muhammadan galliots had been captured by the valiant Portuguese. Not a few of the followers of the late Irapali escaped by swimming; but the Marava chief, who was on the lookout, slaughtered many while the Portuguese took the rest.

After this glorious victory Gil Fernandez at once opened pourparlers with Vitthala for the rescue of Captain Coutinho, his wife and children, the fifty soldiers of the garrison and the Jesuit Father Enrique Enriquez, who happened to be at Punney Kayal at the time of the combined invasion of Vitthala and Irapali. A hundred thousand fanams were demanded as a ransom for Captain Coutinho and his family. Gil Fernandez found himself unable to accede to this; so he sent a secret message (through a Muhammadan of great influence who was a very good friend of the Portuguese) to Rama Raya at Vijayanagara asking for the favour of the captive's liberty. An order finally came to Vitthala to hand over the captives to Gil Fernandez. This was done in Tuticorin; Vitthala however demanded from Captain Continho the sum of a thousand

pardaos, which were partly given by the Christians of the Coast [1].

14. It was probably after this expedition that the whole of the Fishery Coast agreed to pay the small tribute of the catch of a day's fishing to the Nayak of Madura; for we do not read of any other inroad of Vitthala on the Coast of Coromandel. On the other hand we know that in the year 1558 Vitthala led another attack into the kingdom of Travancore; probably because its King, who was still Rama Varma, had again refused to pay his annual tribute.

The Vijayanagara general invaded the Travancore territory with an army of six thousand soldiers. The Travancore sovereign was not able to oppose this force, since his own army consisted at most of a thousand soldiers. Rama Varma despatched an envoy to Fr. F. Perez, a Portuguese Jesuit, who was the Superior of the Travancore missions and resided at Calculam (Kalkulam), begging him to pray much to God for the success of his army. Fr. Perez promised to do so, and sent him a standard in the centre of which the name of Jesus was painted; at the same time he recommended that the ensign bearing this standard should precede the army, and that while engaging in battle all should fervently invoke the name of Jesus. This was done, and the Telugu soldiers, on hearing the roar, retreated panic-striken and were pursued by the Malayalams who slaughtered many of them [2].

Fr. Souza says that this standard was afterwards kept in the Royal Treasury, and at the end of his narrative makes the following remark: "I do not say anything else

1. Sousa, o. c., p. 177-80; Du Jarric, o. c., 459-60; Couto, VI, pt. 2, p. 456-65; Faria y Sousa, II, p. 270-1; Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, p. 719; Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu, L'Asia*, VII, p. 143-6; Lafitau, *Histoire des Decouvertes*, II, p. 522-4.

2. This fact may be explained naturally. Fr. Sousa supposes it to be a miracle. Fr. H. Hosten, S. J., St. Joseph's College, North Point, Darjeeling, who travelled through Trvancore in 1924, informs me that this banner cannot be found in the Maharaja's treasury, but the Syro-Christians of Travancore keep the tradition of this victory won under the banner of the name of Jesus to this day.

on this Kingdom, because I have found nothing else in the MSS" [1].

15. Was Vitthala killed in this retreat of his army from Travancore? We are not aware of it; we only know that no other mention of Rama Raya's cousin is made either in the Hindu inscriptions or in the western chronicles. Anyhow this year, 1558, marks the end of his governorship in the South [2].

Vitthala's aim was only partly attained. The defeat of his army in Travancore was practically equivalent to the complete independence of this kingdom. As to the Fishery Coast, the Portuguese remained there as powerful as ever; the only point conceded was the annual tribute of the catch of a day's fishing to the Madura Nayak, but the Paravas did not acknowledge any lords other than the Portuguese; if they paid such tribute to Madura it was only in order to get rid of the incursions of the Telugus on to their own shores. Caesar Frederick, who passed through the Fishery Coast in about 1567, says that "the Fishermen are all Christians of the Countrey; and who so will may go to fishing, paying a certain dutie to the King of Portugall, and the Churches of the Friers of Saint Paul (Jesuits) which are in that Coast" [3]. The Vijayanagara General had therefore not yet succeeded in gaining supreme power.

Although the success of the expedition of Vitthala was not so great, still apparently on account of this campaign Rama Raya is flattered in the *Ramarajiyamu*, with the title of 'Planter of Pillars of victory at Cape Comorin and on the banks of the Bhima' [4].

16. The end of the viceroyalty of Vittala was not the end of their troubles for the Paravas of the Fishery Coast; because in the year 1560 Visvanatha, the Nayak of Madura, again invaded the country, demanding the catch of two days' fishing

1. Souza, o. c., p. 188.

2. According to Souza, o. c., p. 193, Vichuva (Vitthala) was still in the South in 1560. But his account on this occasion is not trustworthy, as contradictory to other Portuguese sources.

3. Purchas, X, p. 105.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 182.

as the tribute due to him. The vanguard of his army, headed by a Deccani captain named Melrao, reached Punney Kayal some day in the month of August, early in the morning. They set fire to all the houses they could. But it happened that at the time there was in Punney Kayal a strong detachment of soldiers, who had come to the Fishery Coast some days before under the command of Dom Duarte de Menezes, a Portuguese noble. On learning the cause of the revolt, Dom Duarte immediately proceeded with his forty soldiers to encounter Melrao and his army. The fight was long and indecisive. Meanwhile the whole population was able to take refuge in the mud fort which overlooked the river. Manoel Rodrigues Coutinho, who was still the captain of the fort, set out to drive the enemies out of the town. They were on the point of succeeding in this enterprise. For Dom Duarte de Menezes had valliantly killed Melrao and had put to flight the rest of his enemies. But just then the main body of the army commanded by Visvanatha Nayaka himself appeared on the scene [1].

Neither Menezes nor Coutinho were able to resist the enemy, and so started a slow retreat towards the fort, which was reached by Coutinho after he was wounded. Then at high-tide all the women and children were embarked on several sloops that came up the river near which the fort was built. Finally, as the fort was very weak and the enemies very numerous, it was decided to surrender it; accordingly all the men boarded a sloop and Coutinho surrendered the fort before he embarked. But the tide being on the ebb, so that no ships could sail away, all were captured by Visvanatha after a stout resistance. Thereupon the whole town was sacked and destroyed.

A fortnight of captivity followed. When this was over Coutinho proposed to the Madura Nayak to pay a thousand fanams as every one's ransom. Visvanatha agreed, and accordingly all were set free, excepting the Jesuit Missionary Fr. Joao de Mesquita, who was retained as hostage, while Coutinho was to visit Tuticorin to collect the price of their liberty. In the meantime, an opportunity for escape offering itself, Fr. Mes-

1. Couto and Faria y Sousa call him Bisminaique.

quita took advantage of it and finally reached Tuticorin safe and sound [1].

We hear no more of Visvanatha's expeditions against the Paravas and the Portuguese of the Coromandel Coast. From this we may conclude that Coutinho finally paid the price agreed upon, and that perhaps even the Paravas consented to pay him the catch of two days' fishing, as demanded. Moreover at the end of the same year the Portuguese Viceroy, Dom Constantino de Braganca, built a fortress on the opposite island of Manar, to which the inhabitants of Punney Kayal were transferred, in order to secure them against the incursions of Visvanatha Nayaka [2]. The Madura ruler vainly tried to impede the realization of the Viceroy's scheme. [3]. In 1597, Fr. Nicolao Pimenta visited this new settlement: "We passed that Cape (of Rameswaram)", he writes to Fr. General C. Aquaviva, "and came to Talemanare at the entrance of the Ile Manare, and having visited the Churches in the Island, passed the River and went by land to the Pearle-fishing" [4]. At the end of the century the fortress built in Manar was in a ruinous state. It was restored and fortified again through the diligence of the Jesuits working among the Christian Paravas of the Fishery Coast [5]. The Dutch traveller John Nieuhoff, who passed through Manar in 1662, says that "this city as well as its castle call'd Ragu acknowledge the Portuguese for its founders, the castle being built for their better security against the attempts of the Naik or Nayk, lord of the circumjacent country" [6].

17. This was perhaps the last campaign of this valiant general. The *Mrtyunjaya MSS.* inform us that during his life-time he caused his son Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka to be anointed [7].

1. Couto, VII, p. 249-55; Faria y Sousa, II, p. 343-4; Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia de Gesu, L'Asia*, VII, p. 160-2, 164-5.

2. Faria y Sousa, I, p. 348.

3. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, p. 318.

4. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 207.

5. From King Philip III to the Viceroy, Lisbon, January 22nd, 1601, Ap. B, No. XX.

6. Nieuhoff, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 199.

7. Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, p. 117. Cf. 121 of 1894.

The latter's wife was Lakshmamma, [1] or Lakshmyambika [2]. We do not know exactly the date of this memorable event in the history of Madura which marks the end of the reign of the Nayak founder. Mr. Rangachari places the accession of Kumara Krishnappa in 1562 [3]; but according to Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar the date 11th of Tai, Rudhirodgari corresponds approximately to the 25th of January, 1564 [4]. Anyhow it seems quite certain that Visvanatha's demise occurred shortly after the coronation of his son; so much so that there are suspicions that the anointing of Krishnappa took place at the death bed of his father. Hence we are inclined to believe that Visvanatha's renunciation occurred in 1563, since the first inscription we know of the reign of Krishnappa corresponds also to this date [5].

The founder of the Nayak Dynasty of Madura proved a valiant warrior and a skilful administrator. The Palaiyakaran system was developed by him in the South. This system, though somewhat defective as fomenting ambitions and weakening the central power, was nevertheless a definite progressive step towards the modern federation of states. In this respect Visvanatha Nayaka's administrative system was far in advance of his age. In his rule he was energetic and practical; he is called "the best skilled in putting down disputes": in his presence Timmappa Nayaka, the King's agent, settled some disputes between the two parties of the inhabitants of Kondakai [6].

Knowing that agriculture is one of the best sources of wealth, Visvanatha fostered it with great interest by the creation of extensive water-courses which he ordered to be

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1. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 187, vv. 67-79.

2. Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 297, vv. 60-61; Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, Ibid., p. 320, vv. 53-98.

3. *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 81.

4. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 68.

5. 17 of 1912. Sewell, II, p. 201, thinks that Visvanatha died in December, 1563.

6. Burgess, p. 108-9; Rangacharya, II, p. 1177, 166.

opened in Madura [1], in Trichinopoly [2], and in Tinnevelly [3]; and in this way the rivers communicated with the fields. Thus he fertilized extensive districts [4] and laid out new fields for tillage and brought new inhabitants to cultivate them [5]. His interest in the progress of agriculture is also shown by the fact that he once dispatched his minister Ariyanatha to inspect the agricultural improvements of the District of Tinnevelly [6]. The progress in agriculture increased the number of inhabitants; hence many new villages were built by Visvanatha's order in these three districts, while the old ones were repaired and beautified [7].

Hinduism was also fostered by "the pious son of Kotyam Nagama Nayadu", as he is called in a grant of 1560 [8]. Visvanatha was a very staunch Hindu who carried from Vijayanagara to Madura the statue of the goddess Durga, and as soon as he reached his capital, restored and enlarged its temple. The *History of the Karnataka Governors* informs us that he also built the temple of Srirangam [9]; but since we know that Srirangam already existed before the conquest of Visvanatha [10], this must have reference to the enlargements carried out by his order. As a matter of fact, the *Srirangam-Koyil-olugu* records that Visvanatha made to the god Ranganatha gifts of several golden vessels, costly ornaments and pieces of land to the extent of three lakhs of pons [11]. The *Tiruppanimalai* also mentions several of his gifts to the god Sundaresvara of Madura [12]. Moreover he erected many new temples in

1. *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 15.
2. Ibid., p. 17.
3. Ibid., p. 21.
4. Ibid., p. 15.
5. Ibid., p. 17.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 15, 17, and 21.
8. Sewell, II, p. 2, 10.
9. Taylor, o. c., p. 17.
10. Cf. Ch. VI, No. 3.
11. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 305.
12. Ibid.

Tinnevelly [1] and in other parts of his dominions, and along with them the usual mandapams and connected places [2]. Similarly in many parts of his dominions he built agraharams or Brahman streets [3].

We know also of a grant made by him for the religious service of a mosque: in 1560 he gave a plot of land in the Ramnad District to Mullamakudam Mullaperoja (Mullha Pheroz?) for the maintenance and lighting of a mosque for the use of fakirs [4].

As to Visvanatha's attitude towards the Empire, he was always as faithful a subject of the Vijayanagara Emperor, as when he went to wage war against his father. In 1535, during his first viceroyalty, he is called an officer of Achyuta [5]; and though already a king, he calls himself 'the agent of Sadasiva' [6]. In 1558 he is called also 'the agent of Ramarajadeva Maharaja' [7]. In 1560 he makes a gift of taxes on looms for the merit of the same Aliya Ramarajayyan [8]. In 1561 an inscription records a gift of his son Krishnappa Nayaka to the Tinnevelly temple and mentions the same Rama Raya [9]. From all these inscriptions and grants we know that Visvanatha's relations with the Empire were those of a faithful tributary king to his overlord.

The fact that Visvanatha struck coins in his own name [10] does not prove that he ever broke allegiance with the Emperor; since all the provincial rulers of the Empire had independent coinage, as it is testified by Frederick in his travels

1. *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor, o.c., p. 21.
2. Ibid., p. 17.
3. Ibid., p. 15, 17, and 21.
4. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 28.
5. 113 of 1908; *M.E.R., 1909*, p. 119.
6. Burges, p. 108-9.
7. 385 of 1916.
8. 622 of 1915.
9. 28 of 1894.
10. Cf. Hultzsch, *South Indian Copper Coins*, *Ind. Ant.*, XXI, p. 325, Nos 14-16.

through South India [1]. Nor is it to be supposed that the development of the Palaiyam administrative system was intended to create a new empire in the South which would rival one day the empire of the North. Such ambitious intentions were far from Visvanatha's mind. We must admit, however, that Visvanatha's system of government paved the way for the future rebellions of some of his successors, and was responsible for the treason of Tirumala Nayaka.

18. The first trouble proceeding from this system arose shortly after Visvanatha's death in the beginning of Krishnappa's reign. One of the Palaiyakarans, a certain Tumbichchi Nayaka, an old man of great influence (as is shown by his being mentioned along with the Emperor Achyuta in an inscription of Ramnad [2]), rebelled against the Madura Nayak, captured several towns for himself and built a fort which he called Parambai-kudi (Paramakudi). Krishnappa Nayaka could not at this juncture make use of the services of his minister and general Ariyanatha, who had gone northwards to assist the Empire against the Muhammadans [3]. But with great speed he himself marched against the rebel, overthrew him in battle, took possession of the whole of his country, and put Tumbichchi to death. Then two of the sons of the rebel chief appeared before Krishnappa, and kneeling down at his feet implored his clemency: the Nayak gave them the fort of Paramakudi together with the adjoining pettah, and some villages around which constituted a small Palaiyam, and appropriated to himself the whole of Tumbichchi's territory [4].

Not long after this Krishnappa was obliged to wage another war in Ceylon against the King of Kandy, probably to exact the tribute he refused to pay to the Empire [5]. The

1. Purchas, X, p. 99.

2. 398 of 1907.

3. Cf. Ch. IX, No. 3.

4. *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor, o. c., p. 23; *Singhala dwipa Raja Ratha*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 278; this work erroneously calls Tumbi Nayaka king of Ceylon.

5. This was the real cause of the war, not the bitter words of the king of Kandy against Krishnappa on the occasion of Tumbi-

Singhala dvipa Catha states that the Madura Nayak along with fifty-two of his Palaiyakarans embarked for Ceylon at Navapashana and landed at Manar. Before invading the Kandy territory Krishnappa sent a conciliatory message to the King demanding his tribute. But Jayawira the Sinhalese Sovereign rejected it, and despatched an army of forty thousand men under four ministers and eight governors to oppose the invaders. The two armies met at Puttalam, where the army of Kandy was defeated and routed by the general Chinna Kesava Nayaka with twenty thousand men. Among the prisoners there were two ministers, five chieftains and other influential people of Ceylon. The poem says that these captives in vain urged their King to yield. But the Kandy sovereign, collecting an army of sixty thousand Sinhalese and ten thousand Kaffirs (Portuguese?), marched against the Madura King. In the bloody struggle that ensued eight thousand Kaffirs and about as many Sinhalese were slaughtered, while the King of Kandy himself lost his life in the engagement. His corpse was taken with due honours to his capital [1].

Krishnappa Nayaka could not remain long in Ceylon, since the administration of his kingdom required his presence in the capital. The poem upon which we base our account says that he remained in Kandy only three days. He treated the family of the deceased King with great kindness and sent them to Aurangam, the old capital of Ceylon ; and, after appointing his brother-in-law, Vijaya Gopala Nayaka, his Viceroy in Ceylon, returned to Madura [2]. This appointment was doubtless only temporary, as we do not hear of any subsequent viceroyalty. Vijaya Gopala's purpose was to arrange the

chchi's execution. Visvanatha Nayaka had also waged war in Ceylon. Dom Joao de Castro, Governor of Goa, writing to King Joao III on the 6th of December, 1546, mentions this war made by the Madure, *viz.* de Nayak of Madura, then Visvanatha Nayaka, against the King of Conde (Kandy). Castro sent forty soldiers to protect the latter against the incursions of the Nayak. *Obras Varias Manuscriptas*, fol. 113. I could not find any other trace of this war.

1. No mention is made of this defeat in the Ceylon chronicles. The numbers of combatants are, no doubt, exaggerated.

2. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne*, III p. 183-6.

administration of the country and to procure the regular payment of the tribute.

This conquest of Ceylon was probably the last important event of the South during the reign of Sadasiva. His inscription of 1564, in which he records having plundered Ceylon, refers probably to the expedition of Krishnappa Nayaka [1]. In the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, he is said to have "acquired the overlordship of the South" [2], a title which he deserved on account of these two successful wars.

1. 451 of 1905. Cf. Ch. IV, No. 2.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 320, vv. 53—58.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NAYAKS OF TANJORE, JINJI AND IKERI, THE RAJAS OF MYSORE AND OTHER FEUDATORY CHIEFS

SUMMARY.—1. Foundation of the Nayakship of Tanjore.-2. Sevvappa Nayaka's reign.—3. Foundation of the Nayakship of Jinji.—4. Foundation of the Nayakship of Keladi-Ikeri.—5. Sadasiva Nayaka and his successors.—6. The Rajas of Mysore.—7. Kempe Gowda I of Yelahanka. Foundation of Bangalore.—8. The chiefs of Bellur and Chitaldroog.—9. The kingdom of Honavar annexed to that of Bhatkal.—10. Treaty between the Portuguese and the Queen of Bhatkal.—11. Bukkadevi, Queen of Ullal, and the Portuguese. Erection of a Portuguese fort at Mangalore. Other petty states in Karnataka.—12. The Rajas of Udiripikonda, Venkatagiri and Vellore.—13. Other minor chiefs.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES—1, Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra, Rukmini-parinaya, Sahithyarathnakarakaviyam, Jaimini Bharatamu, Keladi Raya Paditti, Sivattatvaratnakara, Keladi Arasu Vamsavali, Valugutivaru Vamsavali.*—3. *Tratados (Archivo da Torre do Tombo,* Lisbon*).*—4. Faria y Sousa, Barros.—5. C. Frederick.

IT is not yet known for certain when the Chola kingdom of Tanjore first came under the subjection of Vijayanagara. It seems that Prince Kumara Kampana Odeyar conquered the Tanjore territories when sent against the Muhammadans of Madura by Bukka I [1]. Since that time the Chola Princes were supposed to be under the sway of the Telugu Emperors in the same way as the Pandyas of Madura. On the southern wall of the big temple of Tanjore there is an inscription of Deva Raya II, of the year 1455 [2], and in two other temples of the same city, *viz.* that of the Alagesuvara Pillaiyar, in the southern fortification, and that of the god Rajagopal in the North Street, are to be seen two inscriptions of Achyuta Raya corresponding to the years 1532 and 1539 respectively [3].

1. Cf. Ch. VI, No. 3.

2. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, II, p. 118.

3. Kuppuswami Sastri, *A Short History of the Tanjore Nayak Princes*, p. 1.

It is precisely this Prince to whom the foundation of the Nayakship of Tanjore is attributed. According to the *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, the Chola country was ruled by Visvanatha Nayaka from Madura as a subordinate of the Emperor of Vijayanagara; but on the occasion of the wedding of Murtimambal (the younger sister of his wife Tirumalamba) with Sevvappa, Achyuta appointed the latter sole Viceroy over the Chola country, which was given him as the *stridhana*, or dowry of his bride [1]. The date of this important event is not yet ascertained : the first inscription of his that we know of is on a stone pillar in the Samusaru mosque, near the Tanjore Railway Station; it corresponds to the year 1549 [2]. But this was not the first year of the reign of Sevvappa Nayaka, for Achyuta Raya had probably died at the end of 1541. Now, we know from the *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra* that Tanjore was governed by Visvanatha Nayaka of Madura, even after the death of Chandra Sekhara Pandya when the former had already been appointed King of the southern throne [3] (and this could not but have happened at the end of Achyuta's reign [4]). Hence we must assign the same year 1541 as the probable date for the foundation of the Tanjore Nayakship.

According to the epic *Rukmini-parinaya*, the parents of Sevvappa Nayaka were the sudra Timma or Trimmapa Nayaka and Vayyamba [5] or Bayyambika [6]. It seems that Sevvappa's father and grandfather and other elders of his family were generals under the kings of Vijayanagara [7], and that he himself had been a valiant general; for the epic *Sahithyaratnakarakaviyam* states that he became master of Tanjore by his own prowess [8], *i. e.* by his prowesss he won Achyuta's sister-in-law, and with her the kingdom of Tanjore as her dowry.

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 323 ; Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne*, III, p. 176.
2. Cf. Kuppuswami Sastri, o. c., p. 4.
3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, l.c.
4. Cf. Ch. VII, No. 1.
5. *Rukmini-parinaya*, III, 34. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 343, note 3.
6. *Raghunathabhyudayam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 284-5.
7. Cf. Kuppuswami Sastri, o. c., p. 3.
8. Ibid.

2. We know very little of the reign of Sevvappa Nayaka, who was equally subject to Vijayanagara with Visvanatha Nayaka of Madura. His works of public utility are about the only things regarding which we have any information. He built for instance a big tank ontside the Tanjore fort which was destined to feed the Sivaganga tank inside it, in order to supply the inhabitants of the capital with water [1]. The name it bears to the present day reminds the one of its builder : it is called Sevvappaneri. The new Sivaganga fort of Tanjore was also built by him [2]. Besides he enlarged and beautified many temples throughout his dominions. The *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra* records that Sevvappa built many towers, mantapas and prakaras (compounds) to the temples of Tiruvannamalai and Vrddhachalam [3]. The *Sahithyarathnakarakaviyam* mentions a big tank dug by him outside the temple of Tiruvannamalai as well as the eleven-storeyed gopura of the same temple [4]. A strange fact is that in 1549 he granted a piece of land for the maintenance of fakirs. This is recorded in the inscription of the aforesaid Samusaru Mosque at Tanjore [5].

The relations of Sevvappa with the Portuguese were very friendly. Several Portuguese merchants had in the beginning of his reign, or perhaps even earlier, settled in a small village on the coast near Tanjore called Nagapatam. To quote from the anonymous life of St. Xavier, "they were greatly favoured by the lord of that country who is a very powerful Captain of the king of Bisnaga" [6]. Encouraged by this show of favour, more and more Portuguese established themselves there as years went on. They built several

1. *Sahithyarathnakarakaviyam*, canto III, v. 3 (Raja Sarfoji's Library, Tanjore, No. 10291); *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 323.

2. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, l. c.

3. Ibid.

4. *Sahithyarathnakarakaviyam*, canto III, v. 6.

5. Kuppuswami Sastri, o.c., p. 4.

6. *M. H. S. I., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 59. This powerful lord can be no other than Sevvappa Nayaka, who was the contemporary of St. Xavier.

good houses, and the former village was converted into 'half a city'. There was no Portuguese authority in the town, since it was supposed that it belonged to the Tanjore Nayak; but every three years the Portuguese Viceroy, or Governor, used to send a captain to administer justice among his subjects. Negapatam became after a few years a very rich and noble city [1]. It contained two churches, one dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi and the other to Our Lady of Health (Nossa Senhora da Saude) [2]. Caesar Frederick who visited Negapatam in 1567 calls it "a very great Citie, and very populous of Portugals and Christians of the Country and part Gentile" [3].

Sevvappa's reign lasted a considerable time; we shall again speak of him when dealing with the reign of Ranga I.

3. We do not possess very good information about the foundation of the Nayakship of Jinji. According to the above mentioned work of Narayan, the *Karnataka Rajakal Savistara Charitram*, the first Raja of that place was Ananta Kon, who about 1200 A. D. became the founder of the Shepherd Dynasty. At the end of the 14th century an army of Vijayanagara defeated the Raja of Jinji, named Kobilingam, and took possession of the country around [4]. This expedition must be the one of Kumara Kampana; because during Kampana's campaign in the South we find his general Gopanaraya at Jinji as governor of the country. [5]. He appears to have had jurisdiction over the South as far as Chidambaram, for according to the *Guruparampara* Sri Vedanta Desika, taking advantage of an internal commotion in Chidambaram, compelled Gopanaraya of Jinji to re-place there the image of Govinda Raja [6]. Later on, probably at Gopanaraya's death, the Jinji country was delivered to Narasinga

1. Ibid.

2. *O Gabinete Literario das Fontainhas*, I, p. 86. It is recorded that in the very first years of the Portuguese occupation of Negapatam, about three hundred Hindus were baptized.

3. Purchas, X, p. 108.

4. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, III, p. 39.

5. Cf. Ch. VI, No. 3.

6. Cf. Rangacharya, I, p. 132, 64.

Udiyar to be held as a fief: he accepted it with the promise to send an annual tribute to the emperor [1]. Then we find Vala Krishnappa Nayakkan mentioned as Raja of Senji (Jinji); his son Vala Venkatapati Nayakkan in 1464, during the reign of Rama Deva Maharaya (?), drew up a document recorded in an inscription at Jinji [2]. According to Prof. Srinivasachari this Vala Venkatapati probably was the one who persecuted the Jains of the neighbourhood in 1478 [3]. Nevertheless, Jinji was subsequently lost to Vijayanagara; for the *Jaimini Bharatamu* informs us that Saluva Narasimha conquered Jinji during his campaign in the South [4].

Leaving aside the conquest of the whole of the Tamil country during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya, which has been previously narrated [5], we shall mention here Tubaki Krishnappa Nayaka, who seems to have started the line of the Nayaks of Jinji, dependent on the Vijayanagara sovereigns, just after that conquest. His rule lasted till 1521. Many buildings of the Jinji fortress are attributed to him, such as the fortifications at the top of Rajagiri, the granary in the lower fort and the Kalyana Mahal. The enclosure of the present fortress, with the impressive bastioned wall and ditch, enclosing the three mountains, seems also to have been his work. He founded many pettahs around the primitive town [6]. He was, it seems, succeeded by one Achyuta Vijaya Ramabhadra Nayaka, who ruled over Jinji during the reign of Achyuta Raya. In a ruined temple at Chandragiri, near the palace, an inscription of this monarch records a gift by Achyutaraya Nayaka, governor of Jinji [7].

As to the reign of Sadasiva, an inscription on the South wall of the central shrine in the Venkataramaswamin temple at

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1. Taylor, l. c.
2. Sewell, II, p. 9; Rangacharya, I, p 172, 359.
3. Srinivasachari, *The History of Gingee*, p. 7 - 8.
4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 86.
5. Cf. Ch. VI, No. 7.
6. *The Mackenzie MSS.*, I, p. 353 (Madras Oriental MSS. Library)
7. 244 of 1904.

Jinji mentions the name of the Nayak of Jinji at this time, without stating whether he was a relation of the governor Achyuta or not. This inscription records a gift of land made by King Sadasiva, and another gift made by Surappa Nayaka, for the merit of Sadasiva, who is entitled Vira Pratapa Maharaya. Both these gifts were made in 1550 [1]. The drama *Bhavana-purushottama* by the famous poet Ratnakheta Srinivasa Dikshita gives some information about this Surappa, at whose court the poet lived. Surappa's father had been Pota Bhupala who had married Vengalamba, and by her got Surappa Nayaka besides two other sons, Divakara Nayaka and Bhairava Nayaka [2].

4. We pass now from the East to the West of the Empire, *viz.* to the old Karnataka country [3]; and the most important subordinate state we find there at this time is that of Keladi, afterwards called of Ikeri. There are diverse opinions concerning the origin of its Nayaks [4]. Their ancestors, according to the *Keladi Raya Paditti*, their family chronicle, had originally been hereditary *gowdas* or chiefs of five or six villages in the neighbourhood of Keladi [5]. We know from the *Sivatattvaratnakara* that a person named Basava or Basavappa, according to the *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali*, a husbandman [6] of the Sudra caste [7], married a woman of the same name, and that by her he had four sons. After the death of Basava and the first two children, his widow gave birth to two posthumous sons who were named Chauda and Bhadra. On one occasion, when Chauda

1. 240 of 1904. There is another inscription at Jambai, South Arcot, probably belonging to the same chief: 104 of 1906.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 272, note.

3. The present word Kanara is but a corruption of the word Karnataka, made by the Portuguese. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 189, says: "This kingdom of Charnataca (or Canara which is a corrupted form made to shorten the name) had no Sovereign till the year 1200;" and speaking shortly after of the city of Visajanagar (sic) he says that Visnaga is likewise a corruption of it. Cf. V. B. Alur, *The Karnatak and its Place in Indian History*, *Q. J. M. S.*, IX, p. 33.

4. Cf. Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 431.

5. Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras*, II, p. 379.

6. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 333.

7. Sewell, II, p. 177.

was ploughing his land, his ploughshare is said to have struck considerable buried treasure. With it he managed to become the headman of the village, and as such, he collected a small company of soldiers. The then king of the country, who was probably Krishna Deva Raya [1], on hearing of this, sent for Chauda. Krishna Deva Raya was much pleased to hear his story; and knowing the personal character of the Keladi man, appointed him governer of Pulla-desa with the title of Keladi Chaudappa Nayaka. Chaudappa had two sons, Sadasiva and Bhadra [2]. He died soon after; but not before he had appointed Sadasiva his successor.

Sadasiva proved a very fine governor. The poem says that "the people were happy under him." On hearing of his achievements Rama Raya, the Regent of Vijayanagara, called him to the court in order to employ him in the wars against the Muhammadans. Rama Raya was at the time engaged in some business that required his presence in the capital; so he put Sadasiva at the head of his army, which, in alliance with the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, was to attack the Bijapur fort at Kaliyani. We have already narrated the achievements of Sadasiva during this campaign [3]. He was also despatched against some rebellious chiefs of the Karnatak [4]. He overran this country as far as Kasargod, and captured the forts of Barakura, Mangalura and Chandragutti [5]. Perhaps it was on account of these

1. I suppose that this is the reason of the confusion existing even in the contemporary sources about the creator of the Nayakship of Keladi-Ikeri. The *Keladi Raya Paddiṭṭi* affirms that its institutor was Krishna Deva Raya (Buchanan, l.c.) and the *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali* says that it was Achyuta Raya (Wilson, l.c.). But the real royal Nayakship of Keladi was not founded till the time of Chauda's son, Sadasiva Nayaka, who was appointed by Emperor Sadasiva.

2. It seems that the first of these two brothers took the name of Sadasiva, as Sadasiva Raya favoured him so much. The *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali* for instance, calls him Chaurapa. Cf. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 333.

3. Cf. Ch. V, No. 6.

4. Cf. Ch. IV, No. 2.

5. Cf. Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 433.

campaigns that one of the titles of the Nayaks of Ikeri was *Kote Kolahala*, disturber of forts [1]. Sadasiva was also sent against the Sultan of Bidar. Him he captured (along with seven constituents of his royalty) and brought as a present to Rama Raya, who gave him the title of *Satrusaptangaharana*, captor of the seven constituents of royalty of his enemies. Further, he joined an expedition against Travancore [2], and conducted another against two chiefs named Yadava and Murari in the country of Jalihalu, whom he defeated and brought as prisoners to his sovereign. The Emperor gave him the title of Yadavamu-rari Kotikolahala [3]. And it was probably then that his dominions were enlarged by the grateful sovereign, who thus caused the foundation of a Nayakship similar to those of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji, although the title had already been given to his father by Krishna Deva Raya.

5. After this series of campaigns, Sadasiva Nayaka retired to his capital. An inscription of 1554 records that Sadasiva Nayaka purchased a piece of land for the Brahmans [4].

But soon a new expedition was led by him against the governor of Bankapura, named Madarasa, who had considerably enlarged his dominions and was regarded as a menace. Madarasa was captured and led as prisoner to the Emperor [5]. Then Sadasiva erected several forts in the strategic points of his dominions, to provide against any eventuality: to wit, the forts of Keladi [6], Beakul [7] and Chandragiri, South Kanara [8]. He also built the temple of Isvara at Ikeri [9]. Upon him, later, was conferred the governorship of Barakura-rajya by Venkatadri, who was then 'ruling the whole kingdom' [10].

1. Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 156.
2. Cf. Ch. VII, No. 5.
3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 194-6.
4. Rangacharya, II, p. 850, 21.
5. *Sivatattvaratnakara*, Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 196.
6. Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras*, II, p. 381.
7. Ibid., p. 213.
8. Ibid.; Sewell, I, p. 258.
9. Buchanan, o. c., p. 380.
10. 168 of 1901; *M.E.R.*, *1911-12*, p. 179. It was at this period when the whole government was on the shoulders of Tirumala and Venkatadri. Cf. Ch. III, No. 9.

After this turbulent and successful career Sadasiva Nayaka, being too old to govern, bestowed upon his brother Bhadrappa Nayaka the title of Immadi Sadasiva Nayaka and anointed him governor in his stead. Then Sadasiva " retired to the forests in the evening of his life," says the *Sivatattvaratnakara* [1]. Sewell puts the end of Sadasiva's reign in the year 1576 [2]; but this date is obviously wrong, since his second successor was deposed by Rama Raya. We may say however that this event took place during the last years of Rama Raya, some time after 1560; because the reign of Bhadrappa Nayaka did not last long: the aforesaid poem says only that he " ruled for some time" [3]. He is said to have transferred the capital from Keladi to Ikeri [4]. Before his death he nominated the elder son of Sadasiva Nayaka, Dodda Sankanna Nayaka, as his successor, and the younger Chikka Sankanna Nayaka, as the heir-apparent [5]. There had been to Sadasiva by different mothers [6].

Dodda Sankanna Nayaka's rule was, it seems, of short duration. All we know of him is that he was deposed by Rama Raya for putting a Jangama priest to death. Rama Raya then made the former's brother, Chikka Sankanna, Nayak of Keladi in his stead [7]. It appears that Dodda Sankanna set out on a pilgrimage to the holy places of India from Rameswaram to the Himalayas, and lived in retirement for the rest of his days [8]. An inscription of Sadasiva Raya, bearing a wrong date, mentions Ramaraja Nayaka, grandson of Sadasiva Raya Nayak of Keladi [9]. This Ramaraya Nayaka must have been a son of one of these two brothers.

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, l. c.
2. Sewell, II, p. 177.
3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, l. c.
4. Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 431.
5. *Sivatattvaratnakara*, l. c.
6. Ibid., p. 194.
7. *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 333.
8. Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 433.
9. 131 of 1901.

6. The Keladi Nayaks of Ikeri were not the only rulers of the Karnataka country which were tributary to the power of Vijayanagara. Many petty states were formed or were then being formed. Of these we shall also give a brief account. The one that in due course became most important was the state of Mysore.

This country had come under the sway of Vijayanagara during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya. This monarch had crushed a refractory chief of those surroundings, the Ganga Raja of Ummatur, and had captured the strong fort of Sivasamudram and the city of Seringapatam. After this all the country had submitted to him [1]. The origin of the Rajas of Mysore is traceable to a legendary source. A grant of Kanthirava, of 1657, gives the genealogy of his family from Vishnu through Brahma, Atri, Indu, Buddha, Pururava and other heroes down to the historic founders of the family settled in the Karnataka country [2].

These were two young Kshatriyas of the tribe of Yadava, Krishna's tribe, named Vijaya and Krishna, who, according to tradition, had left Dvaraka in Gujarat to establish themselves in the South [3]. Their enterprise in rescuing the daughter of the Wodeyar of Hadana from the hands of the chief of Carugalli seems more a poetical figment than a historical fact. The truth is that Vijaya was fortunate enough to attain the chieftainship of one or two towns that proved to be the basis of the future aggrandizement of the family. We have no knowledge of the date of Vijaya's arrival in the South [4].

Nothing is definitely known of his descendants prior to the 16th century when Chama Raja is mentioned as succeed-

1. *Madras Journal*, XIV, p. 39.
2. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ch, 92.
3. Wilks, *History of Maysur*, I, p. 31; Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 361.
4. P. Krishna Row, *A Brief History of Mysore*, p. 4. Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 362, says that he ruled from 1399 to 1423. About the first settlement in the South of the Mysore ruling family, there is no agreement between Wilks and the *Palace History*. Cf. S. Krishna swami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 275-6.

ing in or about 1507 [1]. Another Chama Raja [2] is said to have built in 1524 a fort at Puragary, which was thereafter called Mahish Asur, commonly pronounced Mahishasur and now contracted into Mysore. Since that time the chiefs of this family used to reside there [3].

We hear of no intercourse between them and the court of Vijayanagara at all. This means that these petty chiefs rendered at the time the submission due to the imperial power. In these days there was no viceroy of Vijayanagara at Seringapatam: the whole country was directy subject to the Emperor. We know of a gift of land belonging to Seringapatam made by Rama Raya, to whom it had been granted by Sadasiva in 1550. No viceroy or agent of either Sadasiva or Rama Raya is mentioned in this document [4].

7. More powerful than the Raja of Mysore at this time was the Prabhu of Yelahanka. The family of these chiefs had come to the Karnataka country from Alur, a village near Kanchivaram, and settled down at Avati in the vicinity of Devanahalli, 25 miles North-East of the present Bangalore. One member of this family, in 1418, established himself at Yelahanka, 9 miles North of the same city, and began to style himself *Yelahanka Nadu Prabhu*, Lord of the Yelahanka country [5]. This title was kept up by his successors. They ruled as vassals of the Vijayanagara Emperor paying tribute to him as long as their power lasted.

The most famous among the Yelahanka Lords was Kempe Gowda I, son of Kempanacheya Gowda according to an inscription near his statue in the Sivaganga temple. He commenced his rule in 1513. He had been favoured by Krishna Deva Raya, from whom he received the villages of Ballapura, Devanahalli and Hoskote [6]. But his successful career began

1. P. Krishna Row, l. c.
2. Cf. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 332.
3. Wilks, o.c., p. 34.
4. *Ep. Carn.*, III, My, 50.
5 This chief seems to have been called Jaya Gowda. Cf. Narasimiah, *The Founder of Bangalore*, p. 11.
6. *M.A.D., 1922*, p. 15.

during the reign of Achyuta Deva Raya in 1537, when Kempe Gowda founded Bangalore in the place of the old village of Sivanasamudram by erecting a mud fort [1]. The Emperor appreciated the enterprise of the Yelahanka chief, summoned him to his court, and granted him the enjoyment of twelve hoblies or groups of villages, yielding a revenue of 30,000 pagodas. On returning to his estate he beautified the new city and made it his capital. He built in it the Vishnu and several other temples, and endowed them with grants of villages, lands and agraharas for their perpetual worship.

Nor were these the only temples erected by him in his dominions. The inscription running near his statue in the Sivaganga temple describes him as a very pious man : "Kempaya Gowda, son of Kempanacheya Gowda of Bengaluru, who is always making obeisance to the feet of the god Gangadharaswami". Accordingly many of the temples round about Bangalore claim to have been erected by our hero. The Lakshmamma's remple at Koramangala, the Somesvara Channigarayaswami temples at Halsur, and the Gavi Gangadharesvara temple at Gavipur, as well as the Kempambudhi tank near it, along with the rest of the village and its large lake, are some of the works due to the piety and munificence of Kempe Gowda. He also enlarged and beautified the shrines of the sacred hill of Sivaganga where his statue is shown to this day.

Such increase of power made him covet indepedence, and was also the cause of his disgrace with the Emperor. His ambitious purpose was shown when he exceeded the powers of a feudal chief by establishing a mint without permission of the Vijayanagara sovereign, where he coined the Bhire Deva pagodas. This happened probably at the beginning of the reign of Sadasiva Raya, when several chiefs of the Karnataka country rebelled against the central power, as stated by Ferishta [2]. Rumours of Kempe Gowda's proceedings reached the court, and he is said to have been sent for by Rama Raya ; but it seems more probable that he was defeated

1. The new town was called Bengaluru after a hamlet of this name in the surroundings. Cf. Narasimiah, o.c., p. 13.

2. Cf. Ch. IV, No. 2.

and captured by a general of Vijayanagara, perhaps by Sadasiva Nayaka of Ikeri, who, at about the same time, conducted an expedition against some rebel chiefs of Shimoga. The fact is that Kempe Gowda on reaching Vijayanagara was cast into prison at Anegundi, on the other side of the Tungabhadra; and that his territory was confiscated and added to that of Jagadeva Raya.

After remaining in confinement for five years, Kempe Gowda was released in or about 1563 through the influence of his friends; and after the payment of a heavy fine his possessions were restored to him. After he had returned from the metropolis, he abolished the family custom of amputating the two ring-fingers of the marriageable females of his household, because he considered it incompatible with his dignity as *Prabhu* of the country. He lived five years more after his release, and died in 1569, one year after Tirumala's accession to the throne of Vijayanagara [1].

8. Bellur was another of the petty states of Karnataka. Its chief at this time was Era Krishnappa Nayaka, who appears to have been enfeoffed by Krishna Deva Raya in 1524 [2]. He was the son of Baippa Nayaka and Kondamma [3]. The great influence he enjoyed at the court of Vijayanagara is proved by epigraphical records: when Sadasiva remitted the taxes to the barbers in 1546, Rama Raya at once informed Era Krishnappa Nayaka of the execution of the King's order [4]. He enjoyed the dignity of 'bearer of Sadasiva's betel-bag' [5]. He is given the titles of 'Sindhu Govinda, champion over adulterers, terrible with his white ensign, boon lord of Maninagapura' [6], a place not yet identified [7]. Finally, when in

1. The best account of the Lords of Yelahanka is the one of Mr. B. Puttaiya, *The Kempe Gowda Chiefs*, published in the *Q. J. M. S.*, XIII, p. 724ff.; it is a compilation of the information given by both tradition and documents hitherto available.

2. Cf. *Ep Ind.*, XI, p. 329.

3. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Dg, 18 and 39.

4. Ibid., Hk, 110.

5. Ibid., Dg, 18 and 39; *M. A. D., 1920*, p. 38.

6. *Ep Carn.*, XI, Dg, 18 and 39.

7. *Ep. Carn.*, V, p. XXXIII. In 1535-6 these titles were given to Tirumalaraya of Udayagiri. Cf. *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr. 95.

1554 the outer petha of Bagur was rebuilt by Sadasiva's order, it was named Krishnapura, after Era Krishnappa Nayaka [1]. Both Sadasiva and Krishnappa Nayaka are mentioned together in an inscription at Hassan [2].

We know but little of his achievements. A Kanarese inscription of 1543 in a temple at Badami refers to the construction of a bastion by Era Krishnappa Nayaka, under the superintendence of Kondaraja [3]. In 1561 he made for the merit of his parents a grant of the Kadaji village in the Bilichodu-sima for ghee, the chatra and other necessary offerings to the god Harihara, with exemption from customs-dues, watch and other privileges [4]. From one of the Kanarese books of the Mackenzie Collection we know that one of his daughters was named Venkatama [5].

We are not aware of the date of Krishnappa Nayaka's death. We know only that in 1576-7 the head of the family was his son Venkatadri Nayaka [6].

The chief of Chitaldroog was another of the petty Rajas of Karnataka. During the reign of Krishna Deva Raya, Timmana Nayaka, a Telugu from the neighbourhood of Tirupati, visited Vijayanagara and was invited to join the expedition against the Deccani Mussulmans. When the campaign was over he was rewarded with many honours. At a later period, however, he incurred the royal displeasure and was imprisoned at Vijayanagara where he died. His son Obana Nayaka was appointed Nayak of Chitaldroog during the reign of Sadasiva [7].

9. From the Portuguese chronicles we know of other feudatory chiefs of Vijayanagara in the Karnatik, near the coast of the Arabian sea. The earliest relations of the Portuguese with these chiefs began with the King of Onor

1. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk, 112.
2. Kielhorn, *Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 90, 533.
3. *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 64; *M. A. D., 1920*, p. 38. Cf. Ch. III, No. 6.
4. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Dg, 18 and 39.
5. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 345.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Yd, 59.
7. Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 501-2.

(Honore), the present Honavar[1]. We do not know his name, but have information that in 1506, when the first Viceroy Dom Francisco d' Almeida was in Anjediva, on the coast of Kanara, the King of Onor sent ambassadors to him in order to seek his friendship. Later, however, Dom Francisco went from Anjediva to Onor and not being well received, burnt the town and a number of ships which he found there. The Indians defended the ships valiantly, and during the encounter the Viceroy was wounded by an arrow. The city nevertheless was captured; and its governor named Timoja, an influential person who owned many of the burnt ships, in an interview with Dom Franciso, excused the King for what had happened and offered vassalage to Portugal on his behalf[2]. Affonso d' Albuquerque, in a letter written in 1512, writes to King Dom Manoel that "the King of Onor gives him a tribute of more than one thousand pardaos. Nevertheless", says Albuquerque, "he aids the Sabayo (the Sultan of Bijapur) against us and has always his ambassador at the latter's court"[3].

This kingdom was afterwards annexed to that of Bhatkal either during the reign of Sadasiva or a little earlier; for when Caesar Frederick passed through Onor in 1567, this city was "in the kingdom of the Queen of Bartacella", (Batecala or Baticala, Bhatkal.) The same traveller says that "there is no trade there, but onely a charge with the Captaine and companie hee keepeth there"[4].

10. The kingdom of Bhatkal was visited by the Portu-

1. In this and other similar cases we keep to the denomination of King applied to the petty chiefs of Kanara. Pietro della Valle, II, p. 216, speaking in 1623 of Venkatappa Nayaka, *King* of Ikeri, says: "Who in my judgment, should rather be called a Regulus or Royolet, although the Portugals and Indians give him the honour of a Royal title, being he hath in effect neither State, Court, nor appearance, befitting a true king."

2. Barros, II, 267-83; Faria y Sousa, I, p. 77-8; Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, II, p. 282.

3. From Affonso d' Albuquerque to Dom Manoel, Goa, April 1st, 1512, Costa, *Historia das Relacoes Diplomaticas*, p. 32.

4. Purchas, X, p. 101.

guese early in 1502. Vasco de Gama, on passing by the city of Bhatkal, gave orders to land at that famous port, and noticing that the natives were making attempts to prevent the landing of his soldiers, took the offensive. On learning this, the King of Bhatkal despatched some Muhammadans to offer his submission. The Portuguese accepted it on condition that the Turks should not be allowed to trade there, that no trade in pepper should be carried on at that port, and that vessels should not be permitted to sail from thence to Calicut. The King accepted these terms, and offered an annual tribute of 1,000 loads of common rice for the Portuguese soldiers, and of 500 loads of superior rice for the officers; excusing himself at the same time for not giving more, as he was only a tenant of the Emperor of Vijayanagara to whom the country belonged [1]. The Italian traveller Corsali, while visiting the place in 1517, wrote likewise to Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici that "the king of Narsinga was the lord of it (Bhatkal)" [2].

The tribute promised to Vasco de Gama was faithfully paid, it seems till about 1540. The sovereign of Bhatkal at that time was a valiant woman whose name is not given. Her predecessor, perhaps her husband, had died at Vijayanagara sometime before [3]. She defied the Portuguese power by withholding the customary tribute of rice, and by giving shelter in her dominions to some pirates who were infesting that sea and disturbing the Portuguese trade.

That was the reason why the first act of Martim Affonso de Sousa, after he assumed the reins of government in 1543, was to raise a force of 2,000 men, with which he proceeded in a fleet of seventy ships to chastise the haughty Queen of Bhatkal.

On reaching the port, Martim Affonso demanded the tribute and the surrender of the pirates' vessels. The Queen made several excuses; but the Governor landed at once with a contingent of 1,200 men, which he divided into two battalions, putting Fernao de Sousa e Tavora at the head of one, and him-

1. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, p. 81-2.
2. Gubernatis, *Storia dei Viaggiatori*, p. 117.
3. Correa, IV, p. 252.

self taking command of the other. At the same time he ordered 20 vessels of light draught to sail up the river to attack the city by sea. The governor marched with his force through a palm-grove. Here he was met by a body of the enemy who, notwithstanding their gallant opposition, were driven to the gates of the city. The Portuguese entered the town in pursuit, and the struggle that ensued in its streets lasted for many hours. It seems that the Queen herself went personally to her soldiers and encouraged them to defend her rights. But by night the Portuguese were in the possession of the city.

The next morning the Portuguese soldiers, whilst plundering the town, disagreed among themselves as to the division of the spoil, and tumult reigned supreme. The enemy who had retired to a neighbouring hill perceived the commotion, and fell upon them in such numbers that they fled in disorder, and took to their ships in such panic that several were drowned. The governor, incensed with fury, ordered a fresh attack to be made the next day. The city was burnt and the country laid waste; so much havoc was caused throughout the land by this final action of Martim Affonso de Sousa that the Queen, no longer able to resist, submitted and made peace under the terms proposed by the Portuguese Governor [1].

This treaty was finally signed on September 17th, 1548, during the reign of Sadasiva, when Garcia de Sa was Governor of Goa. According to the treaty the Queen undertook to pay the annual tribute previously promised, as well as all arrears. She likewise promised not to permit pirates' ships to leave her territory; and in case of her failure to restrain them, she made herself responsible for any damage they might cause to the Portuguese.

11. Another feudatory state of Vijayanagara in the Karnataka country was that of Ullal. In 1530 the Portuguese under the command of Nuno da Cunha had crossed the river of

1. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 117-20; Correa, IV, p. 257-62; Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, II, p. 289.

2. *Archivo da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, *Tratados*, I, p. 130. Cf. Danvers, *Report*, p. 51. See the text of this treaty in Botelho, *O Tombo do Estado da India*, Lima Felner, *Subsidios*, p. 242-3.

Mangalore, which flowed through the Ullal territory, and destroyed the stockade and the fortified positions with the purpose of punishing a rich merchant of that place, who was in league with the King of Calicut against them [1]. This time the war was not supposed to be against the Queen of Olala (Ullal). She either paid tribute to Portugal then, or was bound to do so shortly after; for in the year 1556 Dom Alvaro de Silveyra was sent at the head of several vessels against the Queen for refusing to pay the ordinary tribute. The city of Mangalore was plundered on this occasion and a gorgeous Hindu temple destroyed. The Queen then accepted the terms of the Portuguese captain.

Nevertheless ten years after, either the same Queen, or her successor, again refused payment of all tribute. The name of this Queen, according to the Portuguese chroniclers, was Bucadevi Chantar (Bukka Devi Chautar). Pietro della Valle, who met this Queen in the course of his travels through India, corrupts her name even a little more: according to him she was named Abag-devi-Ciantru [3]. The Viceroy Dom Antao de Noronha, with a fleet of seven galleys, two galliots and five smaller vessels, carrying in all about 3,000 fighting men, proceeded to Mangalore, determined to erect a fort there, and bring about the submission of the Queen.

The fleet anchored in the bay where both the cities, Mangalore and Ullal, are situated. The Viceroy then landed his men in six battalions on January 4th, 1567. But that night, while the Portuguese, quite unconscious of danger, were supping in their camp, the enemy sallied forth in a body of 500 men, followed by another of 1,500, and fell on them so suddenly that for a time they were helpless and thrown into great disorder. Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas, one of the generals, who held an advance post, received the brunt of the attack; and though he fought well, he lost several men. He was finally relieved by Dom Luiz de Almeida and the enemy were driven off.

The next day the Portuguese assaulted the city, and after

1. Faria y Sousa, I, p. 283-4.
2. Ibid., II, p. 301-2.
3. Della Valle, II, p. 311.

they had forced their way into it, set it on fire and cut down its grove of palm-trees. The Queen fled to the mountain. Of the Hindus 500 were slain, and of the Portuguese troops about forty. The Viceroy then laid the foundations of the fort, giving it the name of Sao Sebastiao, because the first stone was laid on that Saint's day and in commemoration of the then reigning King of Portugal. By the middle of March the fortress, with a church and other buildings, was completed. The Viceroy gave the command of the fort to his brother-in-law, Antao Pereira; and having left there a garrison of 300 men, and ammunition for six months, returned to Goa. Later on, during the government of Dom Luiz de Atayde, Bukka Devi sued for peace; which she purchased at the cost of an additional tribute, and a payment of ready cash [1].

Frederick, who passed through Mangalore a few months after this attack, states that "there is very small trade, but only for a little rice" [2].

In the neighbourhood of Barcelor (Basrur), the old Barace of Ptolomey, near the mouth of the Kundapur river, there was another chief, called by the Portguese King of Cambolim (Gangolly), subject to Vijayanagara [3]. Frederic mentions also the Queen of Gargopam (Gersoppa), near Honavar, as "tributary to the King of Bezenegar (Vijayanagara)." The city of Ancola belonged to her [4]. In 1540 the King of Gersoppa most likely that Queen's predecessor, had acknowledged the suzerainty of the King of Portugal, to whom he promised to pay a thousand sackfuls of rice every year [5].

12. Turning now to the centre of the Empire, we find in the North the petty state of Udiripikonda. Its first Raja seems to have been Timma Nayadu. From an inscription in the Pennahobalam temple at Udiripikonda we know that he was

1. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 435-8; Dos Santos, o.c., II, p. 292; Lafitau, *Histoire des Decouvertes*, II, p. 597-9.

2. Purchas, X, p. 101.

3. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 469 and 474.

4. Purchas, X, p. 99.

5. Botelho, *O Tombo do Estado da India*, Lima Felner, *Subsidios*, p. 257-8; Costa, *Historia das Relacoes Diplomaticas*, p. 92.

living in 1556. He seems to have done much to improve the fortifications of his capital. Perhaps, he had been appointed Raja by Krishna Deva Raya after a campaign, as a reward for his services during the war. His son Narasa Nayadu enlarged the fort by building a new bastion, surrounded the village with a mud wall, and built for himself a palace in the village and another on the top of the hill. The Udiripikonda family reached during his reign the climax of its prosperity. He was succeeded by his son Vemala Nayadu, in whose time the disaster of Raksas-Tagdi took place [1].

In the North-East corner of the Empire there was another petty state, that of Venkatagiri. The Valugoti family of its Rajas was at this time subject to Vijayanagara. One of them, Pedakondappa Nayadu, as well as his brother, Gene Nayadu, with the latter's two sons, Nayanappa and Timma, distinguished themselves against the Mussulmans in the reigns of Krishna Raya, Achyuta Raya and Sadasiva [2]. In the Virabhadresvara temple in the village of Macherla, Guntur District, there is an inscription of 1554 recording a gift of the village of Lingapura to the temples of Viresvara and Ishtakamesvara, at the said village of Macherla, by the Queen of Komara Timma-Nayaningaru of the Recharla-gotra and Velugoti family, who acknowledged the suzerainty of Virapratapa Sadasivaraya Maharaya [3].

Turning now southwards, we come to the present North Arcot, and here we find the Rajas of Vellore. The ruling family was one of the most influential in the whole of the Empire, and one of its members was destined to create a great deal of trouble in the reign of Venkata II [4]. The chief

1. Francis, *Anantapur Gazetteer*, p. 165. The information is taken from one of the Mackenzie MSS.

2. *Valugutivaru Vamsavali*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 274. The Bobbili Zemindari was at this time depending on the Venkatagiri Raja. Cf. Maha Rajah Sri Rao Sir Venkata Swetachalapati, *A Revised and Enlarged Account of the Bobbili Zemindari*, p. 13-7.

3. 584 of 1909.

4. Cf. Ch. XV, No. 11.

contemporary of Sadasiva was Chinna Bomma Nayaka, whose earliest known inscription is dated 1549 [1]. We do not know at what time his father Chinna Virappa Nayaka died [2]. He was very likely ruling some time along with one of his brothers; for an inscription of Sadasiva of the year 1550 mentions Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka and Chinna Bomma Nayaka, as the chiefs of Vellore [3]. His influence at the court of Vijayanagara is beyond question. The grant of the village of Arambaritti to Jvarakandesvara, the Lord of Vellore, made by Rama Raya at the request of Chinma Bomma, proves it conclusively [4]. He was still ruling after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, because on February 5th, 1567 [5] he obtained three grants from the Mahamandalesvara Tirumala who was then the governor of the Empire on behalf of Sadasiva [6]: we know from these inscriptions that Bomma Nayaka's jurisdiction extended over the villages of Arapakkam, Ariyur and Sadupperi, all in the vicinity of Vellore. From other inscriptions of the time of Ranga I, we learn that he exercised jurisdiction also over Sattuvachcheri, Samanginellur and Perumai [7]. During the reign of Venkata II we shall deal at length with his son Lingappa Nayaka: after those events Vellore became the capital of the Empire.

13. The names of many other chiefs of petty states may be found on going through the inscriptions of the reign of Sadasiva; the greatest number is in Cuddapah District. An inscription of Cuddapah itself records that a feudatery of Sadasiva erected a stone mandapam and planted a garden near it [8]. Another states that Ellappa Nayaka, a feudatory of Sadasiva, granted to the god some land in the village of Chintakommadinne [9]. Ramarajayya Pimmaraju Garu, a

1. Hultsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, p. 84, 57.
2. Vilapaka grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 271.
3. 417 of 1905.
4. 39 of 1887.
5. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XXIII, p. 132.
6. 37, 38 and 44 of 1887.
7. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, p. 73-5, 47-9.
8. Rangacharya, I, p. 578, 33.
9. Ibid., p. 577, 22.

feudatory of Sadasiva, exempted the barbers of the village of Chinna Mudiyam from taxes [1], The Mahamandalesvara Maharaya of Yeragudi remitted taxes on barbers at Kalamalla, with the permission of Rama Raya [2]. One Narayana, son of Tirumala Raja of Bhojanapullah, gave two tums and six mundas of land to Brahmans for the maintenance of the watershed [3]. Finally Nandyal Aubalaraja, son of Mahamandalesvara Singarayadeva Maharaja [4], feudatory of Sadasiva, granted some land to the god Tiruvengalanatha [5]; and again gave half a kunda of dry field in Cuddapah to the deity [6]. It seems that he was succeeded by his grandson Nandyala Timmayyadeva Maharaju, who claims to be the grandson of Nandyala Avubalaraja when making a gift of a village to the temple of Ragunathadeva on the Gandikota-durga [7]. He also, as feudatory of Sadasiva, built the village of Potladurti and gave it to the god Chennakesava [8], granted some lands to the gods and Brahmans of the village of Nellala [9], gave the god Chennakesava of Kodur some lands in Nandapadu [10] and Kodur itself [11], granted the rent of a village for meeting the expense of ceremonial [12], gave the dues of the village of Koppulu to learned men [13] and remitted the tax on the barbers of Bondalakunta [14], Lingala [15], Nallapalli [16], and Gandikota-sima [17].

1. Ibid., p. 589, 145.
2. 381 of 1904.
3. Rangacharya, I, p. 587, 129.
4. 106 of 1905.
5. Rangacharya, I, p. 578, 36.
6. Ibid., p. 578, 38.
7. 486 of 1906.
8. Rangacharya, I, p. 616, 480.
9. Ibid., p. 629, 594.
10. Ibid., p. 612, 440.
11. Ibid., p. 612, 444.
12. Ibid., p. 574, 8.
13. Ibid., p. 580, 60.
14. Idid., p. 588, 136.
15. Ibid., p. 613, 450.
16. Ibid., p. 602, 331.
17. 318 of 1905. Some relations to these chiefs are mentioned in 81 of 1915 and Rangacharya, II, p. 964, 534-537.

CHAPTER IX

THE BATTLE OF RAKSAS-TAGDI

SUMMARY.—1. Project of a league of the Deccani Muhammadans against Vijayanagara.—2. Reconciliation between the Sultans of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar. The Sultans of Golkonda and Bidar join the alliance.—3. Rama Raya's preparations against the Muhammadans.—4. Description of the two armies.—5. Advance positions near the river Krishna.—6. Order of battle in the two camps.—7. First action: Venkatadri's attack against Ali Adil Shah, and Tirumala's against the Sultans of Golkonda and Bidar.—8. Second action: Engagement between Rama Raya and Husain Nizam Shah. Muhammadan retreat.—9. Third action: The last effort of the Muhammadans. Treachery of two Muslim captains of Rama Raya.—10. Capture and execution of the Hindu ruler.—11. Flight of the Hindu army.—12. Plunder of the Hindu camp.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Ferishta, Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Basatin-us-Salatin*.—2. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—3. *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, Maratha and Kanarese accounts of the battle.—4. Poona Persian Poem, *Ramarajiyamu, Chikadevaraya Vamsavali, Jangama Kalainyana*.—5. Couto, Faria y Sousa.—6. C. Frederick, Anquetil du Perron.

IN one of the preceding chapters we said that the arrogance of Rama Raya was responsible for the Muhammadan alliance which culminated in the battle of Raksas-Tagdi. They disliked Rama Raya for interfering in the Muslim kingdoms: especially in the last campaigns their pride had been insulted, their religious feelings despised and their independence threatened by the Hindu Monarch [1]. The natural consequence of this was the Muhammadan league.

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1. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 268, says that "the Hindu records state that on going to an audience of the Raja, the envoy of Ibrahim Adil Shah passed on his way some swine intended to be given to menials of the court. As he expressed his abhorrence of this unclean animal to the Raja, the latter treated his aversion with ridicule, and

According to both Couto and Ali ibn Aziz, it was the Sultan of Ahmadnagar who promoted this alliance among the Deccani kingdoms, spurred on by his hatred towards Rama Raya, who had often laid waste the territories of his realm [1]. But Ferishta says clearly that "Ali Adil Shah resolved to curb his insolence (Rama Raya's) and reduce his power by a league of the faithful against him". The first idea, then, of such an alliance came from the Sultan of Bijapur, and was confirmed by the opinion of his courtiers; for having discused this point in an assembly of his counsellors, two of them, Kishwar Khan Lary and Shah Aboo Turab Shirazy, represented "that the King's desire to humble the pride of the Raya of Bijanagar was undoubtedly meritorious and highly politic, but could never be effected unless by the union of all the Muhammadan kings of the Deccan, as the revenues of Ramraj, collected from sixty seaports and numerous flourishing cities and districts, amounted to an immense sum, which enabled him to maintain a force, against

asked him how he could hold them as unclean when he fed upon fowls, which picked out grains from the ordure of swine. He took an opportunity of showing him the fact. The insult roused Ibrahim Adil Shah to arms." Wilson is mistaken at least in referring to Ibrahim Adil Shah as the Sultan of Bijapur who was present at the so-called battle of Talikota. It was his son Ali Adil Shah.

1. Couto, VIII, p. 28-9; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*, L, p.143. It seems however that Husain Nizam Shah was the most prominent in the battlefield among the four Sultans. Naturally the P.P.P. does not mention any other Sultan; according to the poet, the army of Ahmadnagar alone fought against and defeated Rama Raya. See Ap. A. A Marathi MS. of the Mackenzie collection refers to the pretext for commencing this campaign against Vijayanagara, as follows: "While Rama Rayalu was ruling, a Mahomedan Fakir came (to Anegundi) and bathed in a sacred pool; and being taken while doing so, was carried before the ruler, at whose command the Fakir himself, and two others of his class, were beaten and allowed to escape barely with life. They went to Delhi (a word often loosely used for Mohamedan) and represented that if Vijayanagara were not taken, the Delhi ruler was no Mussulman. In consequence of this incident preparations were made to go against Vijayanagara, which was captured." Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne*, III, p. 691-2.

which no single king of the Mussulmans could hope to contend with the smallest prospect of success".

2. Accordingly, by the Sultan's command, Kishwar Khan took the necessary measures to effect a general league. The first step was to send an envoy to Golkonda to sound Ibrahim Qutb Shah, and to propose to him, if found prudent, the aforesaid plan. The Golkonda Sultan at once fell in with the views of Ali Adil Shah, and even offered to bring together Ali Adil Shah and Husain Nizam Shah, who were in perpetual disagreement on the question of the possession of the fort of Sholapur [1]. With this view he deputed Mustafa Khan, one of the ablest nobles of his court, to the courts of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, with the object of effecting a reconciliation between Husain Nizam Shah and Ali Adil Shah and forming some family connection between them if possible, in order to perpetuate the alliance [2].

On reaching Ahmadnagar Mustafa reminded its Sultan "that during the times of the Bahmani princes the whole strength of the Mussulman powers was united under one king, which maintained the balance against the force of the Raya of Bijanagar; that now, though the Mussulman dominion was divided, yet policy required that all the princes of the faithful should unite in restraining the increasing power of their common enemy. He observed that the authority of the Raya of Bijanagar, who had reduced all the Rajas of the Karnatic to his yoke, required to be checked; and that his influence should be removed from the countries of Islam, in order that the people of their several dominions, who should be considered as being committed by the Almighty to their care, might repose in safety from the oppressions of unbelievers, and their mosques and holy places no longer be subject to pollution from infidels" [3].

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1. Ferishta, III, p. 123-4.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 123, says that Mustafa Khan was directed first to Bijapur, but I here prefer the authority of the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, Ferishta, l. c., p. 413. Moreover, no satisfactory reason is forthcoming for his journey first to Bijapur, since from Bijapur the first idea of the league went out to Golkonda.

3. Ferishta, l. c., p. 124-5; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 143-4.

The mission of Mustafa Khan proved eminently successful. Husain Nizam Shah was moved by his reasons; and shortly afterwards plans were laid for the reconciliation between both Sultans. Husain Nizam Shah was to give his daughter Chand Bibi in marriage to Ali Adil Shah, and with her the fort of Sholapur as her dowry. In return, the Sultan of Bijapur was to give his sister Falah Bibi Hadya Sultana to Nizam Shah's eldest son, Prince Shahzada Murtaza, afterwards Murtaza Nizam Shah [1]. Couto adds here that Husain Nizam Shah gave Ibrahim Qutb Shah another of his daughters as wife [2]. These family unions were only a sanction of the league calculated to reduce the power of Rama Raya; for this purpose it was resolved to march against him at the earliest practicable moment.

Mustafa Khan then went to Bijapur, accompanied by Mowlana Inayatullah, the ambassador of Nizam Shah. There the political treaties and marriage agreements were drawn up and naturally confirmed by the most solemn oaths. The marriages were celebrated with great pomp, and nuptial rejoicings were held in both the cites of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar [3].

Were the other two Deccani Sultans invited to join this league? Faria y Sousa speaks only of the three above-mentioned Sultans, Nizamaluco (Nizam Shan), Idalxa (Adil Shah),and Gutubixa (Qutb Shah) [4]. The same only are mentioned by the *Burhan-i-Ma' asir* [5]. But Ferishta, although he does not mention the

1. Ferishta, l. c., p. 125; Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda Ferishta, l. c., p. 413; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 144; Couto, VIII, p. 89. Gribble, *A History of the Deccan*, I, p. 192, incorrectly speaks of the bride of Prince Murtaza as the daughter of Adil Shah. Both Muhammadan historians say that she was his sister.

2. Couto, l. c.

3. Ferishta, l, c., p. 125-6; Couto, l. c.

4. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 432.

5. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 144. The Maratha account of the battle gives six names of sovereigns allied against the Hindus on this occasion. The first mentioned is Akbarshah Padsha. Cf. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara, Account of the Second Conference of the Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala*, Poona, 1914, p. 170.

Sultan of Bidar when relating the making of peace and alliance, nevertheless goes on to say that Ali Barid Shah was making active preparations for the campaign against Rama Raya, as the other three Sultans were doing [1]. Frederick also mentions four, *viz.* Dialcan (Adil Khan), Zamaluc (Nizam Shah), Cotamaluc (Qutb Shah), and Viridy (Barid Shah)[2]. Anquetil du Perron states likewise that "Bisnagar was plundered by the four kings of the Deccan and the Concan"[3]. But Couto says that the Izamaluco (Nizam Shah) invited four other kings to join the alliance, *viz.* Idalxa (Adil Shah), Hebrahe (Burhad Imad Shah, of Berar?), Cotubixa, (Qutb Shah) and Verido (Barid Shah)[4]. According to this authority all the Deccani Sultans were united to this holy campaign against the infidels. Yet the *Basatin-us-Salatin* says that the Sultan of Berar did not join the other Sultans on account of his hatred for Husain Nizam Shah [5].

3. Rama Raya soon heard of the intentions of the Muhammadan Sovereigns, and lost no time in making preparations to oppose their united forces [6]. The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda informs us that Rama Raya on this occasion summoned "all his dependents and Rajas from the banks of the Krishna as far as the island of Ceylon" [7]. One of the Princes summoned was the Nayak of Madura, Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka. This prince, who had shortly before succeeded his father Visvanatha [8], did not proceed himself in person to the North to aid the Empire, for his kingdom was not yet entirely subdued. But he sent his prime Minister and great

1. Ferishta, III, p. 126 and 246.
2. Purchas, X, p. 92.
3. Anquetil du Perron, *Des Reserches Historiques*, l. c., p. 166. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, p. 309, metions also four, but instead of the Sultan of Bidar he puts here Melique, the petty lord of Dabul in the Konkan.
4. Couto, VIII, p. 88.
5. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 95.
6. Couto, VIII, p. 19.
7. Ferishta, III, p. 413.
8. Cf. Ch. VII, No. 17.

general Ariyanatha Mudaliyar with a large force [1]. One of the chiefs who accompanied Ariyanatha to the North for the defence of the Empire was Basavaraja, as we know from the Pudukkottai plates of Srivallabha and Varatungarama Pandya [2].

While he was thus preparing for the attack, Rama Raya was the recipient of an embassy from Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur demanding restitution of Etgir, Bagrakot, Raichur and Mudgal, which had at different times been wrested by the Vijayanagara sovereigns from their neighbours of Bijapur. This was supposed to afford Adil Shah a pretext for breaking with Rama Raya, who "as was expected," says Ferishta, "expelled the ambassador with disgrace from his court; and the united sovereigns made this circumstance a plea for hastening on their preparations to crush the common enemy of Islam" [3].

4. Both the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda and the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* state that the four Sultans finally met at the fort of Sholapur [4]; but the statement of Ferishta locating the place of their meeting in the plains of Bijapur seems more probable [5]. Such is also the view of Mirza Ibrahim Zabiri, who affirms that the Sultans marching towards Bijapur finally encamped in the vicinity of Talikota, where they were generously entertained by Ibrahim Adil Shah [6]. On December

1. *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, p. 115. Prof. Satyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 68, thinks that Ariyanatha arrived at Vijayanagara a little late.

2. *T. A. S.*, I, p. 84, vv. 161-164.

3. Ferishta, III, p. 126. The Maratha account introduces Ali Adil Shah protesting against the war with Vijayanagara; the other Sultans sent him the following message: "Please allow us passage through your territory. You should also join us with your army." Ali Adil Shah, duly honouring the envoy, replied as follows: "As I call myself a friend of Ram Raj, I am sorry I cannot help you." Cf. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagar, Account of the Second Conference of the B.I.S.M.*, Poona, 1914, p. 170. Afterwards however the Sultan of Bijapur appears by the side of the other Sultans against his old friend.

4. Ferishta, III, p. 413; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L. p. 144.

5. Ferishta, III, p. 126.

6. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 96.

26th, 1564, they started for the South. The Portuguese authors record that the allied army contained fifty thousand horse and three thousand foot [1]. The anonymous chronicler mentions several of the Muslim generals in charge of the detachments of this army; Mustafa Khan from Golkonda; Mowlana Inayatullah from Ahmadnagar, and Kishwar Khan from Bijapur [2]. Rifat Khan was also in the army of Golkonda; he had been summoned from the South where he boasted of having reduced part of the country [3]. Of these Mustafa Khan, whose real name was Kamal-ud-din Husain (Mustafa Khan being only a title), was as excellent a general as he was a shrewd politician and diplomatist, and was one of the foremost warriors of the Muslim world of those days. The beautiful Tughra inscription over the Makki gate of Golkonda still displays the titles bestowed upon him by the Sultan in token of the royal satisfaction and as a reward for his services to the state [4]. Moreover, according to the *Mrtyunjaya MSS.* several Maratha detachments had joined the Muhammadan army [5]. This seems certain; for shortly after we find a body of six thousand Maratha cavalry in the army of Bijapur [6]. The anonymous chronicler mentions six of the officers of this Mahratta cavalry : Yeswunt Row, Bhoj Mul Naig, Dew Naig, Buswunt Row, Viswas Row and Koli Row [7].

On the other hand the Hindu army, according to Ferishta, consisted of seventy thousand horse and ninety thousand infantry [8], but the anonymous chronicler gives higher figures, *viz.* one hundred thousand horse and three hundred thousand infantry [9] ; and both Couto and Faria y Sousa, while agreeing

1. Couto, VIII, p. 89 ; Faria y Sousa, II, p. 432. The P.P.P. says that "on account of the Arabian horses and of the intoxicated elephants, the desert and the fields became black". Ap. A.
2. Ferishta, III, p. 414.
3. Ibid., p. 421.
4. Yazdani, *Inscriptions in Golkonda Fort, Ep. Ind. Mosl.*, 1913-14, p. 48-9.
5. Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, p. 15.
6. Ferishta, III, p. 418.
7. Ibid., p. 433.
8. Ibid., p. 247.
9. Ibid., p. 413.

as to the number of horse, state that the footsoldiers were more than six hundred thousand [1]. Rama Raya and his two brothers were at the head of this formidable army. The so-called Emperor of Vijayanagara was then a very old man: according to Ferishta he was seventy [2]; the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* says he was eighty [3]; but the Portuguese authors, who seem more reliable on this point, on account of their frequent intercourse with the court of Vijayanagara, state that he was in the 96th year of his age [4].

1. Couto, VIII, p. 89; Faria y Sousa, II, p. 432.
2. Ferishta, III, p. 129.
3. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 146.
4. Couto, III, p. 90; Faria y Sousa, l. c.; Sewell, p. 203, agrees. The Maratha account gives interesting details of the proceedings of Rama Raya on the eve of his departure from the capital. "He then went to his own harem, spent some time with Sathyabhamabai, the chief Queen, and presented many rich jewels to her. Then he went to another of his wives whose name was Devachintamani Trivegal. Her company gave him great pleasure and he made presents to her. Then he came to the drawing room of his third wife, Mana Mohini Nijaswarapi. She tried to please him in different ways. He ordered sundry fruits from his orchards and presented them to his wives. (There is here a list of 20 different kinds of fruits). Then he visited the chamber of his mother Chandrasala. She waved many jewels over his head that evil may be warded off. He then explained to her the state of affairs, how the four kings had made a common cause in attacking him and how the temples, alms-distributing houses, and the existence of the Brahmans was threatened. He therefore intimated to her the plan of repulsing and punishing the enemy. He then fell at her feet and asked for her leave. She did not like the idea and said: "We have not hurt the Muhammadans, but even then they are all coming united. It would be better to negotiate with them". He, not approving of her advice, went away. Whereupon she consented in order to please him. Afterwards he took rest during the night in his chambers. There he dreamt that somebody was depriving him of his ear-jewel and his throne and that he was being pulled down. At once he caused all the astrologers and fortune-tellers of long standing to be summoned and related his dream to them. They consoled him by saying that the enemy would be warded off, and that he would be long-lived and rule over his kingdom. He then presented them with costly cloths as well as coco-nuts. He also distributed 5,000 huns among the Brahmans". Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 171-2.

5. Rama Raya soon sent his brother Tirumala with twenty thousand cavalry, five hundred elephants and one hundred thousand foot to occupy the right bank of the Krishna, and defend all the passages of the river. He also sent his second brother Venkatadri with another equally large army. He himself next followed by slow marches with the rest of the forces of his dominions [1]. According to the Maratha account "horses, elephants, camels, stores, cattle, drink-shops, hunting materials, treasure houses and corn stores all these were also brought to the neighbourhood of the royal camp. Every man in Vijayanagara (every one having his own horse) was ordered to join the army" [2].

The Muhammadan armies, having passed the town of Talikota, which wrongly gave its name to the battle [3], were laying waste the Vijayanagara territory to the North of the Krishna [4]. Tirumala and Venkatadri had encamped on the South bank of this river, where they had constructed field fortifications and strenghtened them by cannon and rockets [5]. The allies on reaching the Krishna, found that the only known ford was already occupied by the Hindu army, and despatched scouts to explore the river, hoping to find another fordable passage for their troops ; it was not long before they

1. Ferishta, III, p. 127. *Basatin-us-Salatin,* p. 96-7, compares Rama Raya's army to a locust cloud, and states that the total number of his soldiers were one lakh of horse and five lakhs of foot-soldiers. There is a slight difference in these numbers as given in the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 144: Venkatadri's army: 20,000 horse, 1,000 elephants and 100,000 foot. Eltamraj's (Tirumala's) army; 12,000 horse, 1,000 elephants and 200,000 foot.

2. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 172.

3. Talikota is twenty five miles North of the Krishna. This is the reason which inclined me to change the appellation of this battle. History must be accurate even in these minor details.

4. Couto, VIII, p. 89. Both the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 144, and the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 97, describe the battle as having taken place on the banks of the Krishna. Only Ferishta, III, p. 246, says that the allies had crossed the Krishna and the fight occurred near the river Hukery, twelve miles South of the Krishna.

5. Ferishta, l. c., p. 127. There was no fort there, as Sewell, p. 201, supposes.

fully ascertained that the only safe ford was just in front of the Hindus.

"On obtaining this information", says Ferishta, "the allies held a council, when it was determined that they should march to another part of the river, as if with the intention to cross; in hopes that the enemy might be induced to quit his position and follow, thus enabling the Muhammadans to return suddenly, and throw part of the army across at the desired ford without interruption. Agreeably to this plan the army of Islam moved on the next morning, and continued to march for three days successively; which completely deceived the enemy, who quitted all his posts, and manoeuvred along the opposite side of the river. The allies on the third night suddenly struck their camp, and moved with such rapidity that, during the next day, they gained the ford which the enemy had deserted and crossed the river without opposition". Husain Nizam Shah was among the first to cross the river. On the next day the vanguards of both armies met some miles South of the Krishna [1], in the neighbourhood of the two villages of Raksasji and Tagdiji, the names of which combined give the word Raksas-Tagdi [2].

1. Ferishta, III, p. 127-8: *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 145; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 97-8. Sewell, p. 199, note 2, says that this place was probably "the plains about the little village of Bayapur or Bhogapur on the road leading directly from Ingaligi to Mudkal." Ferishta, III, p. 247, while narrating the history of the Sultans of Ahmadnagar, says: "The kings of the Deccan made overtures to him (Rama Raya), promising the restitution of the districts they had taken from him on the march, in order to obtain peace; conceiving themselves unequal to cope with his formidable army. Ramraj however refused to listen to any accomodation." This statement seems inconsistent with the whole account of the battle and its preparations, and with his own narrative. It is evidently intended to extol the Muslim bravery in winning such an unequal engagement.

2. Patwardan, *The Battle of Raksas-Tagdi, The Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala Quarterly*, IV, p. 72. Raksas-Tagdi is mentioned both in a Kanarese, and in the Maratha account. Cf. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 176; S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, *The Bakhair of Ram Raj, Indian Historical Records Commission, Poona Session*, p. 57.

6. In the meanwhile, Rama Raya had joined his army and despatched to the vanguard a body of Rachebidas (of the Rachevadu race) [1] under a captain of their own, to reconnoitre the surroundings [2]; and these were probably the force met by the Muslim vanguard. According to the Maratha account there was a fierce exchange of arrows from both sides; and both parties suffered heavily, but the Muhammadan vanguard was forced to retreat [3]. Rama Raya was having his dinner when news suddenly came that the enemy was approaching and was almost within sight; and that between the vanguards of both armies an engagement had taken place [4]. The Hindu chief, " though somewhat astonished at their activity", remarks Ferishta, " was by no means dismayed" [5], but mounting a horse with juvenile agility he put his troops in battle array [6]. He entrusted his right wing to his brother Tirumala, and his left wing to his younger brother Venkatadri, while he himself commanded the centre. Two thousand elephants, trained and armed, and one thousand pieces of ordnance were placed at different intervals of his line [7]. The Muhammadan writer says that the infantry of Vijayanagara used to go into battle

1. They belonged to the Northern Circars, in the present Nellore District, and were very brave and fearless soldiers.

2. Couto, VIII, p. 90. These captains, according to the Maratha account, were named Bisalaya Naik, Trivengallappa Naik and Kartik Virappa Naik. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 176.

3. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 177.

4. Couto, l. c. This engagement is probably the one spoken of in the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., 146, when it is stated there that "Ikhas Khan first charged the enemy with his Khurasani horse and slew large number of the infidels."

5. Ferishta, III, p. 128. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., with evident fatuity, says just the contrary: "When Sadasiva Raya (Rama Raya) heard of the passage of the river by the Muslims, which seemed to be a presage of their success, he was much perturbed and alarmed."

7. Couto, l. c.

8. Ferishta, l. c. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 193, supposes that Venkatadri was commanding the right wing and Tirumala the left one.

"quite naked, and had their bodies anointed with oil, to prevent their being easily seized" [1].

The allies likewise drew up their army in order of battle. Ali Adil Shah took over the command of the right wing to oppose Venkatadri; the left was entrusted to Ibrahim Qutb Shah and Ali Barid Shah, in front of Tirumala's wing, while the centre was led by Husain Nizam Shah. Each of these three divisions erected twelve standards, in honour of the twelve Imams, before proceeding to the attack. Ikhas Khan, an officer of Ahmadnagar, was posted with a force of mounted Khurasani archers in advance of the centre. The gun-carriages, fastened together by strong chains and ropes, were drawn up in front of the line of Husain Nizam Shah; there were altogether six hundred pieces of ordnance of different calibre, placed in three lines of two hundred each. In the first line were the heavy guns, the smaller were in the second, while the third line consisted of swivels; the whole was commanded by Chalabi Rumi Khan, distinguished officer from Asia Minor, who had served in Europe. The elephants were placed at intervals in the main line of battle, their tusks being armed with sharp sword blades [2].

Before the battle, Tirumala and Venkatadri tried to persuade their aged brother Rama Raya to leave the superintendence of the army to them. His advanced years made his position precarious in battle. But Rama Raya could not be induced to change his mind; and with the valour of a man of thirty, he despatched them back to their respective wings [3]. It was probably on this occasion that he addressed his brothers and generals and "encouraged them to make a resolute stand against the Muslims, saying that he had attained the age of

1. Ferishta, III, p. 137. The description given by Paes of the Vijayanagara soldiers refers to the great parade before the King. Their dress was as magnificent on that occasion as it was scanty on entering a battle. Cf. Sewell, p. 275-9. The paintings of the P.P.P. reproduced here represent the foot-soldiers killed during the battle covered only with a short loin cloth.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 128 and 247-8; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 146 and 193.

3. Couto, VIII, p. 90.

eighty years (?) without having disgraced himself, and that he did not wish to be disgraced by cowardice at the end of his life. He said that anybody who was overcome by fear was free to depart while there was yet time, and to save his life. The Raya's brothers and their 30,000 horsemen swore that they would fight to the death" [1]. Then Rama Raya mounted a litter of state, called *sing'hasun*, in spite of the entreaties of his officers, who felt that he would be much safer on horseback. " But", said he, " there is no occasion for taking precautions against children, who would certainly fly on the first charge ; this is not war" [2].

7. It was noon [3] when the two armies advanced and soon joined battle [4]. The left wing of the Hindu army, under the command of Venkatadri, was the first to attack its opponent the Sultan of Bijapur [5]. Venkatadri had always been a helpmate to his brother Rama Raya on the battlefield, 'verily as Lakshmana was to the epic hero Rama', as the Kondyata grant of Venkata III says [6]. He was 'a great hero' according to the Kallakursi grant of Ranga III [7], and 'a veritable

1. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 146.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 128-9 ; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 99. According to the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l.c., p. 145, Rama Raya and his brothers on approaching the Muslim army "were terrified and decided not to fight on that day, but to make the most of their last day of dominion and power. They therefore withdrew from the field, and Husain Nizam Shah and the other two Sultans took advantage of their unwillingness to fight, to allow the armies of Islam time for repose, and rested that night in anticipation of the morrow's battle". The P.P.P., says also that "when that infidel (Rama Raya) heard that the army (of Ahmadnagar) was approaching, the world became dark to his eyes". Ap. A. This conduct of Rama Raya is not consistent with the narrative of Ferishta and other authorities. This passage is an evident concoction of the author in order to represent the Vijayanagara ruler as a cowardly warrior.

3. Ferishta, III, p. 128 ; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 146.

4. Ferishta, III, p. 120.

5. Couto, VIII, p. 91 ; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 193.

6. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 129.

7. Ibid., p. 157.

V. Battle of Raksas-Tagdi. The Hindu Army. First engagement. Rama Raya in upper right corner. (P.P.P.)

(By kind permission of the Hony. Secretaries, Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona.)

Arjuna in the battlefield' according to the *Ramarajiyamu* [1]. This great general was the first to attack the Mussulman force. "The infidels," Ferishta remarks, "began the attack with vast flights of rockets and rapid discharges of artillery" [2]. Venkatadri had under his command two hundred thousand infantry, twenty five thousand cavalry and five hundred elephants [3]; and with this force he fought valiantly, inflicting great loss on his enemies. The *Ramarajiyamu* records that Venkatadri "in a pitched battle dealt destruction to the combined troops of the Nizam, Adil Khan and Qutb Shah, and drove away all the three chiefs from the field" [4]. The second part of the sentence sounds like a poetical exaggeration, but points, nevertheless, to the success of Venkatadri's army over that of Adil Shah [5]. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* agrees with this when affirming that Ali Adil Shah 'left the position allotted to him' [6].

After Venkatadri had opened the attack, the action be come general [6]. On the right wing of the Hindu army, Tirumala, at the head of twenty thousand horse, two hundred thousand infantry and five hundred elephants, was likewise successfully opposing the combined armies of the Sultans of Golkonda and Bidar [7]. Both he and his eldest son, Ragunate Raje (Raghunatha), distinguished themselves by their heroic conduct and mercilessly slew hundreds of Muhammadans [8]. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* openly declares that "the left of the allies under Ibrahim Qutb Shah was beaten back" [9]. Raghunatha had previously defeated the armies of Nizam Shah near the

1. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c., p. 119.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 129.

3. Ibid., p. 247.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 222.

5. The *Narasabupaliyamu* speaks also of the military achievements of Venkatadri in a pitched battle against Adil Shah. If the Bijapur poem refers to this battle, it is quite certain that the Sultan was driven from the field. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 224.

6. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 193.

7. Ferishta, III, p. 129.

8. Ibid., p. 247. According to the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 102, Tirumala was defeated by the Sultan of Bijapur.

9. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l.c., p. 193.

river Krishna and had driven them to the North of the river [1]. But as Couto records both father and son had at last to retire from the battle field for both were dangerously wounded [2]. The Portuguese chronicler does not say what these wounds were, but C. Frederick informs us that " Timaragio fled in the battle having lost one of his eyes" [3]. Raghunatha's injuries are not recorded anywhere, but since no mention of him is found afterwards, and it is known that he was not alive at the time of his father's death, we may suppose that he died as the result of the injuries received in this battle.

8. When the news of this event reached Rama Raya's ears, the valiant chief, realizing that the issue was much beyond his expectations, was incensed with fury; and in order to encourage his troops he remounted his horse, and shouting several times '*Gorida! Gorida!*' (Garuda! Garuda!) [4], with his men charged the allied army. The wings commanded by the Sultans of Bijapur, Golkonda and Bidar, soon broke before the indomitable fury of the old Hindu King and his Rachevadu soldiers. Then the Hindu army charged straight to the centre of the allied army, which was led by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar with ten thousand horse under his command. But the attack of Rama Raya was so unexpected and effective that the Nizam's army retreated about half a league, with the loss of more than two thousand of its men. Here the Rachevadu soldiers proved the bravery of their race; for seeing their Sovereign engaged with the enemy they dismounted in great haste; and rushing to his defence slew many Muhammadans.

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1. *Vasucharitramu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 216. This action must have occurred before the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, because Vijayanagara never recovered the territories to the North of the river

2. Couto, VIII, p. 91.

3. Purchas, X, p. 93.

4. " Que he o seu idolo das batalhas, como nos o fazemos ao apostolo Santiago." Couto, VIII, p. 91. According to the Maratha account this horse was called Amritanidhan. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 172. The exaggerated account of the

But the field was not yet clear of the enemy[1]. Adil Shah returned to battle, with his soldiers, to check the advance of Rama Raya. In the meanwhile the Sultan of Ahmadnagar collected his dispersed forces, and was back again on the battle-field before the engagement between Rama Raya and Adil Shah was over[2]. Then several detachments of the Hindu army were sent against the Nizam's troops. In the first lines of the latter's army there were now two thousand Iragi and Khurasani archers under Ikhlas Khan, drawn up to conceal the artillery that lay behind in charge of Rumi Khan. " These kept up a heavy discharge on the enemy (the Hindus) as they approached, and fell back as the Hindus advanced, till they were close to the heavy battery, which opened upon them with such effect that they retreated in confusion with dreadful loss"[3]. "In fact," says Ali ibn Aziz, "Ikhlas Khan and Rumi Khan were the heroes of the day"[4].

" At this phase of the fight," continues the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, " Husain Nizam Shah ordered the camp followers to set up his pavilion in front of the enemy. The pavilion was the king's great tent of state, and it was the custom of the Sultans of the Deccan, whenever they ordered this pavilion to be set up on the field of battle, to stand their ground without

P.P.P. is full of oriental imagery and worth copying: "On account of the noise the beasts of the desert took to flight. When they were arrayed for the battle, even the devil fled away from their excessive clamour. The two clouds (of soldiers) began shouting and the two seas of fire came into tumult. And such was their shouting that on account of its dread the devil became mad. The trampling of the horsemen broke the ribs of the bullock (that supports the earth). The black cloud started shouting and the shining of the fish (that supports the bullock) reached the sky. The clamour was such that it reached the sky and even deafened the ears of the angels." Ap. A.

1. This retreat of the Sultan of Ahmadnagar is, of course, omitted in the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir;* but it is also recorded in the Maratha account. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 180.

2. Couto, VIII, p. 91-2.

3. Ferishta, III, p. 248; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 193; Couto, VIII, p. 92.

4. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c.

quitting the saddle until victory declared for them. The erection of this pavilion at this stage was not without danger 'to the king's honour" [1].

This was probably too much for the old Hindu ruler, who now dismounted and sat similarly "on a rich throne set with jewels, under a canopy of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold and adorned with fringes of pearls". But not to discourage his troops with his weakness, he ordered his treasurer to give some money to them, and "to place heaps of money around him that he might confer rewards on such of his soldiers as merited the distinction; rich ornaments of gold and jewels were also placed before him for the same purpose". The Hindus, inspired by this generosity, recovered from the panic produced by the discharge of the Nizam's artillery, and charged the right and left wings of the allies "with such vigour that they were thrown into temporary disorder; and Ali Adil Shah and Ibrahim Qutb Shah began to despair of victory, and even to prepare for retreat" [2]. This account of Ferishta, who also states that " the two flanks had already fallen back" [3], agrees not only with the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, which says that " the defeat of the Muslims appeared inevitable" [4], and with the Hindu chronicles, which say that two divisions of the Muslim army had been defeated [5], but also with Faria y Sousa, who writes that " Rama Raya almost defeated his enemies" [6]. The *Basatin-us-Salatin* relates this tremendous havoc in the Muslim army as follows: " The Muslim slain were piled in heaps over heaps, and autumn seemed to have come over the Muslim army. The infidels showed their superiority and valour" [7].

1. Ibid.; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 101. According to this authority, Husain Nizam Shah had in the camp several of his wives and concubines; at this point he placed eunuchs next to every one of them, with the special command of killing them should the battle take a bad turn.
2. Ferishta, III, p. 129.
3. Ibid., p. 248.
4. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c.
5. Cf. Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 142
6. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 432.
7. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 101.

VI. Battle of Raksas-Tagdi. The Defeat of the Hindu Army. (P.P.P.)

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9. Husain Nizam Shah, however, remained firm in the centre [1]. The commander of the artillery, Chalabi Rumi Khan, had provided bags of copper money to lead off with, should the enemy close ; and these proved so destructive, that upwards of five thousand Hindus were left dead close to the muzzles of the guns before they retreated". The confusion of the Vijayanagara army then grew enormous : Kishwar Khan Lary, an officer of Bijapur attached to the centre of the Muslim host, charged with five thousand cavalry and routed the centre of the Hindu line [2].

And then, at the height of all the confusion, there was a movement in the Hindu army that decided the fate of the day. Two Muhammadan generals who served under Rama Raya, taking advantage of the confusion caused by the last charge of Kishwar Khan Lary, turned their backs on their lord, and went over with their troops to the cause of Islam. This treason, recorded neither by Ferishta nor by Ali ibn Aziz, explains quite satisfactorily the sudden change of fortune at the end of the battle. We are made aware of it by C. Frederick, who heard the account of the whole action one year later when he passed through Vijayanagara : "These foure Kings," says he, "were not able to overcome this Citie and the King of Bezeneger, but by treason. This King of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongst all other of his Captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores (Muhammadans): and these two Captaines had either of them in charge threescore and ten or fourescore thousand men. These two Captaines, being of one Religion with the foure kings which were Moores (Muhammadans), wrought meanes with them to betray their owne king into their hands. The King of Bezeneger esteemed not the force of the foure kings his enemies, but went out of his Citie to wage battell with them in the fields ; and when the Armies were joyned, the battell lasted but a while, not the space of foure houres ; because the two traiterous Captaines, in the chiefest of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their King and made disorder in his Armie, that as as-

1. Ferishta, III, p. 129.
2. Ibid., p. 248.

tonied they set themselves to flight" [1]. Anquetil du Perron records likewise that "the king, abandoned during the battle by two Muhammadan chiefs, perished" [2].

Who were these two Mussulman generals who so treacherously deserted the Vijayanagara army? Their names are found nowhere, but I suspect that one of them was that Ain-ul-Mulk whom Rama Raya used to call his brother [3], and at whose request Sadasiva granted the village of Bevinahalli to the Brahmans [4]. He seems to have come from a family of traitors. His father, mentioned also in the aforesaid grant as 'the chief Ainana Malukka,' was beheaded for treason at Bijapur in 1553, during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah [5]; and it was perhaps then that his son "offended Ibrahim Adil Shah, left his service and entered that of Ramraj" [6]. As a matter of fact we find one Ain-ul-Mulk in the army of the Sultan of Bijapur in the subsequent wars with the Sultan of Ahmadnagar [7].

10. The desertion of these generals threw the division of Rama Raya into chaotic confusion [8], in the course of which he himself was wounded [9]. On seeing this, the old Sovereign again mounted his state litter to retreat from the battlefield; but the bearers, panic-stricken at the approach of a furious elephant of the Ahmadnagar army, ran away, abandoning their Monarch

1. Purchas, X, pp. 92-3. According to the Maratha account the final cause of the defeat was the surprise of the Hindu camp by the Sultans of Golkonda and Bijapur. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 181.

2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166. This treason, not mentioned by Sewell, is recently recorded by Krishnamacharlu, *The Origin, Growth and Decline of the Vijayanagara Empire, Ind. Ant.*, LII, p. 11.

3. Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, Ferishta, III, p. 381.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 231, vv. 64-68.

5. Cf. Cousens, *Bijapur*, p. 53, and Ch. V, No. 9.

6. Ferishta, l. c.

7. Ibid., p. 133; Anonymous chronicler, Ibid., pp. 419, 427, etc.

8. Ferishta, p. 129. "The soldiers refused to obey the orders of their generals and ran away in all directions". *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 103.

9. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, l. c.; Couto, VIII, p. 92.

in the middle of that tremendous turmoil [1]. Rama Raya then attempted to make his escape on foot; but just when he was dismounting from the litter he was overtaken by the elephant, who seized him with his trunk [2]. The venerable prisoner was then conducted to Chalabi Rumi Khan [3], who just was going to kill him when one Dalpat Rai, a Brahman general of the Hindu army, cried out: "Do not kill him, but carry him alive before Divan Barid; for he is Sadasiva Raya (Rama Raya)" [4]. Rumi Khan on hearing this brought the prisoner into the presence of Husain Nizam Shah [5]. Ferishta, Ali ibn Aziz and the P. P. P. say that the Ahmadnagar Sultan ordered his head to be instantly cut off [6]; but Couto relates that Husain Nizam Shah beheaded him with his own hand exclaiming:

"Now I am avenged on thee! Let God do what he will to me!" [7]

1. Ferishta, III p. 129.

2. Ibid., p. 249. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 193, relates that the capture of Rama Raya took place when he was riding on horseback.

3. Ferishta, III, p. 130. According to the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 103, Rumi Khan himself was riding the elephant that seized Rama Raya.

4. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c.; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, l. c.

5. Ferishta, III, p. 130; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, l. c. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., pp. 193-4, says also as follows: "They therefore straitly bound the chief of hell and carried him before Husain Nizam Shah".

6. Ferishta, III, p. 249; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 194; P. P. P., Ap. A.

7. Couto, l.c. The *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 103, depicts here an incredible scene: "Nizam Shah was much pleased with the capture of Rama Raya, caused him to sit down before him and asked him: 'How are you?' and 'How do you feel?' Rama Raya could not speak, but pointed out to his own head saying: 'This was destined'. On this point Akim Hasan Beg of Dabris, who was a favourite of Nizam Shah and the confidant of his Court, hastily came forward and told him that this was not the time for talking, saying: 'Send him immediately to the gallows of retribution (kill him), otherwise Adil Shah who claims to be his son, will cause great disturbances and will snatch Ram Raj from your hands'. Accordingly Ram Raj's head was severed from his body".

"His mischievous head", says Ali ibn Aziz, "was then severed from his foul body and was cast beneath the hoofs of the king's horse" [1]. Moreover the P. P. P. relates that Rama Raya's head was stuffed with straw [2].

Husain Nizam Shah then caused Rama Raya's head "to be placed on the point of a long spear, that his death might be thus announced to the enemy" [3].

The death of Rama Raya on the battlefield is also recorded in the Hindu contemporary sources. A grant of his brother Tirumala, 1568, says that when Sadasiva "was governing the kingdom of the world, the Mahamandalesvara Aliya Rama Rajayya Deva-Maha-Arasu having, by the action of kings, suddenly set," (died), etc. [4] In another similar grant of Tirumala it is said that Rama Raya, "owing to the action of the kings of the Turukas (Turks, i. e. Muhammadans), having set" (died), etc. [5] The Pudukkottai plates of Srivallabha and

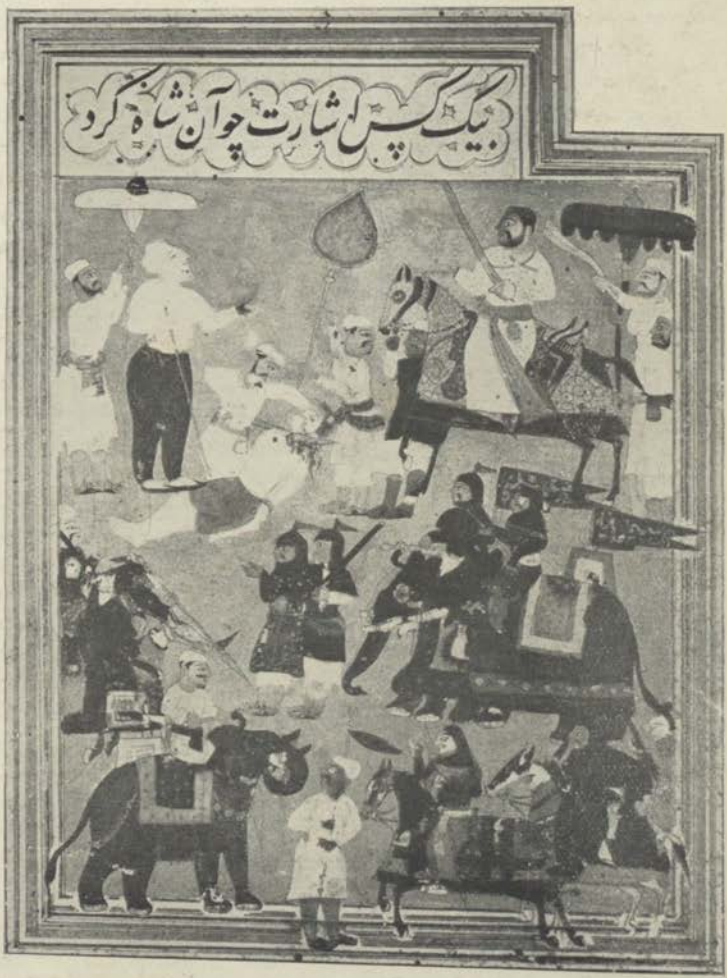
1. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c.

2. P. P. P., Ap. A.

3. Ferishta, III, p. 130. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c. Briggs, Ferishta, l. c., note * says that "the real head (of Rama Raya), annually covered with oil and red pigment, has been exhibited to the pious Muhammadans of Ahmadnagar on the anniversary of the battle, for the last two hundred and fifty four years, by the descendants of the executioner, in whose hands it has remained till the present period". This was written in 1829. Since then no remains in Ahmadnagar of such a head can be traced. The Maratha account states that Rama Raya's head was sent to Benares. Chandorkar, o. c., p. 181. In the Museum of Bijapur there is a stone representation of Rama Raya's head. M. J. Bird, *On the Ruined City of Bijapur, J. B. B. R. A. S.*, I, p. 376, says as follows: "The only other thing that formerly attracted notice at the citadel was the stone representation of Rama Raya's head. It was on the right of the gate at entering; but having been removed from there by the Raja of Sattara, was lately thrown into the ditch". As a matter of fact it seems to have been thrown into the Taj Bauri; for when it was subsequently cleaned out this head was discovered in the mud at the bottom. Cf. Cousens, *Bijapur*, p. 9, note 2. The sculpture is photographically reproduced in the frontispiece of this volume.

4. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk. 7.

5. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk. 6.



VII. Battle of Raksas-Tagdi. The execution of Rama Raya. (P.P.P.)

(By kind permission of the Hony. Secretaries, Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona.)

Varatungarama Pandya say that "in Vidyanagari the famous Rama Raya was killed by his enemies" [1]. The *Chikkadeva-raya Vamsavali* states that "in one of his invasions against the Yavana kingdoms of the North he lost his life" [2]. Rama Raya's death is also mentioned in the *Krishna Raya Rajya aleda vivara* [3]. Finally his defeat and death are given in the *Jangama Kalajmyana* in a prophetic strain by Sarvajna, a Jangama priest, and his son, staunch devotees of Siva [4].

11. When news of the capture of Rama Raya reached Ali Adil Shah, this affectionate Sultan, who sometimes called Rama Raya his father, proceeded to where Husain Nizam Shah was, in order to save the life of the old Monarch ; but before he reached the spot his old friend had been beheaded, to the great sorrow of the Bijapur Sultan [5].

The noble head of Rama Raya was soon raised on the top of a pike, according to the Nizam's orders; and this was the cause of the flight of the Hindu army. "The Hindus", says Ferishta, "according to custom, when they saw their chief destroyed, fled in the utmost disorder from the field" [6] towards Vijayanagara [7]. They were pursued by the Muhammadans. "Husain Nizam Shah," says Ali ibn Aziz, "pursued the fugitives ; and so many were put to the sword that

1. *T.A.S.*, I, p. 84, vv. 161-164.
2. S. Krishnaswami Ayangar, *Sources*, p. 302.
3. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 345.
4. Ibid., p. 272.
5. Couto, VIII, p. 92; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 194. One of the paintings of the P. P. P., reproduced here, shows the Sultan of Bijapur begging for Rama Raya's life before Husain Nizam Shah. Ali Adil Shah is there represented as far too advanced in years. The Hindu accounts say generally that Rama Raya was beheaded by Adil Shah, and speak of him as having performed a meritorious action in saving Rama Raya from the disgrace of captivity. Cf. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.* II, p. 142. See for instance Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 181.
6. Ferishta, III, p. 130; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 104. Maratha account, Chandorkar, o. c., p. 181.
7. Ferishta, III, p. 249 ; Maratha account, Chandorkar, l. c., p. 181.

the plain was strewn with their accursed bodies "[1]. "The river", according to Ferishta, "was dyed red with their blood. It is computed by the best authorities", he continues, "that above one hundred thousand infidels were slain during the action and in the pursuit"[2].

What was the fate of Venkatadri, the youngest brother of the deceased Raya? Frederick says that both Venkatadri and his brother died[3], and Couto[4] and Anquetil du Perron[5] agree with the Italian traveller. But Ferishta definitely asserts that Venkatadri "escaped from the battle to a distant fortress"[6]. The *Ramarajiyamu* seems to confirm this, while stating that "the combined armies of Nizam (Nizam Shah), Yedulakhana (Adil Shah) and Kutupusahu (Qutb Shah) altogether gave up the hope of capturing him"[7]. Finally, the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, dated at least two years after the Raksas-Tagdi disaster, speak of Venkatadri as still alive; they say that he shone on earth as a hero and a conqueror[8]. Probably the fact that he retired to that distant fortress was the cause of the belief that he was dead. Which fortress this was, it is difficult to say: Chandragiri, near Tirupati, would have offered him a safe refuge; it is distant, indeed, from the Mussalman realms, and considered as one of the strongholds of the Empire; Krishna Deva Raya had imprisoned there his three brothers and his nephew, as soon as he was enthroned, according to Nuniz[9].

12. The victorious Muhammadans did not pursue the Hindus up to the walls of Vijayanagara. Their bloodthirsty pursuit perhaps extended over same leagues, but then they

1. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 194.

2. Ibid., p. 130; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 105. The anonymous chronicler agrees, Ibid., p. 414; but the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l.c., says that the number of the slain was nine thousand.

3. *Purchas, X, p. 93.*

4. Couto, VIII, p. 91.

5. Anquetil du Perron, l.c., p. 166. Accordingly Sewell, p. 180, seems to suppose that Venkatadri died also at Raksas-Tagdi.

6. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

7. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l.c.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 330.

9. Sewell, p. 315-6.

VIII. Battle of Raksas-Tagdi. The retreat of the Hindu Army. Tirumala Raya in upper left corner. (P.P.P.)

(By kind permission of the Hony. Secretaries, Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona.)

returned to the battlefield and halted some time over there. Couto says they halted only three days [1], but the anonymous chronicler, who is more reliable, expressly states that "the allied armies halted for ten days on the field of action" [2], and Ali ibn Aziz agrees to his statement [3].

All the riches of the Hindu camp fell into the hands of the Muslims. "The victors," says the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, "captured jewels, ornaments, furniture, camels, tents, camp equipage, drums, standards, maidservants, menservants, and arms and armour of all sorts in such quantity that the whole army was enriched "[4]. "The plunder was so great," adds Ferishta, "that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, tents, arms, horses and slaves, the kings permitting every person to retain what he acquired, reserving the elephants only for their own use" [5]. The Maratha account states that the treasures Rama Raya had brought to the battlefield were valued at 12,357,411 huns [6]. Among all these jewels the Muhammadan writer mentions only "necklaces which had been brought into the treasury (of Ahmadnagar) from the plunder of Ramraj, composed of valuable rubies, emeralds and pearls". These necklaces became later on the cause of one of the mad excesses of Murtaza Nizam Shah [7].

This tremendous disaster to the army of Vijayanagara took place on January 25th, 1565 [8].

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1. Couto, VIII, p. 92.
2. Ferishta, III, p. 414.
3. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c., p. 194. According to the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 105, the Sultans lived for 20 days in the battlefield.
4. Ibid.
5. Ferishta, III, p. 130; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 104. "The army became rich in wealth and jewels." P. P. P., Ap. A.
6. Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 172.
7. Ibid., pp. 264-5.
8. Ibid., p. 414. The date given by the anonymous chronicler seems the most reliable. Ferishta does not give the exact date. The one assigned by the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 146, corresponds to January 7.

CHAPTER X

THE END OF THE TULUVA DYNASTY

SUMMARY. 1. Influence of the battle of Raksas-Tagdi on the history of the South of India.—2. A criticism of Rama Raya and his rule. —3. Tirumala succeeds Rama Raya as Regent of the Empire.— 4. The Vijayanagara court flies up country.—5. Triumphal entry of the Muslim Sultans into the city of Vijayanagara.—6. The sack of the city.—7. Departure of the Muhammadans.—8. Return of Tirumala and the court.—9. The imperial palace at this time.—10. Intercourse between Tirumala and Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda.—11. Sadasiva under the Regency of Tirumala. —12. Tirumala transfers the capital of the Empire to Penukonda. —13. Previous history of this place.—14. Further information about the city of Vijayanagara.—15. The abandonment of Vijayanagara deals a death blow to Portuguese commerce in India.—16. Muhammadan conquests in the North of the Empire. —17. Internal state of the Empire.—18. The Krishnapuram grant at Srirangam.—19. Murder of Sadasiva.—20. An estimate of his reign.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES. 1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.— 2. Ferishta, Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Basatin-us-Salatin.*—3. Couto, Correa, Faria y Sousa.— 4. Frederick, Anquetil du Perron.—5. *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali,* Poona Persian Poem.

THE battle of Raksas-Tagdi is the milestone that separates the era of Hindu splendour in the South of India from the age of Muhammadan expansion. Impartial history acknowledges its influence centuries after, since it paved the way for the Maratha cavalry of Sivaji and his successors, fostered the ambitious ideals of Aurangzeb and his Nawabs, and attracted the ambitious Haidar Ali to overthrow the old Hindu dynasty of Mysore. The glorious Empire of Vijayanagara, faithful trustee of the inheritance of the Hoysalas for two centuries and a half, was now seriously menaced by its secular opponents, the Muslim powers of central India. Perhaps this action would mark the end of its existence, but for a new family of fresh and

vigorous blood, that succeeded in saving the imperial crown from the midst of that turmoil of death. The Empire of Vijayanagara thus lasted another century. Such was the destiny of the Aravidu family.

Nevertheless, Vijayanagara never wholly recovered from that tremendous blow; the foundations of this marvellous Empire, which was the wonder of both merchants and travellers, were deeply shaken, and its star never rose again to the zenith of its sky. "The Kingdom of Vijayanagara," wrote Ferishta at the close of that century, "since this battle has never recovered its ancient splendour" [1]. The victory meant for the Muhammadans the immediate recovery of all the districts which had been taken from Ibrahim Qutb Shah by the efforts of the deceased Rama Raya, as the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda informs us [2]. Accordingly the P. P. P. states that "with the falling of the head of the infidel (Rama Raya), you may say the day of resurrection appeared" [3]. The Deccani Sultans were elated at their good fortune. Hence farmans with accounts of this important victory were sent at once to their several dominions and to the neighbouring states [4]. Ali ibn Aziz says that these letters "were sent to all parts of the world" [5].

2. The death of Rama Raya, as it had been welcomed with great joy and exultation by the allied Sultans, so was, no doubt, a great and irremediable loss to the Hindu Empire. The chief of the Aravidu family had saved the Empire from the chaos created by Salakam Timma Raju and maintained the lustre which had belonged to it during the time of Krishna Deva Raya and Achyuta Raya. That chief's indisputable qualities as a statesman, combined with his victorious campaigns as a warrior, place him among the great Hindu rulers of India. His reputation is indeed clouded by his usurpation of the throne and by the imprisonment of Sadasiva. But perhaps

1. Ferishta, III, p. 131.
2. Ibid., p. 415.
3. P.P.P., Ap. A.
4. Ferishta, III, p. 130.
5. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ep. Ind.*, L, p. 194.

even this fact was due more to the incapability of the young puppet sovereign than to his own ambition. From this point of view, his usurpation provides a special sidelight of self-sacrifice for the welfare of the country and the salvation of the Empire.

As a matter of fact, the inscriptions and grants of that time have nothing but praise for Rama Raya and his government. "While having uprooted all the enemies," we read in a grant of 1554, "Rama Raya ruled over the earth, as famous as Bharata and Bagiratha" [1]. "This heroic Rama Raya," the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III state, "resembled by his great fame Bharata, Manu, Bagiratha and other kings" [2]. He is said, in the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, to have "ruled the earth with justice after having destroyed his enemies" [3]; in the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, to have been "endowed with valour, nobility and kindness" [4]; and in one of his grants of 1561 he is "noted for valour, generosity and mercy" [5]. His generosity towards his subjects seems to have become proverbial: Manucci extolled it a century later [6], and the aforesaid Vellangudi plates of Venkata II affirm that "he surpassed even the wishing tree of the gods in his gifts" [7].

The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* gives an interesting account of the power of Rama Raya just before the battle in which he met his end. It runs as follows: "Sadasiva Raya (Rama Raya) was distinguished above all the kings of Vijayanagara for the strength of his army and for his power, and was puffed up with pride owing to the extent of his dominions. It possessed the whole of the kingdom of Vijayanagara with its sixty sea-ports. Its length was near 600 leagues and its revenue 120,000,000 huns; and that accursed infidel had reigned over this kingdom for a long time" [8].

1. *M. A. D., 1923*, pp. 125-7.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 13.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 17-18.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 340, vv. 28-30.
5. *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hn, 7.
6. Cf. Ch. III, No. 6.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 17-18.
8. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 143. Ferishta, III, pp. 133-4, also speaks of the 60 sea-ports of the Vijayanagara Empire.

3. Five sons were born to Rama Raya by his four wives [1]; but none of them was destined to succeed his father in the difficult task of ruling over the Empire. Tirumala, Rama Raya's brother, who had been his prime minister during the last stage of the latter's life, was naturally the one man able to take over that responsibility, and he actually did so. Whether he was appointed by the King, or whether it was the result of circumstances and more in the nature of a self-nomination, we do not know; but from the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva [2] and from the two Tirumala's grants of Holalkere, mentioned in the preceding chapter, we know that Tirumala succeeded his brother in the regency of the Empire [3]. Moreover, in another inscription of Sadasiva, Gutti Tirumalayyadeva Maharaja, of the Aravidu family, is stated to have been the prime minister of the King [4]. The *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* records, too, that after the death of Rama Raya "his younger brother, Yera Timma Raja, then made himself ruler" [5]. If we are to believe this statement, Tirumala appointed himself the Regent of the Empire.

4. What were his first steps on this rough road to save the Empire from a Muhammadan invasion? It seems that when the first news of the defeat and execution of Rama Raya reached Vijayanagara, nobody thought of anything else but of hurrying to escape either certain death or ignoble slavery. Tirumala with his relatives, his wives and those of his brothers and sons, the ministers and nobles of the Empire, the generals and soldiers together with their Emperor Sadasiva, who then for the first time appeared in public after six years of rigorous imprisonment [6], left the city of Vijayanagara a few hours later [7]. A

1. Cf. Ch. II, No. 4.
2. Cf. a little further on No. 18.
3. Cf. p. 214, notes 4 and 5.
4. 412 of 1911.
5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.
6. A circumstance only given in Frederick, Purchas, X, p. 93.
7. The Maratha account says that "the mother and the wives of Rajbhuwar (Rama Raya), as soon as they came to know this untoward incident (the defeat and execution of the Hindu chief), set fire to the palace." Chandorkar, l. c., p. 181. If this is true, the palace referred to must be the zenana, since the palace of the King was seen and described one year later by C. Frederick. Cf. No. 9.

great convoy followed them: one thousand five hundred and fifty elephants laden with treasure in gold, diamonds and precious stones, coins of the Empire, and other things of this kind, valued altogether at more than a hundred millions sterling. They also carried away the famous jewelled throne of the kings, celebrated and mentioned in the inscriptions in every corner of the Empire [1].

According to modern authors this convoy, as well as the noble retinue which preceded it, made for the fort of Penukonda [2]; but nothing of the kind is said in the original contemporary sources. Ferishta does not speak of this retreat; Frederick only remarks that they "fled away" [3]; Faria y Sousa mentions no destination at all; Couto alone gives a hint, so long forgotten, which is the real solution of this problem. "They," says he, "with all this outfit left for the interior, and stored everything in the palace of Tremil; for it was very well fortified on an impregnable mountain, at ten days' distance from Bisnaga" [4]. Now, where was this palace of Tremil? We cannot offer a satisfactory answer, but it seems to us that the circumstances mentioned by the Portuguese author,—viz. that it was a fortified up-country place, standing on the top of an impregnable mountain and ten days distant from Vijayanagara, and that its name was Tremil,—cannot be applied to any other spot but to the temple on the Tirumala hill at Tirupati [5]. Its shrine of

1. Couto, VIII, pp. 92-3; Faria y Sousa, II, pp. 433-4.

2. Cf. for instance Sewell, p. 206; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 120.

3. Purchas, l. c.

4. Couto, VIII, p. 93.

5. The Jesuits who lived at the court of Venkata II called the temple of Perumal, at Tirupati, the temple of Perumal or Primal. See Ap. C, No. VIII. Is not this a corruption similar to that of Couto? Even Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p. 42, writes Tremul instead of Tirumala. Cf. Ch. IV, No. 4 and note 3 of p. 60. But the best proof is given by Correa, IV, p. 282, who evidently speaking of Tirupati says that "the temple of Tremelle, that is the chief and richest house of the whole Kingdom of Bisnega (Vijayanagara), is in the port of Paleacate (Pulicat)." (So the Portuguese believed). Dos Santos, *Ethipia Oriental*, II, p. 304, likewise calls Tremel, this famous Hindu temple: "Um pagode tem estes gentios da India, a que chaman o

Sri Venkatesvara Perumal, surrounded by three stone walls on the top of the holy hill Tirumala, 2,500 feet high, might easily be called by the Portuguese writer the impregnable palace of Tremil. Moreover, Correa states that the sovereigns of Vijayanagara had a house or palace at Tirupati [1], and Sadasiva himself in the beginning of his reign used to go to the sacred fair held there [2]. On the other hand we recognize that its distance from Vijayanagara does not agree with the ten days' journey given by Couto; but for a man who never travelled through the country, one or two days more does not make much difference. Indeed it would not be at all strange that the first monarch of the Aravidu Dynasty took shelter for a while, in those days of distress, in the same country where his successors settled finally: first at Chandragiri, just at the foot of the Tirumala hill, and then at Vellore.

5. After the departure of the Emperor and the nobility from the capital, no garrison remained within its walls to defend it against any attack. And Couto says that then the Bedues "who are jungle people" pounced down on the helpless city, and in six different attacks looted all its houses, carrying away numberless precious things left by the nobles in their hasty flight [3].

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pagode de Tremel, mui nomeado, assim pela muita riqueza, e thesouro, que dizem ter, como por ser casa de muita romagem dos gentios, en que se acham ordinariamente cada dia infinitos, que ali vem de diversas partes e reinos, e muito mas no dia da festa do dito pagode". According to this, Sadasiva retired to where he had been first crowned. Cf. Ch. II, No. 1.

1. Correa, IV, p. 300.

2. Ibid., pp. 302-3.

3. Couto, l. c. Couto does not say that the Bedues entered Vijayanagara on the day following the departure of the Emperor, nor that their six attacks all occured on the same day. I cannot trace where Sewell, p. 207, takes this information from. Were not these Bedues the Bergies whom Ferishta III, p. 141, speaks of as people living around Vijayanagara? Their chief at the end of this century was Handistan Nayaka, of whom we shall again speak when discussing the reign of Venkata II. Most of them were finally put to death by the Sultan of Bijapur. Ibid., p. 142.

But this calamity was nothing in comparison with the one which befell the unfortunate city some days after.

The four Muhammadan Sultans of the Deccan [1], after the ten days' rest on the battlefield, proceeded towards Vijayanagara with all their troops. Ferishta relates that they halted in the city of Anegundi on the other side of the Tungabhadra river, while their advanced armies penetrated to Vijayanagara itself [2]. This was done, no doubt, to prepare the great triumph, described by Frederick, of the four Kings on their entry into the capital of their enemy [3]. From Anegundi they crossed the river by the bridge built some years previously by Rama Raya, the piers of which can still be seen in the centre of the river. As soon as they reached Vijayanagara, the temple of Achyuta Raya stood before them with its high entrance gopuram, at the end of the so-called dancing girls' street; but turning to the right, and passing in front of the temple of Kodanda Rama, they followed the way paved with large granite slabs that runs by the river side, until they reached the end of the broad bazaar of Hampi, just at the foot of the tremendous monolythic Nandi that watches silently over the first steps leading to the top of the abrupt ridge on the left. Here the state procession was probably arranged first; the soldiers, then the captains; the prisoners next, and finally the four Sultans riding on elephants or on horseback; and it is not even improbable that the head of Rama Raya was carried aloft before the Kings, on the top of a long spear, and shown to the terrified inhabitants of that desolate city. The gorgeous cavalcade, probably did not reach the Pampapati temple; but turning to the left, started the ascent of the rocky hill crowned by the two small shrines where the colossal statues of Ganesa were once worshipped. After a while they entered the enclosure of Krishna's temple, a fine specimen of the architectural work of Krishna Deva Raya: the road turns then to the right; and on reaching the plains the victorious sovereigns of the Deccan passed before the shrine containing the huge monolythic statue

1. Frederick, Purchas, X, p. 92.
2. Ferishta, III, p. 131.
3. Frederick, l. c.

of the god Narasimha, which was mutilated by their soldiers shortly after. Subsequently, they entered the citadel, where the Sultans took up their residence either in the enclosure of the royal palace or in the Danayak's enclosure; the zenana enclosure was also probably reserved for their wives.

6. The Mussulman sovereigns spent six months at Vijayanagara [1]. During this time their troops were occupied in plundering the city and its surroundings. "The efforts of the conquerors," says the anonymous chronicler, "were directed to the plunder of the country and of the city" [2]; and Frederick states that they were " searching under houses and in all places for money and other things that were hidden" [3]. The booty was enormous. Couto and Faria y Sousa state that Ali Adil Shah got from the spoil a diamond as large as a hen's egg, and this was affixed to the base of the plume on the headdress of his favourite horse; he also got another diamond not so large but very uncommon, besides a multitude of jewels and precious things [4].

Was this sack so destructive as it has been supposed? I regret to say that Mr. Sewell, whom we may rightly call the pioneer historian of Vijayanagara, has completely misdescribed the state of Vijayanagara as caused by the Muhammadans during those six months [5]. More than three centuries have

1. Anonymous chronicler, Ferishta, III, p. 415; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 106; Frederick, Purchas, X, p. 93; Couto, VIII, p. 93. Faria y Sousa II, p. 432, says that they were at Vijayanagara five months only. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l.c., p. 194, states that they remained at Vijayanagara four months only.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 414. Cf. Ibid., p. 131.

3. Purchas, X, p. 93.

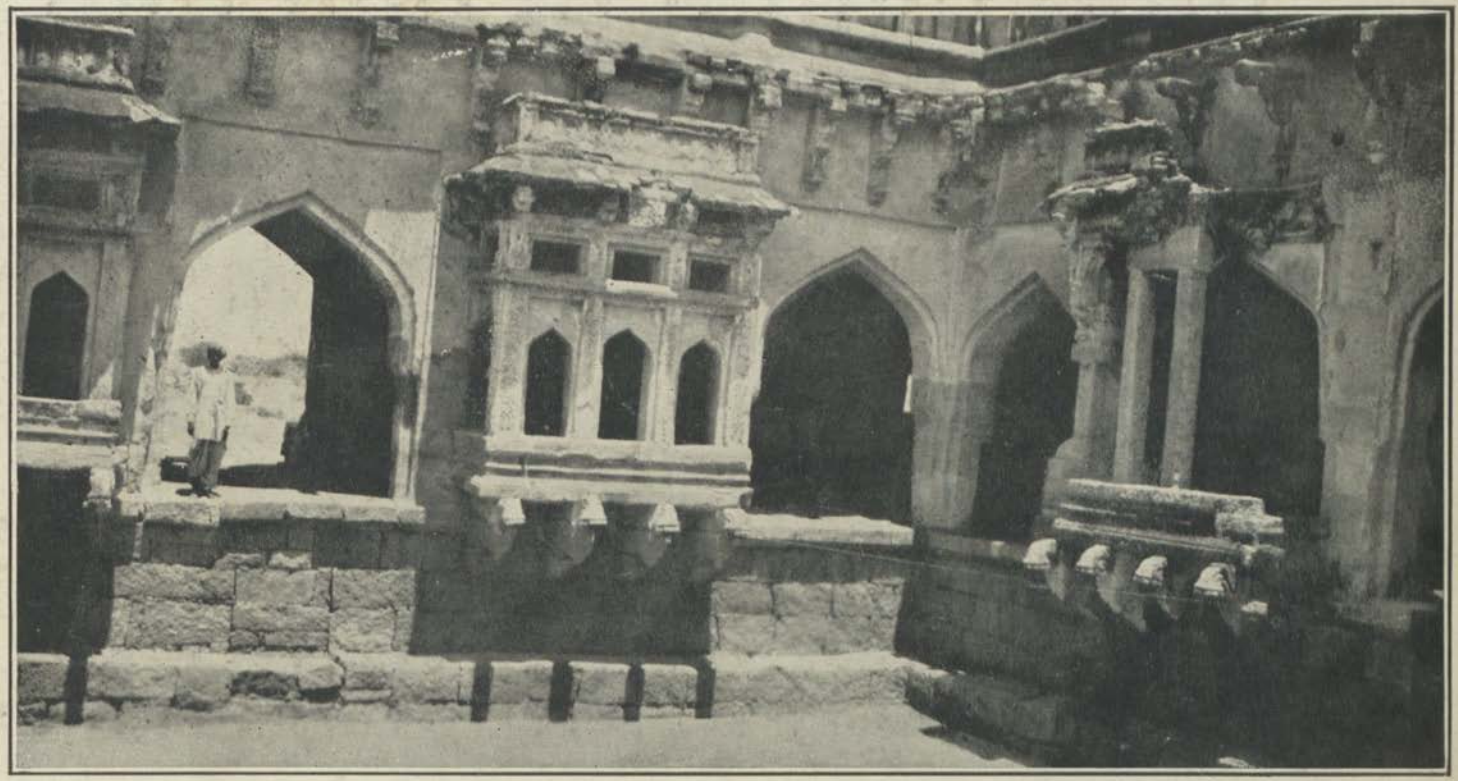
4. Couto, VIII, p. 93; Faria y Souza, II, p. 433. Probably several pearls and precious stones the Sultan of Bijapur got from the sack of Vijayanagar were finally presented to the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, after the peace concluded between the Deccan and Prince Khurram in 1617. Cf. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, I, p. 399-401.

5. Sewell, p. 207, says: "They slaughtered the people without mercy; broke down the temples and palaces; and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings that, with the exception of a few great stone-built temples and walls, nothing *now remains* but a heap of ruins to mark the spot where once the stately buildings stood." (Italics are mine). How can it be supposed that the destruction we see at present is the effect of the plunder of the Muhammadans only?

elapsed since those memorable days, and time is as sure a destroyer as man. His statement is perhaps founded on the Muhammadan authors, who seem to give a picture of a most tremendous havoc. Ferishta says: "They plundered, rased the chief buildings to the ground and committed every species of excess" [1]. The anonymous chronicler states that "the conquerors were directed to the destruction of the stone buildings" [2], and Ali ibn Aziz relates that during their stay they were busy "destroying the temples and dwellings of the idolaters and utterly laying waste all the buildings of the country" [3]. I do not doubt that many a temple was desecrated in those days, that many idols were partially broken or completely destroyed, or that several shrines were, perhaps, razed to the ground by the fanatical iconoclasts; but I cannot admit Ferishta's saying, that the chief buildings were razed to the ground, for the simple reason that the chief buildings of the capital of the old Hindu Empire may be partly seen even now. The huge imposing basements both in the royal enclosure and in the zenana; the partly destroyed gopurams of the Vitthalaswami, Krishna and Achyuta Temples, of which only the brick-work has partially disappeared; the beautiful well-kept gopuram of the Pampapati temple at Hampi, one of the first the invaders saw on their coming from Anegundi; even the two small shrines of Ganesa between the Hampi temple and the one of Krishna, of which not a stone has crumbled down after three centuries, are manifest proof of the exaggeration in Ferishta's statement. His religious prejudice against the idols and the temples of the *unbelievers* made him suppose things done in the imperial city of which its invaders were never guilty.

I feel sure that almost all the idols worshipped at Vijayanagara were destroyed during those days, because they are not, as a general rule, discoverable in the ruined temples. The huge Narasimha was mutilated, no doubt, at the time, since it is not in the power of centuries to cut off such big limbs as that idol's. Two images, nevertheless, inexplicably escaped the general des-

1. Ferishta, III, p. 131.
2. Ibid., p. 414.
3. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l.c., p. 194.



IX. Vijayanagara. Hindu-Muslim bath.

truction; they are the above mentioned statues of Ganesa. As to the temples, the crumbling of the brick-work of the gopurams, the falling in of the ceiling slabs and the consequent shaking of the whole building, are things that require no help from any iconoclast invader. Time does it more quietly and more easily than any human agency can.

Moreover we must admit that several edifices of the city were destroyed by the invaders, partly while searching for treasures and partly by order of Husain Nizam Shah, who set on fire a number of houses, according to the information given by Mirza Ibrahim Zabiri [1]. As a matter of fact we have often found traces of a conflagration while going through the ruins.

Besides, the poor inhabitants of the city, who had taken refuge in the valleys of the surroundings, were diligently searched for by the Muslim soldiers; and when found, tortured till something was exacted from them [2].

7. Anyhow the Mussulman sovereigns did not intend to destroy Vijayanagara. Their long six months' stay within its walls seems to demonstrate their purpose of retaining the city for themselves. Another fact, which has never been pointed out hitherto, tells the same story: their construction of new buildings in the old Hindu capital. There are still at Vijayanagara five or six buildings (such as the bath on the east side of the royal enclosure, the so-called elephants' stable, the lotus-palace in the zenana, the small building at the opposite corner of the same enclosure, the tower house in one of the corners of the Danayak's enclosure and the octogonal pavilion on the road to Hampi), that do not belong to the old Vijayanagara style, but to a new school that marvellously combines both Hindu and Muslim styles, the latter predominating. Moreover, the ancient Hindu structures of Vijayanagara were built without mortar: the basements of the royal enclosure, the walls of both the city and the different enclosures and the ruins of the temples show their mortarless construction. But for building the edifices in question mortar was used, and such mortar as has gloriously

1. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 106.
2. Ibid., p. 107.

defied the destructive inclemency of the weather for three centuries and a half. Now, speaking of the buildings of Bijapur, and specially of the flat ceiling of the famous Ibrahim Rauza, Mr. H. Cousens, in his monumental work on *Bijapur*, says: "The whole secret of the durability of the masonry of those days is the great strength and tenacity of the mortar" [1]. Such was the secret of the masons of Bijapur. For these reasons I am inclined to believe that the buildings mentioned above were the work of the Deccani Sultans during their sojourn in the capital of the Hindu Empire. My opinion is confirmed by the following words we read in the *Basatin-us-Salatin*: "After this (the battle) they (the Sultans) devoted their attention to Vijayanagara and raised mighty and lofty buildings" [2].

Yet six months after their triumphal arrival, that is, at the end of July or at the beginning of August of the same year 1565, they, with their respective armies, left Vijayanagara. "They departed to their own kingdom," Frederick relates, "because they were not able to maintaine such a kingdom as that was, so farre distant from their owne Countrie" [3]. But before leaving, they received an embassy which ought to have been for them the cause of immense joy: "Venkatadri," says Ferishta, "who escaped from the battle to a distant fortress, sent humble entreaties to the kings, to whom he agreed to restore all the places which his brother had wrested from them" [4]. By whose authority did Venkatadri make such an overture? No doubt by Tirumala's. If the distant fortress to which Venkatadri escaped was Chandragiri, as we have supposed; and if the palace of Tremil, where Tirumala and Sadasiva took refuge after the battle, is in upper Tirupati, as we have pointed out as probable in the beginning of this chapter, both brothers could have communicated with each other on important state matters; and Venkatadri could have opened these pourparlers with the Muhammadan sovereigns, as generalissimo of the Vijayanagara army on behalf of his brother, the new Regent of the Empire.

1. Cousens, *Bijapur*, p. 72.
2. *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 105.
3. Purchas, X, p. 94.
4. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

Misunderstandings among the four Sultans and among their respective generals, that had probably arisen during these six months, hastened their departure. Both the Golkonda chronicler and Ali ibn Aziz, as well as Mirza Ibrahim Zabiri, refer quite clearly to this disagreement among them [1]; and the wars that ensued soon after, and of which we shall speak a little further down, confirm our supposition. Nevertheless, no public manifestation of this mutual enmity was then given. They went together as far as Raichur, where they "took leave of each other and returned to their respective dominions" [2]. The anonymous chronicler informs us that before leaving Vijayanagara, the four Sultans deputed three of their generals, Mustafa Khan, Maulana Inayatullah and Kishwar Khan "to attack Mudkal (Mudgal) and Raichur, which places were easily reduced" [3].

8. Vijayanagara was thus abandoned by its own conquerors ; and soon after, its natural lord again entered its gates. Tirumala "returned to Vijayanagara after the departure of the Dekanese," says Anquetil du Perron [4]. Mr. Sewell seems to attach little importance to the Regent's return ; but to my mind it is one of the outstanding events of those days. It signifies that after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi the ruler of Vijayanagara did not despair of restoring the Empire to its ancient grandeur ; to maintain the capital next to the boundaries of their enemies showed the indomitable courage that could still challenge the Deccani Muhammadans, with the sure hope of crushing them as in former days : for Vijayanagara was the City of Victory !

No inscription at Vijayanagara records this second stay of Tirumala within its walls after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi [5]. But fortunately we have an account by an eye-witness of this return of Tirumala to Vijayanagara after the departure of the Muhammadans. C. Frederick, who had seen it with his

1. Ferishta, III, pp. 414-5; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l.c., p. 194; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, pp. 109-10. Cf. Scott Waring, *History of the Maharattas*, p. 40.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

3. Ibid., p. 414. Cf. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l.c., p. 196.

4. Anquetil du Perron, l.c., p. 166.

5. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l.c., p. 181, note.

own eyes, describes the royal palace as invested with no less splendour than before the Muslim invasion; and he relates an episode relating to Tirumala, which is quite characteristic of that ruler. It is worth while to quote it in his own words:—

"When the kings were departed from Bezeneger, this Temiragio returned to the Citie, and then beganne for to repopulate it; and sent word to Goa to the Merchants, if they had any Horses, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them; and for this cause the aforesaid two Merchants, that I went in companie withall, carried those Horses that they had to Bezeneger. Also this Tyrant made an order or law, that if any Merchant had any of the Horses that were taken in the aforesaid battell (of Raksas-Tagdi) or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would give as much for them as they would: and beside he gave generall safe conduct to all that should bring them. When by this meanes hee saw that there were great store of Horses brought thither unto him, he gave the Merchants faire words, until such time as he saw they could bring no more. Then hee licenced the Merchants to depart, without giving them any thing for their Horses; which when the poore men saw, they were desperate, and as it were mad with sorrow and griefe" [1].

This episode clearly shows the determination of Tirumala to continue the war with the Muhammadans. For which purpose he was in need of horses and money; that was why, after obtaining the horses, he refused to make any payment to the poor merchants. This fact discredits Tirumala's character in the light of impartial history; a ruler who oppresses his foreign benefactors in order to carry out his designs is not a ruler but a tyrant.

9. Frederick goes on to say that he "rested in Bezeneger seven months" [2]. His description of the imperial palace again proves that the Muhammadans did not raze to the ground

1. Purchas, X, p. 94. This fact is also narrated by Sewell, p. 209, but as having occurred in Penukonda. No doubt it took place at Vijayanagara. Frederick says that he went there with the merchants.

2. Ibid.

every chief building in the city, as stated by Ferishta. "I have seene many Kings Courts," says he, "and yet have I seene none in greatnesse like to this of Bezeneger; I say for the order of his Palace, for it hath nine Gates or Ports. First when you goe into the place where the King did lodge, there are five great ports or gates: these are kept with Captaines and Souldiers: then within these there are foure lesser gates, which are kept with Porters. Without the first Gate there is a little porch, where there is a Captaine with five and twentie Souldiers, that keepeth watch and ward night and day; and within that another with the like guard, where thorow they come to a very faire Court; and at the end of that Court there is another porch as the first, with the like guard, and within that another Court. And in this wise are the first five Gates guarded and kept with those Captaines: and then the lessor Gates within are kept with a guard of Porters: which gates stand open the greatest part of the night, because the costume of the Gentiles is to doe bisinesse and make their feasts in the night, rather then by day" [1].

10. The return of Tirumala to Vijayanagara, and his attempt to repopulate this city, must have coincided with the attack of Bijapur against Ahmadnagar, in which even the Sultan of Golkonda took some part. Husain Nizam Shah had died shortly after his retreat from the Hindu capital; and his son Murtaza Nizam Shah, although young, became very unpopular on account of his excesses; so that before the end of the same year 1565, or perhaps in the beginning of 1566, Kishwur Khan wrote privately to the Sultan of Bijapur, inviting him to attack Ahmadnagar where there was, he said, a strong party in his favour. Such was the origin of this war in which Golkonda and Birar supported the Sultan of Ahmadnagar [2]. This was an ideal opportunity to enable the energetic Regent of Vijayanagara to carry out his plan.

And such was the luck of Tirumala that, shortly after, he himself was invited to interfere again, like his brother Rama Raya, in the destiny of their opponents. For Murtaza Nizam Shah, in order to be revenged on Ali Adil Shah, "sent an

1. Purchas, X, pp. 97-8.
2. Anonymous chronicler, Ferishta, III, pp. 416-8.

envoy to Golkonda," says the anonymous chronicler, "inviting Ibrahim Qutb Shah to form an alliance against the king of Bijapur: while at the same time an envoy had been previously despatched for the same purpose to Ahmadnagar by the king of Golkonda, proposing that they should march to the river Krishna, when Yeltumraj (Tirumala), the brother of the late Ramraj, might be invited to join with his forces, when they could all proceed to the reduction of Bijapur. After reaching the Krishna, the kings of Golkonda and Ahmadnagar wrote to Yeltumraj, requesting him to become a member of the confederacy".

This was an excellent chance for Tirumala to recover the countries taken by Ali Adil Shah from Rama Raya, which he expected would be restored by the allies to Vijayanagara; he also seized this opportunity to enfeeble his enemies by fostering war among them, following the Machiavellian policy of his late brother. But at the same time he received another despatch from the Queen Dowager of Ahmadnagar, Khunzah Humayun, who was ruling over the kingdom during the minority of her son, demanding from him the sum of two lakhs of huns for aid to be given him by the allies against the encroachments of the Sultan of Bijapur. Tirumala, very much astonished at the Queen's demand, sent a message to the Golkonda Sultan informing him of the circumstance. Ibrahim Qutb Shah promptly deputed a person to Ahmadnagar to express to the Queen his surprise at this unexpected demand, remarking that "it appeared very impolitic, in the present posture of affairs, to make demands of money on Yeltumraj, instead of conciliating one who was a useful ally at the head of ten thousand men, and who had reason to bear great enmity towards the powerful state which they were on the point of attacking". Khunzah Humayun, instead of acting on this advice, persisted in her demand, and even accompanied it with threats. Tirumala could not tolerate this; accordingly, he not only refused to pay the money, but set out from his capital against the allies. Ibrahim Qutb Shah did not expect such an unfavourable turn of events; and fearing the power of the Hindu army, dispatched an envoy to Tirumala, advising him to retreat to his country, and promising

that his own troops would also move simultaneously. On the following day, both armies struck camp and retreated to their own countries [1].

11. It seems quite certain that Sadasiva did not come back to Vijayanagara with the Regent of the Empire; the contemporary sources do not give any information on this point, and from their silence we may deduce that he probably remained in the palace of Tremil, Upper Tirupati, or that perhaps he was transferred to the neighbouring fortress of Chandragiri. Frederick merely says that Tirumala "had in prison the lawful king" [2]. This statement is confirmed by the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, which states that Tirumala governed "setting aside the nominal sovereign Sadasiva" [3]. We know from these testimonies that Sadasiva's imprisonment did not end at the death of Rama Raya. Tirumala, who had probably formerly rebelled against his brother on hearing of his sovereign's imprisonment, now followed the same policy himself. Chandragiri was a splendid prison for a king; and since the only place where we find Sadasiva hereafter is Srirangam, where he made the Krishnapuram grant, we may reasonably suppose that he never went back to the North of his Empire. Venkatadri who was probably at Chandragiri, might have been his jailor; or perhaps this office was filled by the third son of Tirumala, Venkata, the future Venkata II, who seems to have governed a portion of the Empire during the reign of Sadasiva [4], and during the reigns of his father and of his brother Ranga I, had been their viceroy at Chandragiri, and was at this time, according to an inscription of Markapur, of 1467, already one of

1. Ferishta, III, pp. 418-20. The chronicler says that Tirumala marched to Penukonda; he seems to ignore the fact that the Regent was at Vijyanagara at this time, as we know from the sources mentioned above. This campaign of the Golkonda Sultan against the Sultan of Bijapur is mentioned, too, in the Telugu poem *Tapatisamvaranam*. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 238; and hinted at in the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, pp. 113-4.

2. Purchas, X, p. 97.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.

4. *M.E.R., 1905-6*, para 49.

the ministers of the Empire[1]. In the year 1567 he made a grant to the Puranist Parankusan Lakshmanaiya[2]. Another of his gifts is recorded in an inscription of 1568[3].

Tirumala therefore was the sole ruler of the Empire. We know of several grants made in his own name without any mention of Sadasiva at all; such was the one given in 1567, as recorded in an inscription close to Siva's temple at Kandakuru, Cuddapah[4]. One year later he granted Holalkere as an *amara-magam* to the great Kamagetti Kasturi Medakeri Nayaka[5]. In another similar inscription of the same place, the donee is called Maha-nayakacharya; and it is further stated that he made over the village to his brother-in-law, Gulliyapa Nayaka, as an *umballi*[6]. In the same year he made two grants to the temple of Vishnu at Khairuwale[7]. Then the fort villages granted to Jvarakandesvara "the lord of Vellore", at the request of Chinna Bomma Nayaka, were the gift of Tirumala alone[8]. Occasionlly, however, some grants of Sadasiva are found among the inscriptions of those days; one, for instance, of the year 1567 comes from Ahobilam, Karnul[9]. Sometimes both the sovereign and the Regent are mentioned in the inscriptions, showing the subordinate office of Tirumala: for example, during the reign of Sadasiva, Tirumala, under his orders, made a charitable grant to the barbers of Battepadu, Udayagiri, and exempted them from taxes[10]; the Krishnapuram plates, of which we shall speak a little further on, are another instance of the same. But we know two inscriptions in which Sadasiva and Tirumala are placed on the same level. The one states that

1. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l.c., p. 187.
2. 163 of 1905.
3. 240 of 1897.
4. Sewell, I, p. 132.
5. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk, 7.
6. Ibid., 6.
7. Sewell, I, p. 93.
8. Cf. Ch. VIII, No. 12.
9. Sewell, I, p. 101.
10. Butterworth, I, pp. 217-8.

during the reign of Sadasiva, by his command and by order of Tirumala Rajaya, a private person gives a grant to a god for cars and festivals [1]; the other is a Telugu copper plate of Komarunipalli, Cuddapah, which records that in the reign of Sadasiva and Gutti Tirumalayya, the fourteen villagers of Utukuru district gave to Lakkanayadu lands and fees at three *panams* for a marriage in these villages [2]. In 1569 one Chinnapanayaningaru declares himself subject to Tirumala, while no mention of Sadasiva is made [3]. Nevertheless, it seems that the Regent never took imperial titles until after Sadasiva's death [4].

12. But Tirumala's stay at Vijayanagara did not last very long. Anquetil du Perron states that "not long after he transferred his court to Panegorde" (Penukonda) [5]; and the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* records that "after a short time he changed his capital from Vijayanagara to Penukonda" [6]. But Frederick gives the date of this important event: "In the year of our Lord God 1567, for the ill successe that the people of Bezeneger had.. the King with his Court went to dwell in a Castle eight dayes journey up in the land from Bezeneger, called Penegonde" (Penukonda) [7]. We must say here that the transfer of the capital to Penukonda could not have taken place in the beginning of this year 1567, because this traveller went to Vijayanagara in the same year [8], and spent six months in that city [9], without witnessing the departure of Tirumala, of which he was made aware later on. Now if we suppose that

1. *Ep. Carn.*, X, Gd. 52.
2. Rangacharya, I, pp. 580, 58.
3. 166 of 1905.
4. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l.c., p. 180.
5. Anquetil du Perron, l.c., p. 166.
6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.
7. Purchas, X, p. 97. Not in Saka 1493, immediately after his usurpation of the throne, as H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, p. 181, says; the inscriptions and grants are not the only sources of information.
8. Purchas, X, p. 92.
9. Ibid., p. 94.

his return to the city after the departure of the Muhammadans occurred at the end of 1565 or the beginning of 1566, (since the enemy had left either in July or August) we must admit that Tirumala spent about two years at Vijayanagara.

What was the motive of his final departure? Frederick seems to attribute it to another war with the Muhammadans [1]; and the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* says clearly that he changed his capital "on account of the constant attacks of the Muhammadans" [2], which naturally baffled all attempts on the part of the Regent to repopulate the city.

Now, we know from Ferishta that about that time, Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur led his army against the Hindus of Vijayanagara and Anegundi. The Hindu chief then applied for relief to Khunzah Humayun, the Regent of Ahmadnagar, who herself marched at the head of an army, accompanied by her son, against the dominions of Bijapur. Ali Adil Shah was compelled by this sudden attack to retreat from Anegundi to defend his own country [3]. The Muhammadan writer does not mention any action between the two armies. But we feel sure that some fighting ensued; and it was probably in the course of this war that Tirumala's minister, Chennappa Nayadu, defeated the Muslim general Rambikesaru Khanu (Kishwar Khan?), as is recorded in an inscription at Penukonda [4].

Nevertheless, this war showed the Hindus that life in the capital was insecure on account of the proximity of the Muhammadan possessions; the few inhabitants who had come back to repopulate the city retired to a more secure place; and Tirumala was obliged to abandon the old capital for good. This however betrayed a certain faintness of heart on the part of the Regent of the Empire. He had returned to Vijayanagara, after the retreat of the Muhammadans, as an enterprising hero and worthy successor of Krishna Deva Raya and of his brother Rama Raya; but now, giving up possession of the old capital in favour of Penukonda was equivalent to retiring

1. Cf. Gubernatis, *Storia*, p. 290.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.
3. Ferishta, III, pp. 131-2 and 251.
4. 341 of 1901.

from the front line to the second post of the Empire, and at the same time to abandoning all hope of victory over his enemies. Vijayanagara was giving up its offensive lines, and retreating to a position of defence.

13. The new capital of the Empire of Vijayanagara deserves some notice here. Penukonda was a hill fort, three thousand feet high, in the South of the present Anantapur District; "eight dayes journey up in the land from Bezeneger (Vijayanagar)", in the words of Frederick. The town is situated at the foot of a hill which gives its name to the place: Penukonda means 'big hill'.

Kriyasakti Wadeyar, an ancestor of the Rajas of Bellur, is said to be the founder of the fort of Penukonda [1]; but its main fortifications were built or enlarged during the reign of Bukka I. According to an inscription of 1354 on the eastern side of the northern gate of the fort, Bukka entrusted the province of Penukonda to his son Vira Virupana Udaiyar, by his wife Janema Devi; and during the rule of this Virupana over Penukonda, the fort was enlarged and fortified by his minister Anantarasa Odeyaru [2]. Subsequently, when Narasa Nayaka deposed the last representative of the Saluva dynasty, Immadi Narasimha, the unfortunate young prince was first confined and then, according to Nuniz, murdered in Penukonda by the usurper [3]. This was one of the favourite towns of Krishna Deva Raya, who, according to tradition, made it his residence for some time [4]. We read in an ancient inscription that Penukonda is a god-built city and that no man could possibly boast of taking its surrounding fortifications [5].

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1. *Kriyasakti Wadeyar*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 345.
2. 339 of 1901.
3. Sewell, p. 308.
4. Cf. Francis, *Anantapur Gazetteer*, p. 191. In an inscription of 1543, Rama Raya is said to be ruling the Empire of the world in Penukonda. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Kr, 79. This is probably a spurious inscription, since it represents Rama Raya with imperial titles, "seated on the jewelled throne," which was unusual in the first days of Sadasiva's reign.
5. 341 of 1901.

Such was the place selected by Tirumala for the capital of the Empire. The Muhammadans were not likely to shake again the throne of the Telugu Empire as long as it was lodged within such a fortress, especially after the Regent himself had repaired its fortifications, under the direction of Chennappa Nayadu [1]. Penukonda was to be, according to him, a worthy successor of the old capital, the second *City of Victory*. And it seems probable that it was called at this time *Vijayanagara-Penukonda*, because the *History of the Karnataka Governors* begins as follows: "Vizianagaram-Penu-Kondaipatnam was for many years the capital of the Rayer" [2].

14. The transfer of the capital to Penukonda was the cause of the abandonment and destruction of Vijayanagara. Two inscriptions of Tirumala, of the following year 1568, describe the city as 'destroyed and in ruins' [3]. We cannot believe that the buildings of the city were in a ruinous state only a year after the departure of the court; the above mentioned inscriptions refer, no doubt, to the moral body of the citizens, to the *Civitas*, not to its buildings. Anquetil du Perron expressly says that "the town of Bisnagar, being abandoned, became the dwelling of wild beasts" [4]. And Frederick in his memoirs wrote: "The Citie of Bezeneger is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand still, but emptie, and there is dwelling in them nothing, as is reported, but Tygres and other wild beasts" [5]. Orme records that at the end of the 16th century, "the city of Bisnagar was part of the dominion of the Mahomedan king of Viziapore (Bijapur)" [6]. Accordingly when Filippo Sassetti passed through Vijayanagara in 1584-5, he found a Muhammadan Governor there, as a letter of his, dated Goa, November 9th, 1585, relates [7]. But at the close of the century

1. 336 of 1901.
2. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 3.
3. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk, 6 and 7.
4. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166.
5. Purchas, X, p. 97.
6. Orme, *Historical Fragments*, p. 61.
7. Gubernatis, *Storia dei Viaggiatori*, p. 202.

Ferishta wrote: "The city itself.....is now totally in ruins and uninhabited" [1].

The information of the Muhammadan writer, however, is not up-to-date; because a servant of the East India Company passed through Vijayanagara in that year and found inhabitants there: hence the city was not yet totally destroyed. A letter of Peter Floris to Mr. Tho. Aldworth at Surat, dated Mislopatam (Masulipatam), June 17th, 1614, gives this information: "Yesterday arrived here a fellow who calleth his name John, saying, he come sent from you with letters from Sir Thomas Smith our Governor, brought by land; and that he hath been but thirty three days from you, or the next day that you did send your letter per this peon; and coming to Barampur (Burhampur) in company of a certain English merchant John Bednall, and one Thomas Lock with one Frenchman whom he did leave at Barampur; and this John coming from Barampur (Burhampur) towards Bagnagar (Bisnagar) was robbed by the way, by his own report, of a camel, a horse, six fine clothes, a hundred pagodas in money and other apparel. So coming to Coulas, he did send back two servants for Barampur and one for Surat; but he himself came to Bagnagar, where he did meet with a certain gentile, being a goldsmith, an old acquaintance of mine, who did take him into his house and did write me of it what is passed with this John". And a little later he adds: "Because he tells me that the English merchants from Barampur will be here within this ten or twelve days, I have been content to write Attmachan and Malicktosuer in Bagnagar in his behalf, to see if they can get his stolen goods again," etc. [2]. It is quite evident from this letter that at the beginning of the 17th century there were still some inhabitants at Vijayanagara. And in the middle of the same century Timma or Tirumala, a nephew of Ranga III, by his brother Venkatapati, built there the lofty eastern gopuram of the temple of Virupaksha [3].

1. Ferishta, III, p. 131.
2. *Letters Received by the E. I. C.*, II, pp. 60-1.
3. *Ramarajiyamu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 311.

15. Nevertheless, the ancient populous capital of the Empire had become a small village, showing only in its temples and palaces the past grandeur which was crumbling away little by little. Its decay was the first death-blow to Portuguese commerce in India: "From that time onwards", says Couto, "the inhabitants of Goa have been on the decline" [1]. And Filippo Sassetti, in the above quoted letter, says also that the traffic between the two cities had completely perished, and gives the following instance to illustrate the great loss that this entailed to Portuguese commerce: "The revenue of the tax on the horses that came from Persia for Vijayanagara was from a hundred and twenty thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand ducats; and the present revenue does not reach even six thousand" [2].

For the King of Portugal, this news was naturally most disappointing; for precisely on February 27th, 1568, a few months after the departure of Tirumula from Vijayanagara, he wrote from Lisboa to Dom Luiz de Taide (d'Ataide) as follows: "If the merchandise that comes from Cananor, Cochin and other places, to be sold in Narsinga (Vijayanagara), passes through Goa, the revenue derived from the tariff duties on them will be a great service to me" [3]. The Portuguese sovereign was never to see the finances of his "*state of India*" increased by the commerce with Vijayanagara; the Portuguese trade in that city had perished for ever.

16. The departure of the Court from Vijayanagara to Penukonda naturally encouraged the secular covetousness of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda; that confession of the weakness of the Hindu government was a tacit invitation to them to seize the territories North of the Empire. Accordingly Ali Adil Shah, in the year 1568, captured the fortress of Adoni, which "was fortified with eleven walls, one within another, so that it appeared impossible to reduce it by force" [4]. It was

1. Couto, VIII, pp. 93-4.
2. Gubernatis, o. c., p. 202. See Ap. B, No. VI.
3. *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, III, p. 14.
4. Ferishta, III, pp. 134-5.

then that Malik Rahiman Khan was appointed first Mussulman governor of Adoni [1].

But the campaign most calamitous for the Hindu Empire was the one led by Rifat Khan, the Golkonda general, in the North-East corner of the Empire, which wrenched for ever that province from the central power. The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda gives a detailed account of this expedition, which is sometimes rendered somewhat obscure by his lack of geographical knowledge.

This general had before the battle of Raksas-Tagdi reduced part of the country surrounding Rajamundri and, after the rupture of relations between Tirumala and Ibrahim Qutb Shah, was sent again to that province to accomplish its reduction. But before capturing the city of Rajamundri he had to take the two forts of Pentapur and Rajpundi which were in the possession of a chief called by Ferishta Setupati. The first was taken by storm without much opposition ; and Setupati and his family made their escape through the woods to the fortress of Rajpundi. After some days the Muhammadans followed them thither ; whereupon Setupati fled to Rajamundri and took refuge in the Court of Vidiadri (*sic*), the Raja of that place. After the capture of Rajpundi Rifat Khan invested Rajamundri. After a siege of four months his artillery began to produce some effect on the walls, and made a breach of nearly fifty paces in one of the curtains. At this stage the Raja surrendered the fort on condition "that Vidiadri and Setupati, with their families, should be permitted, after evacuating the fort, to proceed whithersoever they chose without molestation". Accordingly Vidiadri proceeded to Krishnacota and Setupati to Vijayanagara, and the campaign was over by the end of 1567 [2].

In the following year Rifat Khan was directed to conquer the old kingdom of Orissa, which was under Vijayanagara from the time of Krishna Deva Raya ; and this was likewise successfully accomplished not very long after. Vijayanagara had lost that country for ever [3].

1. Cf. Sewell, I, p. 103.
2. Ferishta, III, p. 421-3.
3. Ibid., p. 423-6.

17. What was the interior state of the Empire in the meanwhile? Both Couto and Faria y Sousa relate that after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi the whole territory of Vijayanagara was divided among the sons and nephews of Rama Raya [1]; and several modern authors have blindly followed their statements [2]. But we know from epigraphical records that there was at that time no such break up of the empire: the members of the Aravidu family remained as united as ever. That explains why the anonymous author of the life of St. Xavier, who wrote his book a little later, writes to this effect, after narrating the battle of Raksas-Tagdi: "Nevertheless the king of this country was not so much knocked down, for he is still very rich and powerful; and he possesses a large state, and has quite a good number of elephants and great cavalry and infantry" [3].

In particular, Ferishta supposes that Venkatadri had rebelled against his brother and taken over the reigns of government [4]; but this is inconsistent with the fact that he is highly praised in the Krishnapuram grant, in language which would never have been used in speaking of a rebel. His stay at Chandragiri, which we think very probable, would by no means mean a break in the allegiance between the two brothers [5]. The Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, who was already at that time king at Penukonda, states expressly that he was "respected by his younger brothers" [6].

Nor can the following extract of the same writer be understood in a general sense: "The country has been seized by the tributary chiefs, each of whom hath assumed an independent power in his own district" [7]. Of which Sewell's opinion is

1. Couto, VIII, p. 93; Faria y Sousa, II, p. 433.

2. "Different members of the family settled in Penukonda, Chandragiri, Vellore, and some returned to Anegundi". Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 269. "Two members of the Vijayanagara family established themselves, the one at Penukonda and the other at Vijayanagar". Gribble, *Cuddapah Manual*, p. 88.

3. *M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 62.

4. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

5. Cf. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 142.

6. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 257, vv. 44-62.

7. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

nothing else but a replica: "The nobles", says he, "began to throw off their allegiance, and one after another to proclaim their independence. The country was in a state of anarchy" [1]. Ferishta spoke probably of the feudatory chiefs of the North of the Empire, adjoining the Muhammadan possessions; but his statement cannot refer to the states of the South, which we know from the Krishnapuram plates to have been on friendly terms with the imperial power.

It seems, indeed, that several petty chiefs and governors of the North of the Empire, either through fear of the Muhammadans, or on account of their own ambition, proclaimed themselves independent in their cities or fortresses. We know of several of these defections in the North from the same Ferishta. The governor of the fortress of Adoni, one of the main officers of the late Rama Raya, was one of them [2]; Velappa Raya, another of Rama Raya's attendants, likewise assumed independence at Bankapur, Dharwar, and even compelled the Rajas of Jerreh, Chundraguti and Karur to become his tributaries [3]; Trukal too was soon lost to the Empire: it had fallen into the hands of Venkutti Yesu Ray (Venkatayasu Raya) an officer of the Bijapur government, who retained it for himself, throwing off his allegiance with the Sultan [4].

Perhaps the only one who withdrew his allegiance in the South was the chief of Kalasa-Karkala, South Kanara; although it appears probable that he already enjoyed some sort of independence, ever since the time of the overthrow of the Saluva family [5].

18. Precisely in the year 1568, the Emperor Sadasiva made a tour through the South of his Empire and received the

1. Sewell, p. 209.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 134.

3. Ibid., p. 136.

4. Ibid., p. 135.

5. H. Krishna Sastri, *Karkala Inscription of Bhairava II, Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 127. Burgess, *Chronology*, p. 21, says that in 1565 Vira Chama Raya Wodeyar, of Mysore, set up as an independent Sovereign. No trace of such rebellion may be found in the original sources. We hope to show further on that the independence of Mysore commenced several years later.

homage of many feudatery chiefs, and of Krishnappa Nayaka, the ruler of Madura among them. The reason for this journey might have been to make an imperialistic propaganda, by showing to his subjects the person of the Emperor, imprisoned so many years ago. The Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva show him to us "on the banks of the sacred river Kaveri, in the presence of the god Ranganatha" [1]. Here Tirumala, at the request of Krishnapapati (Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura), himself respectfully begged Sadasiva Raya to make a gift of the village of Krishnapuram and nine other neighbouring villages to the god Venkatesa. Sadasiva, who is called here 'the respected of the learned man', surrounded by his staunch friends, the priests, the followers of the imperial retinue, all kinds of learned men, and finally the ambassadors of his feudatory chiefs, who had come to acknowledge him on behalf of their respective lords, joyously granted the aforesaid village with gold and pouring of water [2].

The information afforded by this grant is of more than passing interest. To see Sadasiva Raya three years after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi surrounded by the ambassadors of his subordinate chiefs of the South, acknowledged by the powerful Nayak of Madura, requested to do a favour by the very Regent Tirumala, is a scene very different from the dark pictures drawn by some authors. The Empire was not yet split up [3].

19. This was, however, one of the latest grants of Sadasiva. There is another of his inscriptions belonging to the same year, in Tinnevelly district [4], and another of the following year 1569, in Coimbatore [5], and besides two other inscriptions of the year 1570, one in Madura [6], and another

1. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 340, vv. 44-45.
2. Ibid., p. 341, vv. 70-96 and 102-4.
3. Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao and Rao Sahib T. Raghaviah seem to suppose "that Sadasivaraya ended his days in Srirangam". Ibid., p. 330. There is no reasonable ground for such an opinion.
4. 64 of 1908.
5. 15 of 1910.
6. 403 of 1922.

in Nellore [1], recording facts which occurred during the reign of Sadasiva. But at this time the unfortunate Sovereign had already met his end, as we shall see in the following chapter: the news of his death, however, had not reached the distant corners of the Empire.

What sort of death did Sadasiva meet with after his twenty-eight years' rule? "Tirumala", says Mr. Sewell, "murdered his Sovereign Sadasiva and seized the throne for himself" [2]. Messrs. Venkayya and H. Krishna Sastri seem to admit the culpability of Tirumala in Sadasiva's death [3].

It seems, indeed, beyond doubt that Tirumala is more or less responsible for this murder; but whether he committed it himself is not so clear. According to Frederick, "the sonne of this Temiragio had put to death the lawful King which he had in prison" [4]. But Anquetil du Perron states that "His (Tirumala's) son murdered the son of the ancient King of Bisnagar, who had been imprisoned as well as his father" [5].

From these two extracts it seems quite evident that the one who committed that murder was not Tirumala, but one of his sons; there is no contemporary authority that attributes such a crime to Tirumala. Nevertheless, the common juridical test '*cui bono*' points to him at least an accomplice and abettor. Whether the murdered man was the king himself or his son is not so evident. As a matter of fact it seems that Sadasiva had a son named Vitthala Raya, who made a grant to a temple as recorded in a copperplate of Tirukarangudi, Tinnevelly [6]. The fact is that the two above-mentioned authorities have not the same value: Frederick was probably still in India, when this abominable crime was perpetrated; while Anquetil du Perron travelled through the country one century

1. Butterworth, II, p. 868-70.
2. Sewell, p. 212.
3. Venkayya, *Ancient History of the Nellore District*, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVIII, p. 94; H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c., p. 179.
4. Purchas, X, p. 97.
5. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166.
6. Sewell, I, p. 315.

later. Frederick's authority seems therefore more reliable. Hence we may venture on the assertion that Sadasiva Raya was murdered by one of the sons of Tirumala [1].

It is not an easy task to decide precisely which of the sons of Tirumala was the author of this regicide. Of his four sons we know that the eldest, Raghunatha, preceded his father to the grave; and since we hear nothing further of him after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, in which he was dangerously wounded, it is reasonable to suppose him dead at this time. The other three, Ranga, Rama and Venkata were still living. If Sadasiva was kept prisoner in the fortress of Chandragiri, Venkata being his jailor, we must conclude that the future Venkatapatiraya II, the most glorious monarch of the Aravidu Dynasty, was responsible for the death of the last representative of the Tuluva family. Anquetil du Perron seems to confirm our supposition; since he, speaking of Venkata II, says that "he caused Sadasiva's son to be murdered" [2] and "had dethroned the lawful king of Bisnagar" [3].

20. The Mamidipundi grant of Sadasiva says that he was "the best of the Kings" [4]; and in an inscription in the Madavaswami temple at Vijayanagara he is called "the fortunate, the great king of kings, Paramesvara, happy, famous and heroic" [5]. We cannot but smile at such brazen flattery, after having so carefully surveyed the whole of his reign. Though we must really admit that we do not sufficiently know Sadasiva as a king, because he had always

1. What was the fate of Sadasiva's son is not known. Perhaps, he died before his father's assassination, perhaps he was imprisoned for life, perhaps he was only a natural son, since we hear no word at all of the Queen of Sadasiva. According to the *Satsampradayamuktavali* Sadasiva had a daughter, who, having become possessed, was exorcised by the trustee of the Ahobala temple and agent of Rama Raya, Parankusa Van-Sathagopa-Jiyamgaru. Cf. Rangacharia, II, p. 971, 579.

2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166.

3. Ibid., cf. Ch. XV, No. 5.

4. Butterworth, I, p. 104, v. 70.

5. Ravenshaw, *Translation of Various Inscriptions*, l. c., p. 35.

been merely one in name; still a nominal king is by no means entitled to the appellation of "the best of kings". As far as we can judge, he was not born to be a king at all, though Correa says he was "a sensible man and a great warrior" [1]. A real king, a heroic sovereign, he would even in his youth have found countless opportunities to break the bars of his prison and escape from his unlawful jailors. Sadasiva was unable to do so, and history can pass no better judgment on him that he happened to be a king of the type of those who closed the Merovingian dynasty of France.

1. Correa, p. 282.

CHAPTER XI

THE SHORT REIGN OF TIRUMALA

SUMMARY.—1. Accession of Tirumala to the throne of Vijayanagara.—2. Dynastic propaganda through the Empire, revised through contemporary inscriptions and grants.—3. Rebellions of feudatory chiefs and Rajas against the Emperor.—4. Erection of the three Viceroyalties of the Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil countries.—5. Muhammadan conquests in the North.—6. Action of Tirumala against the invaders.—7. Sriranga appointed Yuvaraja. Death of the Emperor.—8. Tirumala's piety and wisdom.—9. Final criticism of the first Sovereign of the Aravidu Dynasty.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Apocryphal prophecy of the Mackenzie Collection.—3. Ferishta.—4. *Anonymous life of St. Francis Xavier.*—5 Frederick, Anquetil du Perron.—6. *Ramarajiyamu Vasucharitramu, Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali.*

THE assassination of Sadasiva Raya naturally led to the accession of the Regent as Emperor of Vijyanagara. When this event took place, Tirumala was a venerable old man: his eldest brother Rama Raya was ninety-six at the time of his death, 1565. Now if we allow only a ten years' difference between them, Tirumala must have been close on ninety when the last representative of the Tuluva family was murdered four years later.

According to an apocryphal prophecy contained in one of the MSS. of the Mackenzie Collection, Tirumala's coronation took place in Penukonda [1]. "At the coronation of this moon among kings", we read in the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, "foremost among the famous, this earth, being sprinkled with floods of water poured out at donations, occupied the place of queen" [2]; while in two grants of Venkata II and in one of the same Tirumala, 1571, it is said that "at his anointing the earth was also so anointed as to appear as his crowned

1. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 98.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 16.

X. Tirumala Raya. Upper Tirupati.

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Queen" [1]; and in a grant of Ranga III, 1645, it is recorded that "the streams poured forth with gifts made by this most famous of kings at the time of his anointing to the throne, caused the earth to appear as if she also was so anointed".[2]

It appears certain from these extracts that the Queen was not present at the ceremony of coronation, being probably still in the palace of Tremil, as a place safer from the Muhammadan incursions. Both the Tumkur and Budihala copperplates say that Tirumala's Queen was named Channadevi or Channamadevi [3]; but many other grants give the name of Vengalamba or Vengalambika, as the one belonging to the wife of Tirumala [4]. Probably Vengalambika had been Tirumala's first wife, since she is declared to be the mother of his four sons [5]; but it is not improbable that he should have lost her by his ninetieth year; on that supposition, Channamadevi was the second wife who sat beside him on the throne of Vijaya-

1. Tirumala's grant, 1571, *Ep. Carn.* XII, Ck, 39; Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 30, v. 20; Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tm, 1.

2. *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60. For this ceremony the old jewelled throne of Vijayanagara was no doubt used. It had been carried to the palace of Tremil, and from there, probably on this occasion, was brought over to Penukonda to be used at the enthronement of the first king of the Aravidu dynasty. When later on the court was transferred to the Tamil country by Venkata II, the jewelled throne was probably transferred again to the East; anyhow it went back to Penukonda after more than half a century, because all the successors of Ranga III, so far known, were at Ghanagiri (Penukonda), as the inscriptions often record.

3. Tumkur copper-plates, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tm, 1; Budihala copperplates, Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *A. S. I., Report, 1911-12*, p. 180, note 8.

4. Maredapalli grant of Ranga I, *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 328: Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, v. 19; Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, v. 23; Vilapaka grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270, vv. 20-2; Venkata II's grant, 1587, *Ep. Carn.* VII, Sh, 83; Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39; Venkata III's grant, 1639, *Ep. Carn.*, III, Nj, 198; *Ramarajiyamu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 213. Cf. Gopinatha Rao, *Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Karnakoti Pitha*, p. 82.

5. *Ramarajiyamu*, Ibid., p. 213: *Vasucharitramu*, Ibid., p. 216.

nagara. A Telugu poem of Bhattu Murti, a poet at his court, speaks of Tirumala and his Queen sitting together, and compares them to the god Siva, and Tirumala himself to Sukracharya, the preceptor of the Asuras. The propriety of this comparison lies in the fact that "Siva is described in one of his forms as half man and half woman, and as having three eyes, the ordinary two and 'the eye of wisdom'. When Tirumala and his wife sat side by side they had only three eyes between them (Tirumala having lost one in the battle of Raksas-Tagdi). Sukracharya, the preceptor of the demons, is said to have only one eye, the other having been blinded by the god Vishnu when he took the form of a dwarf. Both Siva and Sukracharya are considered by Sanskrit writers to be omniscient, and are termed Sarvagna (all-knowing)" [1]. The flattery of the poet is as delicate as it is acute.

Now, when did the coronation of Tirumala take place? We have said in the preceding chapter that the inscriptions belonging to the year 1570, but recording facts that occurred in Sadasiva's time, were carved in the reign of Tirumala; because the year 1569 must be assigned as the year of Tirumala's accession, and of the foundation of the new dynasty. There is in Udayagiri an inscription of 1569, "while Tirumala seated on the diamond throne was ruling the kingdom of Vijayanagara" [2]. The above mentioned apocryphal prophecy, which was probably written in 1630, also places the beginning of Tirumala's reign in 1569; but it must have been very near the end of the year, since the same document gives Tirumala only eleven months' rule and lays down the commencement of his son's reign in 1572 [3].

2. From this time onwards the inscriptions of Tirumala show him with imperial titles, as successor of the old Emperors of Vijayanagara. In 1571 he is stated to be "ruling the earth" with the title of Maharajadhiraja [4]. In 1571 he is called Virapratapa Tirumalayadeva Maharaya [5]. In the same

1. Ibid., p. 221-2.
2. Butterworth, III, p. 1328-9.
3. Taylor, *O.H. MSS.*, II, p. 98.
4. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Mi, 10.
5. 497 of 1905.

year a stone inscription from the Shimoga district calls him "the glorious king of kings, the great lord of kings, ruling the whole kingdom from his throne at Pehugundi (Penukonda) which belongs to Hampi-Hastinavati (Vijayanagara)" [1]. The Tumkur plates of the same date give him imperial titles as used by the old Emperors of Vijayanagara [2]. Finally in his Penuguluru grant, made in the same year, he is described "seated on his throne ruling the whole kingdom extending from the Sethu (Rameswaram) to the Sumeru, and from the hill of sunrise in the East to the end of the western mountain, eclipsing in fame and righteousness even Nriga, Nala, Nahusha and such others on earth" [3].

His being anointed 'to the peerless and matchless sovereignty' is often mentioned as being that of the lawful founder of the dynasty, not only in his grants [4], but even in those of his successors Ranga I [5], Venkata II [6], Venkata III [7], and Ranga III [8].

Accordingly, the pedigree of the Aravidu family and its connection with some of the ancient and most famous dynasties of India, whether true or forged, were propagated in those days throughout the length and breadth of the Empire, with a view to establishing the new Aravidu family firmly on the throne. Thus in the Madanagopalasvamin temple at Madura, Tirumala's pedigree is found engraved on thirteen stones [9]. Then in an inscription of Gurzala, Krishna District, he is called 'the most excellent in the family of Satyasraya and the gem of

1. *Ep. Carn.*. VIII, Sb, 55.
2. Ibid., XII, Tm, 1.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 256, v. 43.
4. Tirumala's grant, 1571, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tm, 1.
5. Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, v. 16.
6. Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, v. 20; Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth. I, p. 30, v. 19; Venkata II's grants, 1587 and 1589, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83 and XII, Ck, 39.
7. Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 15; Venkata III's grant, 1639, *Ep. Carn.*, III, Nj, 198.
8. Ranga III's grant, 1645, *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60.
9. 510 of 1907.

the Chalukyas'[1]. And in the above mentioned Penuguluru grant he is said to be 'the foremost of the Chola family'[2].

3. This propaganda in favour of his family's rights to the imperial throne would appear to suggest that his authority was in danger; and we find indeed that a good number of his subjects did not acknowledge him in the beginning of his rule —not on account of his ancestors, who had been several times connected with the previous dynasties, but because of the murder of Sadasiva.

The author of the anonymous life of St. Xavier quoted above, who finished his work during the reign of Tirumala[3], writes to this effect: "There were several wars over the question of the succession to the throne; for there was no more issue of the royal family, and various nobles and leading chiefs of the kingdom did not acknowledge the one who is ruling at present"[4]. This fact is also recorded in a letter of Tirumala[5] to Velappa Raya of Bankapur, kept by Ferishta. The King complains that "most of the dependents of the house of Bijanagar (Vijayanagara) had become rebels from their duty"[6]. But Frederick, who was travelling through the Empire at the time, gives us more details. While describing 'the place where they get Diamants', 'sixe dayes journey from Bezeneger (Vijayanagara)' he states that "it is many yeeres agone since they got any there, for the troubles that have been in that kingdome. The first cause of this trouble was, because the sonne of this Temaragio had put to death the lawful king,...for which cause the Barons and Noblemen in that kingdome would not acknowledge him to be their king, and by this meanes there are many kings, and great division

1. Sewell, I, p. 58.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 257, vv. 44-62.
3. Cf. *M. H. S. J.*, *Mon. Xav.*, I, p. XXIII-XXIV.
4. Ibid., p. 62.
5. Ferishta says Venkatadri, but this is an evident mistake. The one who was at Penukonda at this time was Tirumala. Anyhow the letter we are going to quote here would prove the same if written by Venkatadri.
6. Ferishta, III, p. 136.

in that kingdom" [1]. Again, Anquetil du Perron, after the account of the regicide, adds: "Many troubles sprang from these revolutions: the nobles refused to acknowledge the new king" [2].

This was certainly a very difficult position for the new sovereign in his ninetieth year. On the one hand there was the Muhummadan menace on the northern frontier; on the other he suddenly saw many of the feudatory chiefs of the Empire rebelling against his authority. We do not know who these rebels were; but we may assume that the Ñayaks of Madura and Tanjore did not make any movement, because their first rebellion is mentioned as having taken place during the reign of Venkata II. It seems quite certain that the King set out without delay to subdue these disloyal chiefs, and actually received the homage of several of them. One of his grants of 1571 records that "he subdued and made his own the eighty-four durgas; he curbed the pride of Avahalu Raja, and showed his skill in conquering the Utkala king (Orissa), the chief gem in the garland, Araviti-pura, the Suratrapa of Urigola (Warangal)" [3].

These were probably some of the rebel chiefs reduced by Tirumala to his obedience; but they were not all, for according to the apocryphal prophecy of the Mackenzie Collection, from the year 1569 onwards, 'the country will be in great confusion then for five years' [4]. From this we conclude that the rebellion lasted until the first years of the reign of Ranga I, and was perhaps one of the causes of Tirumala's abdication.

4. One of its immediate results was beyond doubt the inauguration of a new system of government, which proved efficient for some years. Such was the division of the whole Empire into three viceroyalties to be distributed among the sons of the sovereign.

The Arivilimangalam plates [5] and the Maredapalli grant [6]

1. Purchas, X, p. 97.
2. Anquetil du Perron, l.c., p. 166.
3. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tm, 1.
4. Taylor, l.c.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, v. 19.
6. Ibid., XI, p. 328.

mention only one son of Tirumala, Ranga; the Vellangudi [1] and the Dalavay Agraharam plates [2] and the Vilapaka grant [3] give two names, Ranga and Venkata, as corresponding to two sons of Tirumala; three are to be found in the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* [4] but the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III [5] and a grant of Ranga III, 1645 [6], along with the *Vasucharitramu* [7] and the *Ramarajiyamu* [8] mention four-Raghunatha, Ranga, Rama and Venkata. The eldest died probably after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, and this is the reason why no reference to him is made in many of the preceding documents; while Rama was also overlooked in several of them, because he never ascended the masnad. Ranga and Venkata were the future Ranga I and Venkata II.

At this time Raghunatha was already dead. Hence the whole Empire was divided into three viceroyalties, and each of them placed under one of the three surviving brothers. The division was made on a racial basis, and followed the different peoples that occupied the territory of the Empire: the Telugu viceroyalty in the North, the Kanarese viceroyalty in the West, and the Tamil viceroyalty in the East and South [9].

"Sri Ranga Raya was the Viceroy of the whole Telugu country with his capital at Penukonda", says the *Chikkadevaraya*

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1. Ibid., XVI, p. 300.
2. Ibid., XII, p. 186, vv. 23 and 27.
3. Ibid., IV, p. 270, vv. 20-22.
4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 18.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60.
7. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 216.
8. Ibid., p. 213.
9. None of the contemporary sources say that Tirumala appointed his four sons to the several governorships of the kingdom, as it has often been asserted. Raghunatha is not mentioned at this time, from which we conclude he was dead. Even in Richards, *Salem Gazetteer*, p. 67, we read that "the Empire, about this time, was divided into six viceroyalties: 1. Andhra; 2. Karnata; 3. Madura; 4. Chandragiri; 5. Jinji; 6. Tanjore". Here the three great Nayakships of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji have been mixed up with the three ceroyalties created by Tirumala.

Vamsavali [1]. The establishment of his capital at Penukonda took place later, when he was appointed Yuvaraja; but the capital of his viceroyalty seems to have been Udayagiri, in the heart of the Telugu country. "Making Udayagiri his residence," we read in the Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, "he conquered Kondavidu, Vinikondapura and other forts, and began to rule at Penukonda" [2]. The same is recorded in the Maredapalli grant of Ranga I [3], in the Vellangudi plates [4] and the Padmaneri grant of Venkata II [5], and another grant of the same monarch of the year 1589 [6]. Another of the same Ranga, of 1576, says that when he was at Udayagiri he conquered the inaccessible fortress of Kondavidu, Vinukonda, etc.; and that he was, at the time of the inscription, residing with all the insignia of royalty at Penukonda [7]. It is quite evident from these grants that Ranga's rule at Udayagiri was previous to his rule at Penukonda. At this time and after the conquest of Kondavidu, he is also called governor of this place, when in that capacity he granted a village to a local temple [8].

"The next brother, Rama", says the *Vasucharitramu*, "was governing in peace the whole country from the Kaveri to the Sea (Arabian Sea), with his capital at the island town of Seringapatam" [9]. The country under Rama is specified in greater detail in the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*. "His brother Rama Raya ruled the whole Kanarese country from his capital Seringapatam". [10] During the reign of Sadasiva, immediately

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, v. 23-26.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 328, v. 31.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 28-30.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 297, vv. 24-25.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Cf. 39. Ck, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83.
7. 23 of 1911. One year previous to this grant, in 1576, Kondavidu had been granted by the same Ranga to a Brahman. *Catalogue of the Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 53.
8. Sewell, II, p. 188.
9. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 217.
10. Ibid., p. 302.

before the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, Rama Raya seems to have been governor of the fortress of Penukonda [1], and about that time he made a gift of the village of Kolagala to a certain Ramaraja Nayaka [2]. He is said to have previously defeated the Nizam Shah [3]; but his rule at Seringapatam has been noted as weak [4]. The times however were not favourable to the Kanarese Viceroy. I feel sure that many of the petty chieftains of the Kanarese country were in revolt against Tirumala and the new dynasty; several rebellions occurred there, too, after the accession of Sadasiva [5]. Rama's task was not at all easy, and his life was not to last long. During the time of his viceroyalty, he constructed the math of Satyabhodarayalasvami at Penukonda, as recorded in a Kanarese inscription in the same place [6]. By his wife Narasingama [7] he had two sons, Tirumala and Sri Ranga [8], whose great influence in the history of the Aravidu family will be traced in due course.

The Tamil country was under the third brother Venkata. "The last of the four brothers, Venkatapati", says the *Vasucharitramu*, "was governing as Viceroy the kingdom of Chandragiri, having under his authority many feudatory princes" [9]. Who several of these princes were, is mentioned in the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*: "Venkatapati, the third brother, was the Viceroy of the Tundira (Jinji), Chola (Tanjore) and Pandya (Madura) countries with his capital at Chandragiri" [10]. We have no special information about his rule as Viceroy; his authority was above that of the three powerful Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji, and was similar to that of Prince

1. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c, p. 183.
2. 15 of 1910.
3. *Ramarajiyamu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 213.
4. Cf. Richards, *Salem Gazetteer*, p. 67.
5. Cf. Ch. IV, No. 2.
6. Sewell, I, p. 120.
7. *Ramarajiyamu*, l. c.
8. Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 253, v. 21; Ranga III's grant, 1645, *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60; *Ramarajiyamu*, l. c.
9. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 217.
10. Ibid., p. 302.

Vitthala, the cousin of Rama Raya, during the time of his viceroyalty in the South.

This new administrative arrangement, inaugurated by Tirumala, was intended to meet the then urgent necessities of the Empire. The monarch, leaving the affairs of government in the hands of his sons, could devote himself to checking the advance of the Muhammadans on the northern frontier. The division being naturally made according to the three great different races of the Empire, a greater administrative success in each part could reasonably be expected; and the Viceroys being of the royal blood, and in this case sons of the Sovereign himself, the fear of rebellion was reduced, since they were bound to be very loyal to the Emperor their father. The only fear was that these viceroyalties being hereditary, the future viceroys, though related to the Emperor, would not feel that love which is natural between close relations, and the consequences would prove fatal to the Empire. But this apprehension was never realised, since the viceroyalties ceased to exist after half a century.

5. The Muhammadans, indeed, continued seriously to menace the northern territories. After the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, Tirumala had delivered the territory from an invasion of Ali Adil Shah, by soliciting the aid of the Queen Mother of Ahmadnagar, Bibi Khunzah Humayun, who by marching an army into the Bijapur dominions had forced Ali Adil Shah to retreat from Vijayanagara [1]. But in the year 1569, the same Ali Ādil Shah and Murtaza Nizam Shah met on the borders of their kingdoms, and came to a mutual agreement to extend their conquests in such different directions as not to interfere with each other: the Sultan of Ahmadnagar should be allowed to occupy Berar, and the sovereign of Bijapur should be permitted "to conquer as much of the dependencies of Bijanagar (Vijayanagara) as he thought proper, without any interference on the part of Murtaza Nizam Shah" [2].

This agreement was fatal to the Hindu Empire. Ali Adil Shah set out at once to invest the fortress of Turkal, then in

1. Cf. Ch. X, No. 12.
2. Ferishta, III, p. 135.

possession of Venkatayasu Raya, who surrendered after seven months of strenuous defence. Then the Sultan proceeded to reduce Dharwar, "one of the strongest of the forts in the Karnatik, and at that time in possession of one of the officers of the late Ramraj, who, though he paid annually a small tribute to Yeltumraj (Tirumala), had now acquired great power." The fortress, however, took six months to subdue. Then Ali Adil Shah turned his arms to Bankapur. Its Raja, Velappa Raya, who rebelled against Vijayanagara after the Raksas-Tagdi disaster [1], "shut himself up in the fort, and detached his son, with a thousand horse and ten thousand foot, to occupy the woods and passes, in order to harass the enemy as opportunity offered, and to endeavour to cut off his resources". At the same time, he sent a message to Tirumala asking for help. But the Emperor's answer carried unutterable despair to his heart; for Tirumala replied that "by his wickedness and evil example most of the dependents on his house had become rebels, and departed from their duty, so that it was with difficulty he could support himself at Penukonda and Chandragiri, the only places which the kings of Islam had left him. He advised him therefore, if money or jewels could purchase terms from the Muhammadans, to procure them on any conditions; but if he should find this impossible, he recommended him by all means to induce the neighbouring Rajas to espouse his cause, and to prevail on them to join his son with their followers, in order to harass the Mussulmans by cutting off their supplies and making frequent night attacks. He promised, moreover, to issue orders to all his vassals to assist him, though he could not rely on their obedience". Accordingly, Velappa Raya prevailed on some chiefs to join his son; and they acted with such vigour "that grain became scarce in the king's camp", says Ferishta, "which was molested every night by bands of robbers and assassins, who did much execution... They entered the tents at night, and without mercy stabbed the soldiers while sleeping. Every night numbers were killed by them in this treacherous manner: and so great a dread and discontent prevailed among the troops, that they were near

1. Cf. Ch. X, No. 17.

forcing the king to raise the siege"; but the tactics of Mustafa Khan freed the camp of these night marauders, and then confidence was restored among the Muslim soldiers. The siege, however, lingered on for one year and three months. Velappa Raya surrendered at last after the demise of his son, on condition of being allowed to depart with his family and effects [1]. When this fort fell, Ranga I was already Emperor.

6. What was the action of Tirumala against the invaders of his Empire? We have read somewhere that teritorially he left it at the time of his death just as it was before the battle of Raksas-Tagdi; but we have not anywhere discovered any source of information so optimistic about his reign. His great military prowess is extolled in many of the grants of his succesors [2]; he is called 'the king of the powerful arm' [3] who 'defeated his enemies' [4], 'conquered' or 'subdued hostile kings in battle' [5] and 'scorched hostile kings with the fire of his valour' [6].

The *Vasucharitramu* relates that Tirumala destroyed the forces of the Muhammadans sent against him under the command of a certain Khana (Khan). Incidentally the poem says that Tirumala "verily bestowed upon the hills of Penagonda (Penukonda) the *girisabhava* (the state of being the best of hills), by spreading thereon the skins of mad elephants and the skulls (of slaughtered soldiers)" [7]. This was probably the

1. Ferishta, III, p. 135-9. This campaign against Bankapur is also mentioned by the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, Ibid., p. 432.

2. Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 256, vv. 44-62; Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, v 16; Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p 30, v. 19; Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 15.

3. Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 257, vv. 44-62.

4. Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, v. 16; Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, v. 20.

5. Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 254, v. 15; Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 30. v. 19.

6. Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 257, vv. 44-62.

7. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c. p. 181.

occasion when Tirumala's minister, Chennappa Nayadu, distinguished himself by defeating the Muhammadans near Penukonda, as is recorded in a local inscription [1].

7. It is generally asserted that Tirumala retired from the Karnata throne in favour of his son Ranga. But I cannot support this statement with any contemporary authority. The *Vasucharitramu* only says that "Sri Ranga was nominated Yuvaraja by Tirumala Raya and was looking after the affairs of the whole Empire" [2]. His appointment as heir-apparent does not imply his father's renunciation of the throne; nor is this implied by the second fact, which was probably contemporary with the first, *viz.* that he was looking after the affairs of the whole Empire. Tirumala no doubt felt that he was too old to rule so turbulent a country, and therefore appointed his eldest living son his heir-apparent and associated him in the government; it was then that Ranga 'began to rule at Penukonda' [3].

This occurred probably at the end of 1571; but in the beginning of 1572 Tirumala, who was then ninety-two, passed away, according to the apocryphal prophecy in the Mackenzie Collection [4].

8. The grants of his successors extol the virtues of the 'excellent' Tirumala, as he is called in the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III [5]. The Penuguluru grant pronounces him "an ocean of praiseworthy qualities, the prosperous abode of unrestrained charities" [6], "illustrious, distinguished for his prudence, the gifts from whose hands excelled even those of the tree of Indra, and who was a fountain of good qualities" [7]. He is said "to rule the whole earth with great glory and unequalled renown, like Hari (Vishnu) among the

1. 341 of 1901.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 217.
3. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 23-26.
4. Taylor, l. c.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 73.
6. Ibid., XVI, p. 257, vv. 44-52.
7. Ibid., vv. 177-178.

Trimurti" [1], or "to protect the earth like Vishnu among the Trimurti" [2].

Two qualities among the rest are selected for special praise: his piety and his wisdom. As to the first, the Penuguluru grant says that he is 'a repository of nectar-like devotion to Hari (Vishnu)' [3]. "This king," the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II inform us, "performed frequently all the *danas* mentioned in the *agamas*, such as the *kanaka-tuba-purusha* and the *upadanas* in the temple of Kanchi, Sriranga, etc., and at the sacred *tirthas*" [4]. He built temples and bathing-places for pilgrims at Kanchi, Srirangam, Seshachala, Kanakshaba, Ahobaladri and other places [5]. In 1569, while 'seated on the diamond throne' and 'ruling the Kingdom of Vijayanagara, he made a grant to the god Anjaneya' at Udayagiri [6]. In the following year another was made "with pleasure and libations of gold and water, as a *sarva-manya*, to Brahmans, of several *sakkas*, names, *gotras* and *sutras*, of the rich village named Penuguluru, with the two other villages, Yalanimapadu-Chennapalli and Konduru-Chennapalli, beautiful with gardens" [7].

His wisdom is likewise acknowledged and highly praised by his successors: he is called 'wise' [8] and 'learned' [9]; and even in a Sadasiva's grant of 1558 he is said to be as

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1. Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357. v. 16; Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth I, p. 30, v. 19; Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 15.

2. Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p 317, v. 20.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 245.

4. Ibid., p. 319, v. 27.

5. Tirumala's grant *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tm, 1; Venkata II's grant, 1587, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83; Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39.

6. Butterworth, III, p. 1328.

7. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 257, vv. 44-52.

8. Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga, I, *Ep. Ind.* XII, p. 357, v. 16; Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 30. v. 19; Kuniynr plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 15.

9. Ranga III's grant, 1645, *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60.

'learned as Bhoja Raja' [1]. He was 'highly esteemed by wise kings' [2]. He sedulously patronised wise people and endeavoured to propagate wisdom among his subjects. In order to commemorate the first death anniversary of his father, he granted the village of Jillellamuduku to a wise man, called Srinivasacharya [3]. Then, when he made the Penuguluru grant to Brahmans, the entire village was divided into 128 *vrittis* and given to Brahmans who were highly learned in the sastras and were masters in the Vedanta: one of the *vrittis* was granted for the study of the Rig-Veda and another for that of the Yajur-Veda [4]. At the end of this volume we shall mention his literary exploits; we shall here only quote some words of the Penuguluru grant menioned already, which gives a beautiful description of the pious and wise Tirumala, "being surrounded by pious and loving priests and attendants, and by various wise men who follow the ways laid down in the Vedas and are highly educated" [5]. Such was the company with which Tirumala loved to surround himself; the great warrior never lost sight of the claims of piety and the value of high education.

9. We cannot doubt that Tirumala had the most excellent qualities which must adorn a ruler; since he proved it when a minister during the reign of Sadasiva, and specially after the usurpation of his brother, when he was in charge of all state matters. He marvellously co-operated with Rama Raya for the welfare of the Empire, and the success they attained was due to the efficiency of both; the glory of the Empire of Krishna Deva Raya still illuminated the combined rule of Rama Raya and Tirumala. But after the disaster of Raksas-Tagdi, and specially during his short rule as Emperor, he was too old to maintain the Empire in its pristine glory. The Muhammadan attacks on the northern frontier and the rebellions of the

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1. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186.
2. Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 257, vv. 42-62.
3. Rangacharaya, I, p. 639, 678.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 245.
5. Ibid., p. 257, vv. 44-62.

feudatory chiefs throughout the whole of the Empire were too much for the old Sovereign. He then thought of dividing his task among his sons, by creating the three Viceroyalties of Udayagiri, Seringapatam and Chandragiri; and as even that was not enough, he associated his eldest son in the government to share with him the conduct of state affairs. The weakness he showed in translating the court and capital from Vijayanagara to Penukonda became clearer and clearer every year. The Muhammadans were continuously advancing and even reached the walls of Penukonda. Nor were the domestic revolts yet brought under at the time of his demise. Tirumala was not at all a successful monarch.

His usurpation of the throne may be easily justified. A pageant king like Sadasiva was a grave danger to the Empire at such a turbulent time; and if any relics of imperial power were to be saved, the removal of Sadasiva was a political necessity. Neverthless political necessity never justified a murder; if Tirumala is responsible for the assassination of Sadasiva Raya, the first monarch of the Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagara will always be blamed for having sprinkled the steps of his throne with the blood of his predecessor.

CHAPTER XII

THE EMPIRE UNDER SRI RANGA I

SUMMARY.—1. Enthronement of Ranga I. Retains his capital at Penukonda.—2. His officers. Subdues the rebellious chiefs.—3. Muhammadan invasion of Kanara.—4. First attack of Bijapur against Penukonda. Alliance between Vijayanagara and Golkonda.—5. Second attack on Penukonda. Ranga imprisoned by his enemies.—6. Third attack. Jagadeva Raya.—7. The Sultan of Golkonda invades Ahobilam.—8. The province of Udayagiri captured by the Golkonda troops.—9. Further Muhammadan inroads.—10. Ranga I's religious conduct.—11. His death. A criticism.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants. 2. Ferishta, Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda.—3. *Ramarajiyamu, Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali, Annals of Hande Anantapuram, Charuchandrodayam, Yayaticharitramu, Lakshimivilasam.*

SRIMAD Rajadhiraja Rajaparamesvara Sri Vira Pratapa Sri Rangarayadeva Maharayalu [1] naturally succeeded his father Tirumala at the beginning of 1572. 'Ranga was installed in the kingdom of Penukonda', we read in the Utsur grant of Ranga III [2]; and in the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III we find that he 'was crowned to the kingdom of Penugonda' [3]. As to the actual ceremonies of his coronation, a grant of Venkata II, 1587, informs us that he was 'anointed by his chief Brahmans' [4]; but the Mangalampad grant of the same records that he 'was installed according to the rules by the best of the Brahmans' [5]. Both grants mention the sovereign's munificence on this occasion; and the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II even state that 'by the gifts made by this King at

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1. Such is the full imperial title given him in the inscriptions. Cf. Rangacharya, II, p. 1098, 374.
2. Butterworth, I, p. 46, v. 23.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252. v. 19.
4. *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83.
5. Butterworth, I, p. 30, v. 22.

the time of his coronation poverty was completely wiped out for good men" [1]. His queens were Tirumala Devi and Krishnamba [2].

The statement has been made that Ranga transferred the capital of the Empire to Chandragiri [3]. This is not founded on any contemporary source. The Vellangudi plates of Venkata II say that 'he made Penugonda his capital' [4]; and the Kondyata grant of Venkata III calls him the 'king of Penagonda' [5]. Moreover, we know of inscriptions of all the years of his reign, excepting two. They clearly state that he was ruling over the Empire from the hilly town of Anantapur. In 1572 certain inhabitants of Mannur, Cuddapah, gave away their annual fee from the village to the god Chennakesava, in the reign of Srirangaraya of Penukonda [6]; an inscription of 1573 says that that he 'was ruling at Penukonda' [7]; his Maredapalli grant was made in 1574 'in the presence of the god Ramachandra (in Penukonda)' [8], and it states that he was residing at Penukonda [9]; again, another inscription of 1574 records that he was 'ruling at Penukonda' [10]; three inscriptions of 1575 speak of him as still 'seated in Penukonda' [11]; another of 1576 again commemorates the fact of his 'ruling at Penukonda' [12]; in 1577-8 he makes the

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 28-30.

2. Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39. Tirumala Devi is called Timmamba in the *Ramarajiyamu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 213; and Sewell, II, p. 252, calls the second wife Katamba.

3. Brackenbury, *Cuddapah Gazetteer*, p. 37; Francis, *Anantapur Gazetteer*, p 21.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 28-30.

5. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 126.

6. Rangacharya, I, p. 643, 783.

7. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, XI p. 328.

9. Ibid., v. 31.

10. 70 of 1915.

11. Butterworth, III, p. 1259-61; Rangacharya, II, p. 1143, 688; *Catalogue of the Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 53.

12. 23 of 1911.

Arivilimangalam grant 'in the presence of the god Ramachandra of Perunkondapura (Penukonda)' [1]; again, he is said to be 'ruling over Penukonda' in 1578 [2]; and in 1579 he is 'ruling the kingdom of the earth at Penukonda' [3]; this is also said of 1579-80, [4]; in 1582 he is 'seated on the diamond throne at the city of Penugonda' [5]; in 1582-3 he is said still to be 'ruling at Penukonda' [6], and finally he is called 'Sri Ranga of Penukonda' and 'ruling at Penukonda' both in 1584 [7] and in 1585 [8], the last year of his reign.

No inscription has hitherto been discovered stating that Ranga ruled at Chandragiri. What is more puzzling is an inscription of Podili, Nellore District, that records a grant of a village by a private person 'while Ranga was ruling at Vijayanagara', in 1575–6 [9]. We feel sure that the capital of the Empire was never removed again to the imperial city on the Tungabhadra. Two inscriptions of these same years, mentioned above record his *domicile* at Penukonda. He may have visited the ancient capital of his predecessors in the course of one of his expeditions against the Muhammadans, but this would not imply his 'ruling at Vijayanagara'; probably, the traditional capital was here mentioned out of the regard which the kings still cherished for that city.

2. Penukonda was therefore the town where Ranga I 'ruled in splendour with all insignia of royalty', to quote the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II [10]. Pemmasani Pedda Timmaraja seems to have been his minister [11], or at least one of his

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 341.
2. Sewell, I, p. 100.
3. Butterworth, II, p. 657-9; Rangacharya, II p, 1098, 374; *M. A. D., Report, 1923*, p. 44.
4. Butterworth, II, p. 657-9.
5. Rangacharya, II, p. 1115, 491.
6. Butterworth, II, p. 892-4.
7. Rangacharya, I, p. 153, 193; 70 of 1915.
8. Ibid., p. 622, 534.
9. Butterworth, III, p. 1185-6.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 28-30.
11. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c., p. 185.

ministers, because in an inscription of 1581 Ranga mentions Megoti Timma Nayadu as his agent and minister [1]. Another who seems to have been in charge of the matters of government is Timmaya Mantri ; for the author of the *Charuchandrodayam*, his cousin, says that he "was the right hand of the Emperor Sri Ranga Raya and was presented by him with elephants, horses, palanquins and umbrellas" [2]. His dalavay, or commander-in-chief, was one Obala in 1572 [3] ; but nine years later, in 1581, Venkatappa Nayadu occupied this post [4]. Rayasam Venkatapati was also one of his officers : in his poem *Lakshmi-vilasam* he informs us that he got the name of Rayasam after his office in the court, which was despatch-writer, and he was the manager of the Secretariat of the Empire. He was much loved by the Emperor, who presented him with a village and gold jewels [5].

Mr. H. Krishna Sastri suspects that the whole of the West coast and its petty rulers had asserted their independence in the beginning of Ranga's reign [6]. He is probably right, because it is certain, in view of the above-quoted apocryphal prophecy in the Mackenzie collection, that the great disturbances and rebellions following the murder of Sadasiva lasted five years, *viz.* one year of Tirumala's reign and the first four years of the reign of Ranga. This was a trying task for the new sovereign to cope with ; but it seems, he finally subdued the rebels. It is probably in this connection that his Maredapalli grant and Arivilimangalam plates inform us that he 'destroyed or reduced the Chaurasi-durga (the eighty-four hill forts)' [7] ; the Arivilimangalam plates say moreover that he 'put to shame Avahaluraya' [8], while the Maredapalli grant extols him 'as the vanquisher of Avahaluraya and the king of Utkala' [9].

1. 178 of 1913.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 241.
3. Rangacharya, II, p. 979, 630.
4. 178 of 1913.
5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 230.
6. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, l. c. and note 3.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, v. 20; XI, p. 328, v. 35.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, vv. 21-26.
9. *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 328, vv. 37-38.

Moreover the rebellions were not all confined to the West. Trouble also arose in the South of the peninsula. The country of Marava and its neighbours the Kallar tribes, had broken allegiance with the Empire; but Ranga, according to an inscription of Tindivanam, "subdued the insolent Kallar and Maravar (tribes), inhabiting Kongu and Malai-nadu, and their treasures he distributed (among the poor)" [1].

3. In the meanwhile the Muhammadans had not yet ceased attacking the northern frontier. In the year 1575, to safeguard his new possessions, Ali Adil Shah rebuilt the ancient fortress of Chandragutti, Shimoga District, which was built upon a lofty hill [2]. While here, he was invited by Shankar Nayak, probably one of those petty chiefs of Kanara who had rebelled against the new dynasty of Vijayanagara, to make a tour through his own country. "Ali Adil Shah", says Ferishta, "accepting the offer, left his army at Chandarguti, and with Mustafa Khan and four or five thousand men proceeded to the fortress of Karur (Kadur)." This place is situated in a mountaineous country full of forests, and so difficult of access that most of the passes allow only one horseman to enter at a time. The king, disliking the appearance of the country, returned to Chandarguti, leaving all his possessions to the Nayak; but Mustafa Khan tried to make a virtue of his master's necessity, by telling the Nayak that it was with difficulty he had dissuaded him from reducing it; therefore, if he consulted his own safety, he would submit and pay tribute and induce the surrounding rayas to do the same. Shankar Nayak, by these representations, prevailed on Siva Nayak of Jerreh, the Rani of Barcelor (Basrur) and several other chiefs, to pay their respects to the Sultan, to whom they presented offerings of considerable value, and agreed to pay annual tribute. On the day on which these chiefs received their state robes from the Sultan, women's robes were prepared for Har Devi, Bhar Devi, the Rani of Barcelor and another Rani. But these they declined accepting, saying that, though women in sex, they held their dominions by the power of masculine minds; upon which the Sultan presented them with men's robes

1. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, l. c., p. 183-4.
2. Ferishta, III, p. 139.

and applauded their high spirit. After this the Sultan of Bijapur appointed a Brahman to superintend the revenue of the newly-acquired country, answering more or less to the modern districts of Shimoga and Kadur. [1].

4. Ranga could not render assistance to his rebel chiefs of the Kanara country against the Muhammadans. As a matter of fact, it seems that just at this time he was proceeding towards Chandragiri 'in the course of a royal tour' [2]. Ali Adil Shah, after his short campaign in the Kanara country, again joined the troops of Mustafa Khan and advanced towards Penukonda [3]. When Sri Ranga learnt this he rapidly returned to his capital [4], but found himself unequal to the forces of Bijapur; so, perhaps even before he reached Penukonda, he despatched an envoy with magnificent presents to Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda, demanding his aid against Adil Shah. The Golkonda Sultan "readily agreed to the overtures of Sri Ranga Raya," says the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, " promising him to oppose Ali Adil Shah, and to prevent him from making further aggression. Accordingly he detached his general, Shah Muhammad Anju, with a light force, to skirmish and plunder the borders of Adil Shah's dominions, while he prepared to move to the South in support of Sri Ranga Raya. On the Bijanagar frontier he was joined by Shah Muhammad Anju, after he had sacked the towns and laid waste the enemy's country, agreeably to his instructions. He was shortly afterwards met by Sri Ranga Raya; and their junction induced Ali Adil Shah to raise the siege of Bijanagar (*viz.* its capital Penukonda) [5] and to return to Bijapur " [6].

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1. Ibid., p. 140-1.

2. *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 231.

3. Ferishta, III, p. 141. Ferishta's following account of the attack of Penukonda is evidently out of place. I shall prove in due course that facts narrated here by the Muhammadan writer could not have taken place except during the reign of Venkata II.

4. *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, l. c.

5. The removal of the capital from Vijayanagara to Penukonda seems to be completely ignored by the anonymous chronicler.

6. Ferishta, III, p. 435.

Such is the account of the retreat of Ali Adil Shah as given by the Mussulman writer; but the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* provide us with some other details. Ranga had also summoned Hande Malakappa Nayadu, the governor of Bukkasamudram, and 'with the assistance of his troops fought with the Muhammadan invaders and routed them' [1]. This seems to imply that a battle was fought between the two armies; and it was probably then that 'Ranga's war-drums were heard in the town of Vijapura (Bijapur)', as we read in the *Narapati-vijayamu* [2].

After this combined action the relations beween Golkonda and Vijayanagara apparently became still more friendly. It was perhaps then that Fak-l Khan went with a large army as an envoy of the Sultan of Golkonda to the court of Ranga and took the latter to his sovereign's capital, where a treaty of alliance was concluded between the two monarchs [3].

5. But not long after, probably in the following year 1576, the Sultan of Bijapur reappeared in the territories of Vijayanagara with a large army. Ranga set out from Penukonda to check this expedition. When the two armies met, a great battle ensued, in the course of which the Emperor Ranga unfortunately fell a prisoner into the hands of Ali Adil Shah; this mishap turned the tide against the Hindu army, which was beaten and routed by the enemy. The immediate result of this victory was the possession of the territories to the North of Penukonda, which never went back into the hands of the Vijayanagara Emperors. "On hearing about this defeat of Sri Ranga," continues the author of the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, "Hande Malakappa Nayadu, thinking that the Muhammadan fortunes were destined to rise and his master's to wane, transferred his allegiance to them and behaved obediently in their service. So they showed great favour to him, and bestowed upon him the lands formerly granted to him by the Vijayanagara sovereigns: Bukkapatnam in the Elamanchi country,

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, l. c. Cf. Brown, *The Wars of the Rajas*, p. 6.

2. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, l. c., p. 183, note 3.

3. *Yayaticharitram*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 236.

and Anantasagaram along with the hamlets under them, with the title of Padishah Vazir" [1]. This misfortune of Ranga justified a strange title given him two years before: in a grant of 1574, this sovereign is called 'Establisher of the kingdom of the Mussulmans' [2].

More fortunate still was another chief who also fought in this battle against the Muhammadans. Sal Nayaka had, after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, become the leader of a band of free-booters, and succeeded in capturing Kandikere and Shettikere. Incidentally, he joined Ranga at Penukonda with a force, on condition of his conquests being confirmed. After the defeat of the Hindu army and the capture of their Emperor, he escaped to his own country with such plunder as he could secure, including, it is said, twelve elephants. Chiknayakanhalli was founded a while after, made the seat of his government and named after his brother; then Honnavalli, Turuvekere and Nonavinkere were added to his possessions. Such was the origin of the Hagalvadi chiefs, whose territory was finally annexed to Mysore by Chikkadeva Raya [3].

6. Ranga I, probably, soon won his liberty by a heavy ransom; because the inscriptions of the following year 1577 show him 'ruling at Penukonda' [4]. But the attack on Penukonda was renewed that very year; unquestionably Ali Adil Shah was bent on destroying the new capital of the Empire, as he had helped in the destruction of the old. We are not aware whether Adil Shah was present at the siege of the fortress; the *Satya-parinayam* mentions only four generals of his army. Jagadeva Raya, the Sudra chief of Baramahal, was at the moment in charge of the defence of the city; he was closely related to the

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1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 231-2. Cf. Brown *The Wars of the Rajas*, p. 6.

2. Sewell, II, p. 185.

3. Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 165.

4. Cf. above No. 1. Nevertheless there is an inscription of this year in the Nellore district, in which Ranga appears as 'ruling at Chandragiri'. Butterworth, I, p. 399, note. Was his capture perhaps concealed by saying that he was ruling at Chandragiri, where his brother Venkata was perhaps governing the Empire on his behalf?

Emperor by his marriage with one of the latter's daughters [1]. The attack was more than once valiantly repulsed by this hero. One general, Sujata Khan, was slain in one of the actions; another, Chitta Khan, was captured; and the other two, Murtija Khan and Naru Khan, being successively defeated, the Bijapur army was forced to raise the siege [2].

The Emperor rewarded Jagadeva Raya's services liberally. He gave him a large district which extended from Baramahal in the East to the western Ghats in the West. He fixed his capital at Channapatna, which his descendants held till 1630, when it was captured after a long siege by the Raja of Mysore [3]. Perhaps Koneru Raya also distinguished himself on this occasion; because an inscription of 1579 records the fact that the Emperor Ranga gave two villages to him for services rendered in a bloody battle, and exempted them from all taxes [4].

7. In the meanwhile the Sultan of Golkonda, Ibrahim Qutb Shah, had broken the alliance made lately with Ranga; and having joined the Hande chief Malakappa Nayadu, who, as we have already noted, had been a traitor to the Empire, invaded and occupied the Ahobalam district. A local inscription dated 1584-5, from which we get this information, adds that the religious teacher, Sri Van Sathagopa Swami, then went to the Emperor Ranga; and "reporting to him the sad condition of the temple of Ahobalam and the surrounding country, requested him to recover the district from the Muhammadans and to restore the temples to their ancient glory. Thereupon the Emperor Sri Ranga Raya himself prepared to lead an army into the district in person and to drive out the enemy. But the High Priest said that he need not lead the expedition in person,

1. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 164, says that Jagadeva's daughter was married to Ranga, but he himself in his further work, *Mysore*, I, p. 356 and 357, affirms that he was the king's son-in-law. Sewell, I, p. 194 and II, p. 251, agrees.

2. S. Krishnaswsmi Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 229.

3. Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 22. This author, as well as Sewell, II, p. 251, assigned the year 1577 as corresponding to the date of this third siege of Penukonda.

4. *M. A. D., Report 1923*, p. 44.

but might entrust it to his subordinates, Kondaraju Venkataraju and Kondaraju Tirumalaraju who were designated by the god of Ahobalam in a dream, as the fittest persons to lead the attack and to restore the temples. The Emperor was struck with this; and having presented the chiefs with jewels and titles, ordered them to march against the enemy. Then the chiefs started with their army along with the priest; and having defeated the Hande chiefs and the other allies of Ibrahim, made vast additions to the temples and bestowed on the temples more than their former prosperity" [1]. This action is probably the one referred to in the *Lakshmivilasam*, which states that Ranga I "defeated the large armies of Qutb Shah and captured his royal insignia" [2]. And again the *Narapati-vijayamu* says that 'his sword split the bodies of the Golkonda warriors' [3].

8. Soon, at the end of 1579 or beginning of 1580, the Golkonda troops entered the province of Udayagiri situated at the North-East of the Empire [4]. After crossing the Krishna they easily captured the forts of Inaconda, Cacherlacota and Cammum (Cumbum); but the fortress of Kandbir was not so easily taken. "Here Haidar-ul-Mulk", says the anonymous chronicler, "was informed that Kandi Timana, Mudna Chinna and Kasturi Ranga had collected a force of thirty thousand men, and were on the point of marching to attack him. He therefore deferred the siege of Kandbir and moved to meet them. The Hindu infantry poured in upon the king's troops on all sides from the woods; but they only rushed on to their own destruction. The Muhammadans gained a complete victory, and pursued the enemy to the fort of Guram, which surrendered". The fort of Belamkonda and all the minor forts of the neighbourhood fell also into the hands of the Muhammadans; and thereafter Haidar-ul-Mulk proceeded to Kandbir. "A long time was expended in

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 233-4. Cf. 70 of 1915.
2. Ibid., p. 230.
3. *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 356. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c., p. 183, note.
4. Sewell, I, p. 137, has an inscription of a local chief of this province acknowledging Ranga I as his sovereign in the year 1579.

attempting to reduce this strong fortress without effect; and Haidar-ul-Mulk found it necessary to apply for reinforcements to Golkonda, on which Ibrahim Qutb Shah appointed Syad Shah Tacki, known by the appellation of Amir Shah Mir, with a considerable detachment of Mughals and Persians, to proceed and to take the command from Haidar-ul-Mulk of all the forces South of the Krishna. On his arrival at Kandbir, Shah Mir made many attempts to carry the place by escalade, but invariably failed, till at length he resolved, whatever might be the loss sustained, to drag his guns up the hill to within a moderate distance of the walls. By this means part of one face was battered down, and an attack made one morning both at the breach and on the South gateway. The Hindus were prepared to receive the storming parties and fought desperately; but they were driven back, though not without heavy loss on the part of the assailants. The fort was eventually taken through the exertions of the elephants, who forced open one side of the gate. The Muhammadans then rushing in took the place; and Kapury Timraj, son-in-law of the celebrated Ramraj of Bijanagar, fell into the hands of the victors" [1].

The Aminabad inscription of Amin Mulk gives further information concerning this campaign. Besides the successive capture of the fortresses of Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Tangeda and Kondavidu, it specifies the taking of the fort of Udayagiri which was defended by Venkata Raju—probably the brother of Ranga and his successor to be—who was driven back to the South [2]. It seems that one of the leaders of this expedition was a Maratha Brahman called Raya Rao, who was in the service of the Qutb Shah monarch; he was the one who attacked Kondavidu, the governor of which place was assailed with bribes and surrendered in 1580 [3].

It was probably at this time that Vemala Nayadu, second Raja of Udiripikonda, was defeated and sent away to Golkonda to serve the Sultan [4].

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1. Ferishta, III, p. 436-8.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 230-40.
3. Sewell, II, p., 188, who gives his information as taken from Telugu chronicles on Kondavidu.
4. Francis, *Anantapur Gazetteer*, p. 165. Information gleaned from the Mackenzie MSS.

Thus one of the provinces of the Empire that constituted the greatest part of the Telugu country, fell into the possession of the Golkonda Sultan, and was lost for ever to Vijayanagara. Nevertheless, even under the domination of the Muhammadans, inscriptions were carved, specially in the southern taluks, acknowledging the suzerainty of the Vijayanagara Emperors. Naturally the Telugu folk preferred the rule of the Telugu sovereigns to the blood-thirsty sway of the followers of Islam [1].

9. These were the last conquests of Ibrahim Qutb Shah. In the year 1580 Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur was assassinated [2]; and in the same year Ibrahim Qutb Shah passed away and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Kuli Qutb Shah. This monarch attempted to conquer the fortress of Naldrug, but without any success. He was even deserted by one of his generals, Ali Khan Lur, who with his army and with the assistance of Mikar Tima, the son-in-law of Ranga Raya, wished to recover some of the fortresses of the province of Udayagiri for the Emperor of Vijayanagara. But his campaign was a most dismal failure. The anonymous chronicler says that Ranga I 'refused them his countenance or support' [3].

The new Sultan of Bijapur, Ibrahim Adil Shah II, being a mere child, was under the regency of the Dowager Queen, the famous Chand Bibi; but she was soon confined by the minister Dilawar Khan, and this intriguer assumed the reins of government. "The first act of his power", says Ferishta, "after he found himself secure, was to detach Balil Khan with an army to collect the arrears of tribute from the Rays of Malabar (Kanara). Balil Khan, after being joined by Arsappa Naik, Ray of Jerreh, marched against the fort of Shankar Naik, Ray of Carur, who refused to pay the tribute. One night during the siege, while visiting the batteries, Balil Khan had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by a body of the enemy, and was carried into the fort, where he was confined in heavy chains. His troops, missing their chief, raised the siege and dispersed to various quarters. Balil Khan, after

1. Cf. Butterworth, II, p. 892.
2. Ferishta, III, p. 142. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, p. 221.
3. Ibid., III, p. 447-9.

some time, by promises of great rewards, prevailed on his keepers and a seller of grass to assist in his escape; and he was carried out by the latter upon his shoulders, concealed in a bundle of forage. When he had gained a convenient spot he contrived to strike off his chains, and hastened with all expedition towards the Bijapur frontiers. Arriving in safety he procured a horse and proceeded to Bankapur, from whence he informed Dilawar Khan of his escape and requested to be supplied with another army to take revenge on Shankar Naik. But the Regent declined for the present to make any further attempts in that quarter" [1].

This was the last attack of the Muhammadans on the possessions of Vijayanagara during the reign of Sri Ranga I. The result was not very satisfactory to him. "Most of the petty Rajas of Bijanagar (Vijayanagara)", says the anonymous chronicler, "had now bent their necks to the Muhammadan yoke" [2]. Of course, the Muhammadan writer speaks only of the Rajas of the North of the Empire, who were near the frontier of the Deccani states.

10. These military operations did not in any way interfere with the piety of the Emperor; for he was a staunch devotee of Vishnu, as we shall see in one of the following chapters. An inscription of 1572, just a little before he ascended the throne, in the Gopinatha temple of Srirangarayapuram, Guntur, records a gift of land to Gangadeva Rameswara for worship by Prince Sri Ranga, son of Tirumala [3]. We know besides several other religious grants made by Ranga during his reign, in 1575-6 [4], 1578 [5] and 1585 [6]. In 1573 his agent in Nellore made arrangements for a religious festival [7]; in 1581 the Dalavay Venkatappa Nayadu, under orders of Negoti Timma Nayadu, the minister of the king,

1. Ibid., p. 157-8.
2. Ibid., III, p. 453.
3. Rangacharya, I, p. 762, 130—B.
4. Butterworth, III, p. 1185-6 and 1259-61.
5. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ch, 23.
6. Sewell, I, p. 92.
7. Butterworth, III, p. 822-33.

remitted several taxes due on the land owned at Bukkasagaram and Anantapuram by the temple of Chavudesvari [1].

The inscriptions also record that some new temples and shrines were consecrated during Ranga's reign. In 1577 the image of Chennakesavaraya was set up in the village of Mogalluru, and a gift of land was made to the temple [2]. In 1580 the temple of Kesavasvami of Penukonda was solemnly dedicated [3]. Finally, a record from Tindivanam fixes the voluntary contributions to be paid by the principal inhabitants, "by the merchants whose business extended over the fifty-six countries and the eighteen districts", and by others who gathered together on each Wednesday-market held at Gidangil. These contributions were supposed to be needed to carry out repairs in the Tindisuramudaiya-Nayinar temple at Tindivanam [4].

11. Ranga's latest inscription corresponds to the year 1584-5 [5]. In Ahobilam, Karnul, there is an inscription by a local chief in the reign of Sri Ranga of Vijayanagara at Penukonda, dated 1584 [6]. Another inscription by the same chief, of the following year 1585, mentions the name of Venkatapati of Vijayanagara as ruling in Penukonda [7]. Hence the inscription of Srimushnam, of the year 1586, stating that Ranga was still ruling in Penukonda, must be an evident mistake [8]. Ranga must have died in about the first half of the year 1585, and, as the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* informs us, 'without issue' [9], *viz.* without male offspring; for the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda mentions a son-in-law of his, named Mikar Tima [10], and Jagadeva Raya of Chennapatna probably married another daughter of the King [11].

1. 178 of 1913.
2. Rangacharya, II, p. 1143, 688.
3. Sewell, II, p. 120.
4. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c., p. 184.
5. 237 of 1903.
6. Sewell, I, p. 101.
7. Ibid.
8. 262 of 1916.
9. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302.
10. Ferishta, III, p. 448.
11. Cf. above No. 6.

Ranga I, who, according to the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, 'was renowned in the eight regions' and 'had crossed the milk-ocean of policy' [1], seems to have been the kindest and most obliging sovereign that had ever sat on the jewelled throne of Vijayanagara. He 'was a *parijata* to dependants', says the Utsur grant of Ranga III [2]; this is more clear in the Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, which states that he was 'the bestower of wealth on dependants' [3]. According to an inscription at Nagalapuram, Ranga granted several privileges to the five artisan communities [4].

The public aspect of his life, as defender of the interests of the Empire, is not as bright as his private one. It is striking, indeed, to read in the *Ramarajiyamu* that Ranga "resuscitated the glory of the Karnata Empire which had waned" [5]. This poetical flattery is nothing but an echo of the laudatory expressions which we find applied to him in certain inscriptions. In one at Elvanasur he is called 'the conqueror of all countries' [6]; and in another at Tindivanam he is said to have 'received tribute from all countries and from Ilam (Ceylon)' [7]. In his own grants we also read some characteristically empty boasts, as the two following: in the Arivilimangalam plates he says that he has 'been praised by the kings of the Kamboja, Bhoja, Kalinga and Karahata countries' [8]; and in the Maredapalli grant he calls himself 'the suzerain of the Rattas and Magadhas' [9]. And even several years later the Kallakursi grant of Ranga III

1. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 253, v. 19.

2. Butterworth I, p. 46, v. 22. Parijata is a mythical tree of the Hindu Paradise.

3. Ibid., p. 30. v. 28.

4. 620 of 1904. These five classes of artificers are also mentioned in another inscription of the year 1573, that records the remission of the taxes payable by them by the chief of the Budihal country, Sripati Raja Vallabha Rajayya Deva Maharasu. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 8.

5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 213.

6. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c., p. 183.

7. Ibid.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 343.

9. *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 328.

states that he was 'honoured by the kings of the Bhojas and Magadhas' [1]. More inexplicable still is an inscription of Kanchivaram, dated 1574, which gives him the titles of 'establisher of the kingdom of the Mussulmans and destroyer of the Gajapatis' [2]. We cannot fathom the real meaning of this most original piece of flattery.

Now, if we consider dispassionately the reign of Sri Ranga I, we cannot but say that it is one of the most fatal periods in the history of Vijayanagara. The Mussulmans were not checked at all in their conquests within the boundaries of the Empire; in their depredatory expeditions they thrice reached the walls of Penukonda, and on one of these occasions even Ranga himself fell a prisoner into their hands. The territory to the North of Penukonda was already in the possession of Bijapur, and the Sultan of Golkonda had likewise taken possession of the province of Udayagiri; the only territory that was recovered by Vijayanagara was the country round Ahobilam in the Karnul district. We do not deny Ranga's good qualities and military prowess; we even admit that he perhaps deserved the appellation of 'long-armed brave king', found in a grant of Venkata III [3], and borne out by the very fact of his imprisonment. But ill-luck dogged his footsteps. In managing his home affairs he was, it seems, more fortunate; but even here the subjugation of the rebel chiefs was only apparent, as the desertions to the Muhammadans prove. Even some of the rebellions that broke out during the reign of Venkata II were nothing but later manifestations of the same antipathy towards the new dynasty which had been created by the bloody event that had opened to its members the door to the throne.

1. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 153.
2. Sewell, I, p. 185.
3. Venkata III's grant, 1639, *Ep. Carn.*, III, Nj, 198.

CHAPTER XIII

THE TAMIL VICEROYALTY

SUMMARY.—1. Venkata, the brother of Ranga II, Viceroy of the Tamil country.—2. Death of Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura. An estimate of his life.—3. Accession of Virappa Nayaka. Rebellion of the Palaiyakaran of Mavalipuram—4. His relations with the Pandyas and with Ranga I. First war between Madura and Vijayanagara.—5. Behaviour of Sevvappa Nayaka of Tanjore towards the Empire.—6. Beginning of the reign of Achyutappa Nayaka.—7. Some information about Jinji.—8. Chinna Bomma Nayaka of Vellore and Ranga I.—9. Other chiefs.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. *History of the Karnataka Governors, Mrtyunjaya MSS.*—3. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra, Sahityaratnakara, Rukmini-parinaya, Bhavanapurushottama.*

BEFORE commencing the history of the successor of Sri Ranga I we shall give, in this and in the following chapter, an account of the two viceroyalties into which the whole Empire was divided after the death of Tirumala. We do not know whether, after Ranga was raised to the throne, he still kept the government of the Telugu viceroyalty, or whether a new viceroy was appointed. But we are rather inclined to believe that that territory was attached to the Tamil viceroyalty, both being under the governorship of Venkata, the youngest brother of Ranga. The above-mentioned Aminabad inscription relates that when the troops of Golkonda took possession of the fortress of Udayagiri, Venkata Raju was driven from the place [1]. If this Venkata is the brother of Ranga, as seems probable, his being found at Udayagiri would confirm our opinion.

Anyhow Venkata continued to rule over the Tamil country, his capital being Chandragiri. An inscription in the ancient temple of Triplicane tells us that during the reign of Ranga, Tirumala Nayaningaru, the general of Venkata of Chandragiri, made a gift of the villages of Sembiyam

1 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 239-40.

and Nidambaram and a garden to the aforesaid temple [1]. Gobburi Tirumalai Nayakkar was no doubt another general of his army. In the year 1579 he gave a piece of land at Kunrattur to the temple of Talasayana Perumal at Kadalmallai in return for the services of the King's brother Venkatapatideva Maharaya [2]. It seems that during the time of his viceroyalty Venkata led a military expedition to Ceylon. Ranga I claims to have levied tribute from Ceylon [3]. But we are sure that he was too busy with the Muhammadans to spare the time to force the Ceylon sovereign to pay the tribute due to him. Now Venkata also boasts of having conquered Ceylon [5], and since we do not know of any Ceylon campaign during the time of his reign, we may reasonably conclude that any such conquest took place only during his brother's lifetime.

2. The most important state subordinate to the viceroyalty of Venkata was Madura. Only a few months after the demise of Tirumala, the King of Madura, Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka also died. The date given for this event by the *Mrtyunjaya MSS.* corresponds to December 3rd, 1572 [6]. He had been a capable ruler and a worthy successor of his father. His successful campaigns against Tumbichchi and the Raja of Kandi proved him also a valiant and resolute warrior. He thus checked for the rest of his reign the evil ambitions of the other Palaiyakarans. The Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva speak very highly of his qualities as well as of his deeds. Krishnappa Nayaka, according to them, was a King "of sacred fame, the ocean of mercy, who was the jewel of the family of Kasyapa...who was always studying the art of protecting others; who was a wise man; whose mind was purified with truthfulness; who shone by his desire to do good actions; who possessed great wealth; who was endowed with the virtues of a wise man; whose policy was like that of

1. 237 of 1903.
2. 255 of 1909.
3. *M. E. R. 1904-5*, para 35.
4. Ibid., *1905-6*, para 49.
5. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 119. Cf. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 76.

Manu;...on whom much wealth was conferred by (the god) Visvanatha, who was pleased with his devotion" [1]. The Kuniyur plates of Venkata III eulogize him, more than half a century after, stating that he was a ruler "who was renowned in the world, who seized the diadems of hostile kings in conformity with his name (*viz.* who was a worthy namesake of the ancient Krishna), who governed the inhabitants of the earth with justice, whose disposition resembled that of Kubera, the lord of wealth" [2].

Krishnappa Nayaka had founded two towns: one to the West of Tinnevelly named Kadaiyam-Krishnapuram, and another to the East of Palamcotta called Krishnapuram after his own name. To this he seems to have devoted greater attention; for he built there a Saiva temple, a Vaishnava temple and many agraharas: he dug out a teppakulam and furnished the town with all customary appurtenances [3]. The Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva give some more details; by his care " was built a temple at Krishnapura", they say, "which was encircled by a wall of the shape of the *pranava* and surmounted a broad and lofty tower. It has a large *ranga-mandapa* raised on a series of beautiful stone pillars and adorned with rows of spouts. He built a car like the *Mandara* mountain, and also broad roads round the temple, for the propitiation of the god Vishnu set up there" [4]. Then in 1563 he made a gift of six villages and some lands to the same temple of Vishnu, (venerated there under the name of Tiruvengalanatha), 'for the merit of his father' [5]. Two years earlier he had presented a piece of land to the Nelliyappar temple at Tinnevelly [6].

He seems to have continued his father's policy towards the Pandyas, as the title *Pandyakulasthapanacharya*, given him in

1. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 341, vv. 46-57.
2. Ibid., III, p. 254, v. 50.
3. *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 23.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, l. c.
5. 17 of 1912; *M. E. R., 1912*, p. 76.
6. 121 of 1894.

the Krishnapuram plates[1], shows. His relations with the Emperor Sadasiva were those of loyalty, as the aforesaid plates prove: in them he is said 'to know the truth about duty'[2]; and his influence at the court of Vijayanagara is seen in every verse of their text. Then a damaged record of Sadasiva, belonging to the year 1568, also mentions Krishnappa Nayaka[3]; and another inscription by the same King, of the year 1571, records a gift for the merit of the son of Visvanatha and others[4].

3. Krishnappa was succeeded by his two sons Visvanatha and Virappa, according to the *Pandyan Chronicle*[5]. But the former is never mentioned either in the inscriptions or in the *History of the Karnataka Governors*; from which we suspect that he died shortly after and that Virappa Nayaka remained the sole ruler[6]. He is called Vira-Bhupati in the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II[7]. His queen was Tirumalambika[8]. An inscription at Goripalaiyam, Madura, on a pillar set up within the Muhammadan Masjid, declares that a considerable quantity of land was presented to the Mussulmans by Kuna Pandya, and that the grant was confirmed by Virappa Nayaka in 1573[9]. This is probably the earliest lithic mention of this King.

It was probably not long after his accession that Virappa had the opportunity of giving a proof of his resolute

1. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, l. c.
2. Ibid.
3. 64 of 1908.
4. 403 of 1912.
5. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I, p. 38. The succession of both brothers is also confirmed by the statues of the Nayaks in the Tirumala's choultry at Madura. The third statue is that of Periya Krishnappa Nayaka, another name of Virappa, it seems. Cf. Nelson, p. 105. The inscription of the fourth statue, as much damaged, cannot be read: I suppose this statue represents Visvanatha. Cf. Heras, *The Statues of the Nayaks of Madura*, *Q. J. M. S.*, XV, p. 212.
6. Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 320; Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, Ibid., p. 297, vv. 62-64.
7. Ibid.
8. Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 297, vv. 65-66; Vellangudi plates of the same, Ibid., p. 320.
9. 77 of 1905; Sewell, I, p. 292.

character; "The king of Mavalipuram," says the *History of the Karnataka Governors*, "came with hostile intent, placed a fortified camp before Manamathurai and Kalaiyarcovil, and conquered some places in the Pandya country." This king of Mavalipuram was one of the Palaiyakarans belonging to the family of Mavali-Vanadarayar, of whose ancestors at the beginning of the sixteenth century we know several inscriptions [1]. The action of the Nayaka was swift and decisive: he at once set out from his capital, defeated the chief, conquered his kingdom, and annexed it to his own possessions [2]. That was a good lesson for the rest of his subordinates.

His rule over Madura was also distinguished by the buildings he constructed, some of which still proclaim his munificence. The southern walls of the Trichinopoly fort, as well as the fortress of Aruppakkottai, Ramnad, were built by him [3]. But his chief work was the *mandapa*, erected in front of the shrine of Sundaresvara, the presiding deity of the famous temple at Madura, which is supported on beautiful 'pillars of rare workmanship' [4]. It was completed in 1583 [5].

1. 109, 113, and 121 of 1903; 585 and 187 of 1902. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 143-4, is inclined to believe that the chief of Mavalipuram was the king of Mahavalipuram or Seven Pagodas.

2. *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 25. One of the Palaiyakarans of Madura at this time was Kumara Ettappa Nayacker who had founded the city of Ettayapuram about 1567, shortly after the disaster of Raksas-Tagdi. In one of the wars of the Nayaks of Madura, Kumara Ettappa helped the Madura Nayak; but he was treacherously killed during the war. The Nayak, who was probably Virappa Nayak, out of regard for the deceased chief, conferred Kalugumalai on his family and granted the title of Aiyan to his successor. Ketchila Ettappa Nayacker Aiyan, Kumara Ettappa's successor, was a great warrior and an intrepid rider. He defeated the Setupati of Ramnad and captured from him some insignia of royalty and two state horses. Madhava Rao, *The Ruling Chiefs*, I, p. 597.

3. Ibid. Cf. Rangachary, *The History of the Naik Kingdom, Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 91, note 30.

4. Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 320; Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 187, vv 67-79; Padmaneri grant of Venkata II. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 288.

5. Rangacharya, o. c., *Ind Ant.*, XLV, p. 91.

This was not the only act of devotion towards that temple. He also presented the goddess Minakshi with a *kavacha* or mantle 'made of gold and set with rare gems.' He also made the sixteen *Mahadanas*, beginning with *hemasva* [1].

4. His relations with the Pandyas continued on the same good terms as during his father's life. The copper-plates of Sri vallabha and Varatungarama Pandya record the gift of the village of Pudukkottai by a certain Tirumala Nayaka, with the approval of Virappa [2].

His subjection to the Vijayanagara overlords is clearly shown in the epigraphical records in the first years of his reign. In 1577, 'during the reign of Sri Ranga Raya,' Virappa Nayaka made a gift of land for the merit of his father Krishnappa Nayaka to a temple of Krishnapuram, as stated in a local inscription [3]. In the following year Virappa Nayaka, who calls himself 'an agent to the King,' made a gift of land to a temple in Sermadevi for conducting certain festivals [4]. And in the year 1579, a record of Ranga in the Appar temple of Sermadevi, Tinnevelly, mentions Visvanatha Krishnappa Virappa Nayaka as his feudatory [5].

But somewhat before 1583 a war broke out between the Nayak and Venkata of Chandragiri, the Viceroy of Vijayanagara. What was the cause of this rupture of relations? The success of Virappa against the Mavalipuram chief perhaps excited his ambition, and he consequently refused to pay his tribute to the Emperor. This was invariably the cause of all the following wars between Madura and Vijayanagara. Nor do we groundlessly attribute the same cause to the first of these wars [6]. We are made aware of it by the Pudukkottai plates

1. Ibid., and Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 297, vv. 62-64. About his acts of devotion, see *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 161.

2. *T. A. S.*, I, p. 61-88.

3. 16 of 1912; Sewell, I, p. 310.

4. 663 of 1915.

5. 187 of 1895.

6. The tribute paid by Madura to Vijayanagara was, according to Barradas, 600,000 pagodas; Sewell, p. 230. Fr. A. Vico writing to Fr. A. Laerzie from Madura, August 30, 1611, states that the annual tribute was of six to ten million *francs;* Bertrand, *La Mission de Madure*, II, p. 124. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, p. 308, says: "O Naique de Madura le paga sinco centos pr. ano."

of Srivallabha and Varatungarama Pandya. They speak only of the final battle between the two armies: Venkataraja himself was at the head of his 'huge army', one of his officers being Basavaraja, a Telugu chieftain who had also been present at the battle of Raksas-Tagdi [1]. Achyutaraya, the Tanjore Nayak, had also joined Venkata against Virappa. The army of Madura was commanded by Tirmularaja, who, in the same plates, is called the right hand of Virappa. He "employed in his wars against his enemies iron guns which he charged with leaden shots." This Pandya document states that Tirumularaja killed Basavaraja in the battle of Vallaprakara, and defeated Venkata's army. "The armies of Viraraja", it says, "were destroyed, but that of Achyutaraja fled away. Tirumalalraja collected all the horses from the battlefield" [2]. We may admit the first fact, but the defeat of Venkata's troops is a figment of imagination. How can we explain the fact that Virappa Nayaka himself acknowledges the authority of the Vijayanagara Emperor in the beginning of the reign of the same Venkata, a few years later? These plates are all a panegyric of Tirumalairaja, at whose request the Pandya sovereigns made the grant of Pudukkottai. We are sure that Venkata obtained a victory over his enemies on this occasion. This implies also the payment of the tribute due.

5. Passing from Madura to Tanjore, we find again in the old Chola capital the venerable person of Sevvappa still ruling over his kingdom, and making extensive grants to many temples during the considerable period of his peaceful rule [3].

Sevvappa Nayaka's attitude towards the Empire seems to have been that of a faithful vassal. There is an inscription in

1. Cf. Ch. IX, No. 3.

2. *T. A. S.*, I, p. 84, vv. 61-67 and 161-164. If the date of these plates is correct, and there is no ground hitherto for reasonable doubt, we must place this battle during the time of Venkata's viceroyalty in Chandragiri. It is very strange that Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar, o. c., does not mention this rebellion of Virappa Nayaka at all.

3. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 323.

the Vallalgopuram in the Arunachalesvara temple at Tiruvannamalai, in which the names of both the Emperor and the Nayak's son are to be seen together. It deals with the remission of certain taxes in the villages belonging to the temple. This was done by order of Achyutappa Nayaka, Sadasiva still reigning [1]. Again, in the year 1566, one year after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, and during the reign of his father, Achyutappa Nayaka made a gift of the village of Tiruveshkalam to several shrines of the Tirumalasthanam, for the merit of Tirumala Raya, then the Regent of the Empire [2]. Finally one year later, an inscription of Sadasiva at Tiruvannamalai records the remission of taxes in the villages belonging to the temple by order of Achyutappa Nayaka [3]. This policy of Sevvappa continued unchanged during the reign of Ranga. In 1574, at the request of Sevvappa Nayaka, Ranga I granted the village of Arivilimangalam to the Madhva guru, Vijayindra Tirtha. The grant had been made by Prince Achyuta, but now the formal sanction from the Vijayanagara Emperor was obtained [4].

6. Further, these inscriptions show that during the last years of Sevvappa's rule, his son Achyuta took a prominent part in the government of the state. He was actually made Yuvaraya some time before the death of his father [5], most probably before 1577 ; because there is an inscription of this year in which Achyuta appears as actually ruling over the whole kingdom. Sevvappa's last inscription is of the year 1572-73 ; it refers to the son of Timmappa Nayakkar of the chaturtha gotra [6]. Achyutappa's first inscription is dated 1577 ; it is found in the southern outer wall of the second gopura of the temple of Brahathesavaraswami in Tanjore, and records that Achyutappa Nayaka gave some land on perpetual free tenure to goldsmiths [7].

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1. 567 of 1902.
2. 259 of 1913.
3. 567 of 1902.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, vv. 27-44. Cf. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum Madras*, p. 53-4.
5. *Sahityaratnakara*, canto III, v. 14.
6. 497 of 1907.
7. 22 of 1897. Cf. Kuppuswami Sastri, *A Short History*, p. 5.

His Queen was named Murtyamba [1], and his minister and general was the famous Govinda Dikshita [2], a very learned Kannada Brahman, of whom we shall speak at length when dealing with the literature of this period. The *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra* says that Achyutappa 'ruled the kingdom in peace and prosperity for a considerable period' [3]. During his time, the *anicut* across the Kaveri was repaired and flights of steps at various places along its course were put up, as for example at Mayavaram, Kumbhakonam, Tiruvidaimarudur, etc. [4]. We shall speak again of Achyutappa when we come to the reign of Venkata II.

7. Going northwards, Jinji offers us no better information at this period than during the reign of Sadasiva. According to the drama *Bhavanapurushottama*, Surappa Nayaka was still ruling at Jinji during the reign of Ranga. He seems to have helped the Emperor of Vijayanagara, either Triumala or Ranga I, to repulse one of the Muhammadan invasions; for which he is given the title of 'the firm establisher of the throne of Karnata'. He founded the villages of Surasamudra, Peta-samudra and Vengalambapura, calling them after himself, his father and his mother respectively [5]. Such is the slight information we get about Jinji at this time.

8. During the time of Ranga, the chief of Vellore was still Chinna Bomma Nayaka, of whom we have previously spoken [6]. We find him mentioned several times by the Emperor himself: one of the latter's inscriptions records the gift of the village of Perumai, North Arcot, by Krishnappa Nayaka, his feudatory, at the request of Chinna Bomma Nayaka to the Jvarakandesvara shrine at Vellore [7]. Two other inscriptions mention the donation of the villages of

1. *Raghunathabhyudayam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 285.
2. Ibid., p. 323.
3. Ibid.
4. *Rukmini-parinaya*. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 343.
5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 272, note.
6. Cf. Ch. VIII, No 12.
7. 43 of 1887.

Sattuvachcheri and Sampanginallur under the same terms [1]. Chinna Bomma Nayaka is again mentioned in a Tamil inscription of Ranga I of 1578 at Devikapuram, North Arcot [2]. In 1582 he was still living, since an inscription of his at Adaipalam records that Appaiya Dikshita constructed the temple of Kalakanthesvara [3].

Some other members of this family are occasionally mentioned in the lithic records of those years. An inscription of Ranga, of 1578, at Devikapuram registers a gift made to the temple for the merit of Agastyappa Nayaka of Vellore [4]. Another of the same, of the year 1583, at Tindivanam, South Arcot, records that Virappa Nayaka, son of Pappau Nayaka of Vellore, who was apparently the governor of Padaividurajya, ordered that toll should be levied according to a fixed scale on all the articles brought into the market at Gidangil on Wednesdays, and that the proceeds should be spent on the repairs of the Tintrinisvara temple [5].

9. Some other chiefs of the Tamil country are occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions of those years: first one Vaiyappa Krishnappa Kondama Nayaka, who built the wall round the Srimushnam temple [6]; then one Achyutappa Nayaka, son of Bayyappa Nayaka, who established a shrine for the goddess in the temple of Adivarsha Perumal of Srimushnam, besides making several other gifts to the same temple [7]; finally one Kanchi Paparaju, who gave some land to the Reddis at Kottapalli in 1585 in the reign of Sri Ranga Raya of Penukonda [8].

1. 41 and 42 of 1887.
2. 399 of 1912.
3. 395 of 1911.
4. 399 of 1912.
5. 30 of 1905.
6. *M.E.R., 1916*, para 73.
7. Ibid.
8. Rangacharya, I, p 622, 534.

CHAPTER XIV

THE KANARESE VICEROYALTY

SUMMARY.—1. Government of Rama, Viceroy of Seringapatam. Rama is succeeded by his sons Tirumala and Ranga.—2. The Nayaks of Ikeri.—3. Chamraj Wodeyar and Raja Wodeyar of Mysore.—4. Dealings between the Queen of Gersoppa and the Portuguese as to the possession of Honavar.—5. War between the King of Tolar and the Portuguese. Capture of Basrur.—6. The Portuguese defeat the Nayak of Sanguicer.—7. Dom Luiz d'Ataide settles some differences between the Queen of Ullal and the King of Bangher.—8. The Nayaks of Bellur.—9. Other chiefs.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Faria y Sousa.—3. *Ramarajiyamu, Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali, Keladi Arasu Vamsavali, Sivatattvaratnakara.*

WHEN Ranga I ascended the throne, the Kanarese viceroyalty was under Rama, the third son of Tirumala. It has been said that his rule at Seringapatam was weak, and that on account of this the local chieftains rebelled [1]. Now we have previously spoken of the rebellion of several chiefs of the Kanara country, who refused to acknowledge the authority of the Aravidu family, the head of which did not spare bloodshed in order to ascend the throne. This, not the weak rule of the Viceroy, was the origin of the rebellion. Nevertheless if his government was really weak (though of this we have no established proofs) we may naturally suppose that this was the ultimate cause of the rebellion. The *Ramarajiyamu* only tells us that Rama 'defeated the troops of the Nizam Shah' [2]. Whether this victory was obtained during his viceroyalty or previously to that time, we are not in a position to ascertain. The Kuniyur plates of Venkata III praising Rama's generosity state that his 'deeds put to shame the celestial trees' [3].

One of his agents was named Dantikanti Lingappana, who in the year 1577 repaired the *bund* across the stream

1. Richards, *Salem Gazetteer*, p. 67.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 213.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 253, v. 21.

Bhogavati, on the West side of the Mallikarjuna temple on the top of a hill near Srisailam, Karnul [1]. We know from this inscription that Rama was still living in the year 1577; but his death must have occurred shortly after, because the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* states that 'Rama Raya died after a short time' and soon after Tirumala's death [2].

Rama had married Narasingama and had by her two sons, Tirumala and Sri Ranga, who must have been quite young at the time of their father's death; for when the throne was vacant some years later after the demise of their uncle Ranga I, they were still considered too young to rule the Empire, as we shall see later on. On this occasion both brothers jointly succeeded their father in the viceroyalty; but probably on account of their tender age, its administration was left in the hands of their Dalavay, Remati Venkatayya [3].

2. No reliable information is extant concerning the Nayaks of Ikeri during this period. Sewell says that the reign of the second son of Sadasiva Nayaka, Chikka Sankana Nayaka, lasted till 1603, in which year he retired from government [4]; and it seems that the *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali* of the Mackenzie collection agrees with this statement [5]. He is mentioned in an inscription of Ranga, of 1570 [6]. According to the *Sivatattvaratnakara*, he once defeated and routed the Bijapur general, Majjhula Khan, who had attacked him with a number of horses and elephants. He likewise vanquished Bhaira Devi, Queen of Gerasappi (Gersoppa) and other chiefs in its neighbourhood, getting much wealth from them [7]. No more information is hitherto available about the Keladi Nayaks before the accession of Venkatapati, of whom we shall

1. 43 of 1915.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aivangar, o.c., p. 202.
3. *Ramarajiyamu*, Ibid., p. 213; Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.* III, p. 253, v. 21; Vilapaka grant of Venkata III, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 126. Cf. Ap. C, No. 5.
4. *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, Ibid., p. 202.
5. Sewell, II, p. 177.
6. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 333.
7. 170 of 1901.

speak when dealing with the reign of his namesake the Emperor.

3. As to the neighbouring state of Mysore, nothing worthy of mention occurred until 1571. In this year Heri Chamraj succeeded to the government of the state. He was probably one of those princes of Kanara who did not pay homage to the new dynasty on account of the murder of Sadasiva. It is stated that he evaded payment of his tribute to the Viceroy of Seringapatam, and obtained permission to erect works, ostensibly for the purpose of keeping away wild hogs from destroying crops; but no sooner were the works erected, than they were converted into barriers against the collectors of the royal tribute, who were ignominiously expelled from Mysore. These measures rendered him obnoxious to Rama at Seringapatam, and led to an attempt to seize his person while performing his devotion in the temple of Ranga, at the very court of the Viceroy; but as the Raja was previously warned, the attempt failed. Emboldened by his successful resistance, he continued with impunity to withhold all payment of tribute.

Heri Chamraj Wodeyar died childless in 1576, after a reign of five years, and was succeeded by a cousin of the elder branch of the family, named Bettad Wodeyar, son of Dodda Chama Raja Wodeyar[1]. The new Mysore Raja had no capacity for government. He was brave, but wild, thoughtless and imprudent. Accordingly in the short space of two years he had thrown the finance into such disorder, that the elders of the family thought it necessary to depose him and to install his younger brother Raja Wodeyar [2]; but the latter declined the appointment on the ground that the financial state of the country was in too hopless a state for him to try to mend it. The treasury was empty; the total arrears of tribute due to the viceroy of Seringapatam amounted to 5,000 pagodas. But his way was smoothed by a contribution from the members of the royal family, and thus he started his rule in 1578 [3].

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1. *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr, 157, and TN, 116.

2. He is supposed by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 280 and p. 286, to be his cousin.

3. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 279.

Raja Wodeyar, who may be taken to be the real founder of the dynasty of Mysore, began gradually to subdue all the lesser chiefs in his neighbourhood. Once the chief of Carugalli, a relation of the family, attempted to seize Mysore by surprise, and accordingly appeared suddenly before it; but he was thoroughly defeated by the action of Bettad Wodeyar, and his estate subsequently annexed to Mysore. Shortly after, in passing to the court of Seringapatam accompanied by his usual retinue and band, he met the petty chief of Kambala going to court, also attended by music. The Mysore chief inquired whose retinue it was, and on ascertaining it, ordered his own music to stop. On his arrival at Seringapatam he was asked why he had not come to the court with his usual state. And it is said that he answered:—

"Music is no distinction, if my inferiors are also allowed to use it".

On hearing this insinuation, the Raja of Kambala, incensed with fury, made some outrageous remarks.

"Let us meet", replied Raja Wodeyar, "and determine the superiority, and with it the right to the music."

In vain did the viceroy try to appease them. The next day Raja Wodeyar marched against Kambala, defeated its chief and captured the place.

These annexations formed from the first a part of the policy of the dynasty of Mysore, and continued to the time of Chikka-deva Raya. We shall see the same Raja Wodeyar, during the reign of Venkata II, taking possession of the very capital of the viceroyalty, Seringapatam. The aim of Raja Wodeyar was obvious: to became the supreme lord of the Kanara country [1].

4. The Portuguese chronicles supply us with abundant information about several petty chiefs of the Kanara coast, some of whose sea-ports were gradually taken by the successors of Albuquerque. Several of these petty rulers had, as we have seen during the reign of Sadasiva, been compelled to consent, against their will, to pay an annual tribute to the viceroy of Goa. One of these was the Queen of Guarcopa (Gersoppa), named Bhaira Devi [2], who a little after, by the instigation of

1. Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p. 35-8.
2. *Sivatattvaratnakara*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 339.

some of the rulers of Malabar, refused to pay the promised tribute [1]. In order to chastise such contumacious conduct the Viceroy, Dom Luiz de Ataide, sailed thither in November, 1569, with a fleet of more than 130 ships and about three thousand Portuguese and Indians. Having entered the river Onor, which flowed through the possessions of the sovereign of Gersoppa, he succeeded in landing 2,300 men; but not without opposition on the part of the enemy. The city of Onor (Honavar) was by nature very strong; for it was built on the top of a rocky hill near the sea-shore, and was well fortified. The Queen was there herself with five hundred soldiers and several pieces of ordnance and ammunition. The Portuguese, notwithstanding, commenced to ascend the hill in the face of a shower of bullets; and as soon as they reached the summit, the enemy along with their Queen deserted the city and retired inland. Onor, which contained much wealth and many fine buildings, was first plundered and afterwards reduced to ashes. The fort was then attacked, and after four days' bombardment, the garrison surrendered upon condition of being allowed to march out without arms. The Portuguese then occupied the fort, and Mass was said there on St. Catherine's day, November 25th. Jorge de Moura with 400 men was left in command [2].

At the end of the same year, the Queen of Gersoppa manifested her desire to come to terms with the Viceroy [3]; but in the meanwhile she was secretly making preparations to carry on war against the invader of her possessions. On receiving this information, Captain Luiz de Mello burnt many of her towns and laid waste the country around [4]. Nevertheless the Viceroy was not without anxiety about Honavar, as the enemy had endeavoured to annihilate the Portuguese, and to effect by treachery what they had failed to do by force. The Queen or her generals bribed some Kanarese, who were there in the service of the Portuguese, to poison them with the fruit of the Stramonium, which "has the effect", says Faria y Sousa, "when eaten, of making men forget all things, and of rendering

1. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 472.
2. Ibid., p. 474–5.
3. Ibid., p. 480.
4. Ibid., p. 481.

them insensible even to their wounds". The treachery was discovered, and the conspirators hanged over the walls as a warning to those who had bribed them. That was the cause of open hostility ; but at about the same time a galley and three other small vessels with some picked troops entered the port of Honavar to relieve the fortress [1].

It happened after a while, in the beginning of March, 1570, that Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur prevailed upon the Queen of Gersoppa to declare war against Honavar. He was then attacking Goa in alliance with the Zamorin of Calicut, and thus wanted to weaken the Viceroy's forces by division [2]. She collected an army of 3,000 men which, in conjunction with 2,000 soldiers of the Bijapur Sultan, invested Honavar. News of this further attack reached the Viceroy in July, 1570. He immediately despatched Antonio Fernandes de Chale with command of two galleys and eight other vessels, and such troops as the vessels could accommodate. In five days Antonio Fernandes reached Honavar, and having joined the commander of the place, Jorge de Moura, fell upon the besiegers, driving them back with great loss. The latter fled in panic, and nearly all their cannon fell into the hands of the Portuguese [3]. As subsequent to thi action no other mention of this Queen is made in the Portuguese chronicles, we must take it to imply her subjection to them [4].

1. Ibid., p. 481-2.
2. Ibid., p. 500.
3. Ibid., p. 511-2
4. In the narrative of Archbishop Menezes' travels there is an account of an idol-procession annually celebrated in this city of Gersoppa. "Faz se hua grande procissam, & acode a ella muita gente de todas as partes do Canara : na qual uay hum Pagode (idol) metido em certas charolas ricamente lauradas, o qual se poem em hu carro muyto concertado, em q. uao seruindo algus Bramenes, & offerecendolhe offertas. Diante do carro uao muitas bailadeiras cantando, as quaes todas sao molheres publicas, q ganhao em suas deshonestidades pera o Pagode (idol), and das rendas delle se sostentao, viuendo em casas ao redor delle, como en casa publica, & destas andao sempre acompanhados os Pagodes (idols) grandes da India q tem rendas, & sao como seruidoras suas...O carro te huas pontas agudas que cortao como naualhas, e em quanto a procissam uay andando acodem muitos que ve offerecer suas vidas ao Pagode (idol), & depois de se asentarem de joelhos, & fazerem sua reuerencia muy profunda se lancao no chao de fronte do carro, & assim uay passando por cima delles, & os vay espedacando, aos quaes elles te por sanctos, como nos aos martyres". Gouvea, *Iornada do Arcebispo de Goa*, p. 126, back.

5. For a similar refusal to pay the tribute, Dom Luiz de Ataide, after attacking Honavar at the end of 1569, despatched a fleet of thirteen sail under the command of Pero da Silva e Menezes to wage war against the chief of Tolar. The Viceroy was anxious, it seems, to seize the fort of Barcelor (Basrur), which belonged to that King. Accordingly the first place to be attacked was this fortress. Basrur rivalled Honavar in natural strength and position; but the Viceroy had made arrangements with the commander whereby he was to betray it to him. Accordingly the commander of Basrur delivered up the fort to Pero da Silva at night; and the Portuguese rushing into the town slaughtered and captured more than 200 of its inhabitants. But the ruler of Tolar, informed of this treacherous surrender, advanced the same night, accompained by the neighbouring King of Cambolim (Gangolly). They were easily repulsed, since their joint force consisted only of 1,500 men ; but they reappeared on the following night reinforced by 5,000 more soldiers. After a hot engagement, in which both parties suffered heavy losses, the Portuguese came to the conclusion that the fortress was untenable; so they quitted it with the honours of war, taking with them twenty cannon and a great quantity of ammunition and arms [1].

But the Viceroy wanted the fortress at all costs, and after some months proceeded himself to take possession of it. The landing was very difficult, indeed, as the Portuguese were opposed by a force of 11,000 men ; but after some hard fighting the Portuguese captured some of the outworks. This so dismayed the defenders that those in the fort abandoned it into the hands of the invaders. The two rulers of Tolar and Gangolly mentioned above, joined forces again and made another attack by a very dark night. But the commander of the fort, Pero Lopes Rebello, with 400 men, was ready to receive them. Within a short time the Hindu army lost 300 men ; and the two rulers, despairing of success, concluded a treaty of peace by which they bound themselves to pay a greater tribute than before. The Viceroy held, before leaving, an interview with those rulers as well as with the Queen of Gangolly ; after which

1. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 469-70.

they parted on terms of great friendship. Then the Portuguese constructed a new fortress in a more convenient place between the city and the mouth of the river, which was finished within two months. Antonio Botelho was appointed its commander [1].

The building of this fortress roused the inhabitants of the neighbourhood against the Portuguese. In 1571 an army of six thousand Hindus appeared suddenly before its walls. Ruy Goncalves da Camara, the commander, having sent to the Viceroy for assistance, made preparations for a regular defence. Five ships came immediately to his relief; and then twelve others followed under the command of Dom Jorge de Menezes, who on arriving at Basrur found all was safe, thanks to the timely arrival of the first five ships [2].

Nothing worth relating about Basrur is found in the years that followed. But we shall return to Basrur and Gangolly in the next volume.

6. In the neighbourhood of Honavar stood the fortress of Sanguicer, which had belonged to the Queen of Gersoppa. But one of her captains had seized the fortress for himself and styled himself the Nayak of Sanguicer. He fortified the place and defied the power of the Portuguese, protecting the pirates who infested the coast, and doing great damage to the Portuguese trade. To put an end to his insolence, Dom Giles Yanez Mascarenhas was sent there in the year 1584, with orders to destroy the fort. Dom Giles carried with him a fleet of fourteen sail and 300 men from Goa; but his own vessel ran aground between the reeks and would not float again. He was immediately attacked by the enemy from the shore. The rest of his force could not send him assistance. He was unable to retreat and was massacred there with all his men. The expedition thereupon retreated [3].

But Dom Duarte de Menezes, who had been recently appointed Viceroy, at once decided to avenge the death of Dom Giles; and having in the meantime received an ambassador from Adil Khan, entered into negotiations with him for that purpose. He also wanted to put down the piracy that existed along

1. Ibid., p. 476-7; Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, II, p. 293.
2. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 564-5.
3. Ibid., III, p. 8.

the coast of Kanara. It was agreed that Rosti Khan, the Governor of Ponda, should assist with 40,000 men by land, whilst Dom Jeronimo de Mascarenhas should attack the Nayak by sea. The attack was so well combined and carried out that the Nayak's forces were entirely routed. The Nayak fled to the woods for safety. Thence he sent an envoy to implore mercy, and promised to submit to any conditions provided he were restored to his power and his territories spared. Arrangements to this effect were accordingly concluded, and the invading armies then retired [1].

7. Things were not yet settled at Mangalore. The Portuguese fortress stood between the possessions of the Queen of Ullal on the South and those of the ruler of Bangher on the North. Between these two there existed an ancient discord which was very prejudicial to Portuguese trade. Dom Luiz de Ataide went himself to Mangalore in 1569 to settle these disputes ; his reception was better than he had anticipated. After an interview with these two rulers their differences appeared completely settled [2]. Very likely it was then that in order to establish peace more firmly between the two states, the Queen of Ullal married the King of Bangher, 'more for honour's sake than anything else,' says the traveller Pietro della Valle, who personally knew the Queen Bukka Devi Chautar [3]. Of this capricious union, which was the cause of many a romantic adventure, we shall speak later on.

8. In Bellur, Krishnappa Nayaka was still the head of the Balam family in the beginning of Ranga's reign. In an inscription of 1578 he acknowledges king Ranga as ruling sovereign [4]. But not long afterwards he was succeeded by his son. A Bellur Kanarese inscription of Sri Ranga I, of July of the same year, records a grant by Krishnappa Nayaka's son, Venkatadri Nayaka [5]. This Venkatadri or Venkatappa, in an inscription of 1576, is called the champion of adulterers, [6].

1. Ibid., III, p. 22-3.
2. Ibid., II, p. 479.
3. Della Valle, II, p. 313.
4. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 220.
5. Kielhorn, *Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 90, 536.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Yd, 59.

9. The inscriptions mention several others of the minor chiefs of the Kanarese country. In the village of Hattiyangudi, South Kanara, four grants by an Udaiyar chief, between 1570 and 1576 are recorded [1]. In 1573 the chief of the Budihal country, Sripati Raja Vallabha Rajayya Deva Maharasu, who acknowledged Ranga I, remitted taxes payable to the five classes of artificers [2]. Finally a grant of a Nandyal chief in the reign of Sri Ranga Raya of Penukonda is recorded in the year 1584 [3].

1. Rangacharya, II, p. 851, 42-45.
2. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 8.
3. Sewell, I, p. 102.

CHAPTER XV

VENKATAPATIDEVA RAYA II

SUMMARY.—1. Election and coronation of Venkata II.—2. Transfer of the seat of Government to Penukonda.—3. A note on Venkata's Guru Tatacharya.—4. Officers of Government. Administration of the Empire.—5. Renewal of rebellion among the feudatory chiefs. —6. Re-transfer of the capital to Chandragiri. Previous history of this place.—7. Venkata II at Chandragiri.—8. The nobles of Venkata's court.—9. Account of Tirupati.—10. .Devotion of Venkata to this temple.—11. Rebellion of Lingama Nayaka of Vellore. Venkata takes possession of this city.—12. Triumphal return to Chandragiri.—13. Transfer of the capital from Chandragiri to Vellore.—14. Feudatory chiefs.—15. Donations to the temples.—16. Irrigation works.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Jesuit letters.—3. Du Jarric, Guerreiro—4. Anquetil du Perron.—5. Ferishta.—6. *Ramarajiyamu, Prapannamrtam, Raghunathabyudayam, Bahulasvacharitram, Charuchandrodayam, Valugativaru Vamsavali, Venkatesvara Mahatmya, Venkata Giri Mahatmyam, Venkatesvara Prabandha Saila Mahima, Chandrabhanu Charitram.*

"AFTER Sri Ranga Raya had reached the region of Vishnu, his brother Venkatapatideva Raya, born of the same mother, ascended the throne and ruled the earth with justice". Thus the Vellangudi plates[1] announce the inaugurarion of the reign of Tirumala's fourth son, Srimat

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI., p. 319, vv. 31-35. Cf. *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources,* p. 302. Neverthless there is ground for doubting that this succession was immediate. An inscription of the Mallikarjuna temple at Srisailam, Karnul, records a fact 'in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Virapratapa Ramarajayyadeva Maharaya, son of Vira Tirumalayyadeva Maharaya'. 43 of 1915. This was no doubt the third son of Tirumala, who had been Viceroy of Scringapatam. Moreover a Kumbakonam grant of Venkata II, 1590, mentions one of his brothers, Tirumala Deva Raya or Srideva Raya (a wrong name) and states that 'he reigned for a short time'. Sewell, II, p. 3. Was this brother the same Rama? Then the Jesuit letter, which we shall quote latter on, says the following:—"After the demise of this Prince's father, viz. Rama, the kingdom was given, by the unanimous vote of all the classes, to the brother of the deceased, that is to the one who is ruling at

Rajadhiraja Paramesvara Sri Vira Pratapa Sri Vira Venkatapatideva Maharaja. This, his full imperial title, is given in an inscription at Atmakur, Nellore [1].

It would appear that Venkata's nephews, the Princes Tirumala and Ranga, who were governing Seringapatam, had a better established right to succeed their uncle Ranga I, being the sons of the third brother, the late Viceroy Rama; but a Jesuit letter of the year 1602, speaking of the Viceroy Tirumala of Seringapatam, says:—"After the demise of this Prince's father, the kingdom was given by the unanimous vote of all the classes to the brother of the deceased, that is, the one who is ruling at present, rejecting the rights of the deceased's children, who on account of their age, were not able to rule over a kingdom" [2]. According to this testimony the election of Venkata was made by the consensus of the Brahmans, nobles and warriors of the Empire, as implied by the expression 'the unanimous vote of all the classes'.

Venkata was then "anointed, according to the prescribed rules, by the spiritual preceptor of his gotra, the famous Tatacharya, who was the ornament of the wise, just as Rama was anointed by Vasishtha" [3]. On this occasion, the new king "poured forth gold from his hand like rain from a cloud" [4].

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present", etc. According to this testimony the election of Venkata followed, not the death of Ranga I, but that of Rama. Finally, according to the information supplied to Mr. Sewell by the then Raja of Anegundi, the brother whose rule was placed between Ranga and Venkata, (called also by him Tirumaladeva or Srideva), 'reigned for a short time'. Cf. Sewell, II, p. 252, note 4. We hope new discoveries will throw light on this point.

1. Butterworth, I, p. 264.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of Goa, written by Fr. N. Pimenta, Goa December 21, 1602. See Ap. C, No. V.

3. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 27-39.

4. Venkta's II grant, 1537, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83; Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39. The following grants also describe Venkata's coronation: Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 31, v. 24; Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 31-35; Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, Ibid, p. 297. v. 29; Kondyata grant of Venkata III, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 127.

"When thus", continue the Dalavay Agraharam plates, "Venkatapatideva Raya assumed the sovereignty, Adisesha and other supporters of the earth were relieved of their burden; and consequently, they having assumed the shape of Vrishasaila (viz. the Tirumala hills at Tirupati), are ever praying Venkatachalapati to grant a long reign to him" [1]. This transparent flattery of one of his grants shows that Venkata II was to be a worthy successor of Krishna Deva Raya and Rama Raya. He is called in another inscription, "the fruition of the religious merit of previous births of Sri Vengalamba" [2]. Fr. N. Pimenta, in one of his letters, mentions the pompous and incredible titles which were conferred upon him by his subjects: "The Husband of Subvast (that is) of good Fortune, God of great Provinces, King of the greatest Kings, and God of Kings, Lord of all Horse-forces, Master of those which know not how to Speake, Emperour of three Emperours, Conqueroûr of all which he seeth, and Keeper of all which he hath overcome; Dreadfull to the eight Coasts of the World, the Vanquisher of Mahumetan Armies, Ruler of all Provinces which he hath taken, Taker of the Spoiles and Riches of Ceilan; which farre exceedeth the most valiant men, which cut off the head of the Invincible Viravalalan; Lord of the East, South, North, West, and of the sea; Hunter of Elephants; which liveth and glorieth in virtue Militarie. Which titles of Honour," adds Fr. Pimenta, "enjoyeth the most Warlike Vencatapadin Ragiv Devamagan Ragel, which now reigneth and governeth this World" [3].

Two of this grants lay special stress on his extreme beauty. "His cheeks", they say, "resembled the moon; he rivalled or eclipsed the god of love in beauty" [4]. Fr. Du Jarric seems to agree when he writes: "The King is quite handsome, although a little dark; his eyes are big; he is of a medium size, but his limbs are in good proportion; he dresses quite nicely, and shows

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1. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 27-39.
2. Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 31, v. 23.
3. Purchas, X, p. 209-10. Cf. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, I, p. 653.
4. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 187, vv. 27-39; Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 33. v. 36.

XI. Venkatapati Deva Raya II. Upper Tirupati.

(By kind permission of the Director General of Archæology.)

always a special regard for royal majesty mingled with a charming plainness of manner" [1]. Venkata's statue at Tirupati confirms both descriptions: his big round eyes are specially remarkable.

2. Venkata was at Chandragiri when his election took place. So naturally the ceremony of his coronation was performed there. This point is quite evident from the study of contemperory sources. Du Jarric says:—"A few years ago he was crowned, according to his predecessors' custom, at Chandegri (Chandragiri)" [2]. Anquetil du Perron states likewise that "he was crowned according to custom at Sehandegri, where he used to have his court (when Viceroy of the Tamil country)" [3].

But not long after he removed his court to Penukonda, the capital of his two predecessors, whence he might rule over the Empire. "When the throne of Bijanagar", says the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda; "devolved on Venkatapati, it appears that that prince...removed his seat of Government to the fort of Penukonda" [4]. Accordingly his grant of the year 1587 states that he 'established his throne in Suragiri (Penukonda)' [5]. This fact must have occurred in 1585, for in two inscriptions of this year Venkata already appears as 'ruling in Penukonda' [6]; and in 1589 he is shown 'seated on the throne of the Empire in Suragiri (Penukonda)' [7]. How long this period of rule from Penukonda lasted is not yet ascertained, because the cause of Venkata's retreat to Chandragiri is misplaced by Ferishta; hence its date cannot be realized. Sewell points to the year 1592 as the date of Venkata's return to the Tamil country [8]. As a matter of fact, Venkata appears as 'ruling on the jewelled throne at Penukonda' in several inscriptions of the years

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 662.
2. Du Jarric, I, p. 655.
3. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166.
4. Ferishta, III, p. 454.
5. *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83.
6. 71 of 1915.
7. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39.
8. Sewell, I, p. 150.

1593 [1], 1599 [2], 1603 [3], 1605 [4], 1608 [5], 1609 [6] 1610 [7], and 1612 [8]. We know for certain that during several of these years, Venkata was actually ruling from Chandragiri; this would mean that either his subjects were not aware of the change of the capital, or the old capital of Tirumala and Ranga was mentioned out of respect, as Vijayanagara itself is sometimes occasionally mentioned.

3. While speaking of the coronation of Venkata, we have seen that the *pattabhisheka* ceremony had been performed by his family guru, Tatacharya or Tatayarya. We shall now give some particulars of this man who exercised so much influence on the rule of Venkata, and of whom we shall have occasion to speak frequently in the course of this volume. He was, according to the *Prapannamrtam*, a descendant of the maternal uncle of the great reformer Ramanuja; and two of his ancestors had been the cause of the conversion of the Emperor Virupaksha to Vaishnavism [9]. He was the son of Pancha-mata-bhajanam Tatacharya, according to the same poem [10]; but a copper-plate grant of 1590 in the Government Museum, Madras, states that he was 'grand-son of Etur-Tatayia, and son of Srinaivasa' [11]. He is styled 'the ornament of the wise' [12]. He is mentioned in an inscription of Ranga I, along with the temple officer of Tiruppukkuli [13]. Again, the *Prapannamrtam* informs us that Venkata 'became a disciple

1. 377 of 1904.
2. Sewell, I, p. 134.
3. 236 of 1903; Sewell, I, p. 101.
4. 235 of 1903.
5. Rangacharya, I, p. 622, 535.
6. 67 of 1915.
7. 184 of 1913.
8. *Ep. Carn.*, II, TN, 62; XII, Si, 84; Butterworth, III, p. 1284-6.
9. Cf. Ch. XXVI, No. 6.
10. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 162 and p. 347.
11. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p 54.
12. Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, l. c.; Butterworth, I, p. 31, v. 24.
13. 209, Ap. C. of 1916.

of the Srivaishnava teacher Lakshmikumara Tatacharya' [1], this being his full name. Moreover, in the same poem we read that the King "entrusted the whole kingdom to his preceptor; and he himself led a life of retirement doing service to him, like Kulasekhara of old" [2]. The second part of this statement is absolutely false. Venkata II was certainly not an idle sovereign; he actually ruled (as we shall see further on) except during the last years of his life, when disabled by age and sickness he made over the cares of Government to one of his wives and her brother. Nay, we have further grounds for doubting even the veracity of the first part of the same statement. The whole passage sounds merely like a poetical exaggeration of a real fact. According to the above-mentioned copper-plate grant in the Madras Museum, Venkata, on December 27th, 1590, made the gift of a village (which he named Venkatapura) to the Srivaishnava teacher Tataya; the village was situated in the Konadu district which formed a subdivision of Uttukkadu Kottam [3]. Moreover, an inscription of the year 1600-1 at Tirunirmalai, Chingleput, shows that he was supervising several Vaishnava temples [4]; he was also the manager of the temple at Tiruppukkuli [5], and the supervisor of the Vaishnava temples at Kanchivaram [6]; we know of an agent of his named Punyakoti-Aiyan [7]. According to tradition, Tatacharya was so famous for his virtues and talents that he was believed to have been born from the spirit of Vishnu [8].

But Fr. B. Coutinho, one of the Jesuits at Venkata's court, who personally knew *Se Tatachare*, as he calls the famous guru, testifies in one of his letters that 'he is unworthy of his post because of his vices'. It seems that he was specially

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 251.
2. Ibid.
3. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants*, l. c.
4. 565 of 1912. He is again mentioned in the inscription 564 of 1912.
5. 208, Ap. C of 1916.
6. *M.E.R.*, *1913*, para 62.
7. 174, Ap. C. of 1916.
8. Cf. Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks*, *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 327.

lacking in continence, as "he had many wives at home", says Fr. Coutinho, "and is one of those who swallow camels and shy at mosquitoes" [1]. According to Fr. Coutinho, Tatacharya was a hypocrite of the Tartuffe type, who duped the people with scrupulous practice of infinite petty unsubstantial ceremonies, and forgot the essentials of the natural law. I cannot reject the testimony of such an eye-witness, who mentions the fact of the guru's many wives and who was not likely to derive any advantage from calumniating the King's preceptor in one of his letters to his Superiors in Europe.

4. Along with Tatacharya, the names of several ministers of Venkata have reached us, mainly through the contemporary poems. A Sidhout inscription of 1605 states that the chief Matla Ananta 'was like the right-hand of the Emperor of Karnata (Vijayanagara)' [2]: he was no doubt one of Venkata's chief officers, as is shown by this appellation and his achievements, which will be narrated further on. Tarigoppula Mallana, in his *Chandrabhanu Charitram*, says that his elder brother Tarigoppula Datta Mantri "was a minister of the Emperor Venkatapati Raya, son of Tirumala Raya..... All the members of the Emperor's court used to extol him for his patronage and helpfulness to them on various occasions" [3]. Another one, Tammaya Mantri, who, according to the *Charu chandrodayam*, had been the right hand of Sri Ranga, 'was also the minister of the Emperor Venkatapati Raya' [4]. From

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607. See Ap. C, No. XVIII. This passage was published in *Relacam Annal*, of the years 1606 and 1607 (Lisbon, 1609), but without mentioning the name of Tatacharya; he is only described as the "high priest at whose feet the same king prostrates himself, and whose yearly revenue surpasses two hundred cruzades" (p. 106). Before being acquainted with the original of Coutinho's letter, I published a translation of the account of *Relacam Annal* in the *Q. J. M. S.*, XIV, p. 134-7, under the title *The Jesuit Influence in the Court of Vijayanagara*; and in a note I already pointed out that the high priest referred to ought to be Tatacharya.

2. S. Krishnaswmi Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 248.

3. Ibid., p. 247.

4. Ibid., p. 241.

literature we gather likewise that Pemmasani Pedda-Timmaraja, who had also been a minister of Ranga I, continued to hold the same office under Venkata II [1]. The chief military officer of this Emperor was Gubburi Obarajaya [2], who may perhaps be identified with Obaraja, the brother-in-law of Venkata, as mentioned in Barrada's account [3], or his father-in-law, as stated both in the *Ramarajiyamu* [4] and in the Jesuit records [5].

Now the Empire, although deprived of some of the northern provinces which had fallen into the hands of the Muhammadans, was yet possessed of vast territory. Fr. Du Jarric describes the Empire of Venkata as follows: "The kingdom of Bisnagar," says he, "contains the greatest part of India that lies to the south of river Ganges (sic). For besides the western kingdoms of Malabar, that depend upon it, as formerly the kingdom of Goa, there are several others towards the North, as Onor (Honavar) Battikala, (Bhatkal) and so on, that acknowledge the imperial authority. It has on the East two hundred leagues of coast along the gulf of Bengal, *viz.* from cape Comorin to the kingdom of Orixa (Orissa); and this length comprises the Coast of Coromandel and Meliapor or San Thome [6].

The viceroy of Seringapatam and the Nayaks and feudatory chiefs were a great help to the Emperor in the administration of such an extensive Empire. But the country which was immediately subject to him was, it seems, divided into different administrative units. A grant of 1596 of the temple authorities of Kanchivaram gives a clue to this supposition; it states that this city is situated in the Chandragiri portion of the Tondaimandalam province of the country of Soramandalam [7]. According to this inscription, the smallest administrative unit was the so-called *portion* or district, which, if we must judge from the distance between Chandragiri and Kanchivaram, was

1. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c., p. 185.
2. Ibid., p. 188-9.
3. Sewell, p. 223.
4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 243.
5. Du Jarric, I, p. 654. Cf. Ch. XXIV, No. 3.
6. Ibid., p. 652.
7. Sewell, I, p. 179.

not very small; the next higher and larger administrative unit was the *province*, and the highest, the so-called *country*. We venture to say that during the time of the Tamil Viceroyalty two *countries* probably composed it, the Chola and the Pandya *countries*.

Venkata was indeed a very powerful monarch [1]. According to Du Jarric, "the neighbouring kings call him Emperor and king of kings, as he is the most potent of all the kings" [2]. Accordingly at the end of his reign he was called by Raja Wodeyar of Mysore 'Master of the four Oceans' [3].

5. Nevertheless from the beginning of his reign, the new Emperor had to face great difficulties within his own dominions. There were among the petty chiefs fresh outbreaks of rebellion against Venkata, who was supposed to be the murderor of the late Emperor Sadasiva. "Before 1595," says Anquetil du Perron, 'the Naiques of Tanjore, Madurei and Gingi (Jinji) gave up all allegiance, as they did not want to acknowledge as their sovereign one who had dethroned the legitimate King of Bisnagar" [4]. We shall speak later of the rebellion of these three powerful Nayaks; but we feel sure that, encouraged by their example, and even perhaps before them, many petty chiefs rebelled against Venkata. This is more than a mere supposition, because in the contemporary sources we find abundant evidence of the internal troubles during those years. Venkata is called in the Mangalampad grant 'the crusher of the pride of Avahaluraya' [5], and 'the hero who punished kings who break their word' [6]. The Dalavay Agraharam plates, after speaking of his campaigns against the Muhammadans, style him "the only excellent conqueror of the Chaurasidurga, (who) terrified the hearts of the hostile kings in the eight quarters,...(who) was a destroyer of his enemies,...(who) was broad-armed like Adisesha, (who) was a bear to the earth, *viz.* the provincial chiefs,...a

1. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 169.
2. Du Jarric, I, p. 653.
3. *Ep. Carn.*, III, TN, 116.
4. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166.
5. Butterworth, I, p. 32, 27.
6. Ibid., p. 33, v. 36.

Ramabadra in battle" [1]. These general remarks are a clear reference to the action of Venkata against the provincial chiefs of his Empire who 'broke their word' of faithfulness and allegiance to the imperial power. But there are also other and more pronounced testimonies.

Venkata is said in the *Ramarajiyamu* to have 'defeated some enemies at Nandela' [2]. Those enemies must have been the army of the chief Krishnama of Nandyal, into whose mind the faithful Matla Ananta 'instilled fear', according to the expression of the Sidhout inscription [3]. This means that this Anantaraja, one of Venkata's ministers, defeated on behalf of the Emperor, or even in conjuction with him, the Nandyla chief who had revolted against his sovereign. Matla Ananta's campaigns are likewise a recapitulation of these provincial revolts: "he killed on the battlefield the chief Ravelia Velikonda Venkatadri," we read in the same inscription; "he was the conqueror in the batte of Jambulamandaka (Jammalamadugu) and reduced the fort of Cuttack. He defeated the chief Kondaraju Venkatadri and captured from him the town of Chennur" [4].

Along with the Emperor and Matla Ananta his right hand, the minister Tammaya Mantri, 'compelled recalcitrant chiefs to go to him (the Emperor) and accept his suzerainty', as it is stated in the *Charuchandrodayam* [5]. The Mahanayakacharya Harwati, son of Immadi Rangappa Nayaka, is also called a "subduer of chiefs who break their word' [6]. He must have aided his sovereign in subduing these rebellions. The same was done by Velugoti Yachama Nayadu and his relative Singama Nayadu, who in the year 1601 defeated Maharaja and Devalpupa Nayadu at Utramaltur, according to the *Valugutivaru Vamsavali* [7]. Velugoti's campaigns are also

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 27-39.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 243.
3. Ibid., p. 248.
4. Ibid., Cf. *M.E.R.*, *1915-16*, para 19; *1916*, para 75.
5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 241.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Si, 84.
7. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 274. Cf. Carr, *Papers Relating to the Seven Pagodas*, p. 115, note c.

narrated in the *Bahulasvacharitram*. After defeating the Chief Davalu Papa at Uttaramalluru, he marched as far as Tirumala (Tirupati), defeated the mountain chiefs there and captured Chengalpat (Chingleput). Outside the fort of Palembukota (Palemkota, South Arcot), he fought the chief Yatiraju and defeated him [1]. Finally Ragunatha, the heir-apparent of Tanjore, who had helped Venkata against the Muhammadans at Penukonda [2], also lent his aid to the Emperor for the supression of these rebellions. The *Ragunathabhyudayam* says that he waged war with the Murasas, a people in the North of North Arcot and the adjacent portions of the neighbouring districts. "Having defeated all these enemies", says the poem, "he brought all the territory and the fortresses of Karnata once more under the Emperor Venkatadeva Raya. After this victory the Emperor Venkatadeva Raya in public court acknowledged the great assistance of Raghunatha, and said that he was able to destroy his enemies only with the assistance of Raghunatha. He also honoured him with presents of horses and jewellery" [3].

It appears that the rebellion spread all over the Empire and lasted several years. But the stout-hearted sovereign at last put it down, and was acknowledged by all his feudatories. This is the reason why he is said in some of his grants to have 'conquered the throne of Karnata by the strength of his arm' [4], *viz.* though he was rightly crowned and anointed, his throne was hardly his as long as the revolts all over the Empire lasted. It was by the strength of his arm that he established it as firmly as he did. We read in Anquetil du Perron that Venkata "experinced how wrong was his elevation to the throne, but at last the Naiques were bound to submit to the tribute" [5].

6. In or about 1592, on the occasion of the attack of Penukonda by the Sultan of Bijapur, which will be narrated in the next chapter, Venkata went back to Chandragiri and

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 305.

2. Cf. Ch. XVI, Nos. 1 and 2.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 285-6.

4. Vilapaka grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270; Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, Ibid., XII, p. 187, vv. 27-39.

5. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166.

established there the capital of the Empire [1]. This action betrayed the weaker side of Venkata's character. He had hitherto strenuously fought against the hereditary enemies of the Empire; but now he felt perhaps the first signs of premature old age. Nevertheless we suppose that the main reason for this change was not the Muhammadan incursions, but a sort of home-sickness for the city where he had ruled many years as governor and viceroy of the Tamil country. Chandragiri was like a second birthplace to him; and thither he retired, when a premature old age began to weigh upon him, and rest became necessary.

Chandragiri had in ancient times been the stronghold of the Yadavas. One of its rulers, Toya-Yadava, entertained Ramanuja when fleeing from the Chola country [2]. According to a palm-leaf book, once in the possession of one of the village officers, the founder of the town was the Yadava King Immadi Narasimha, who lived about A. D. 1000 [3]. According to local tradition, the Chandragiri fort had been built or at least enlarged by the Vijayanagara Emperor Narasimha Saluva, who made it the store-house of his treasures [4]. As a matter of fact the Portuguese used often to call it Narsinga, after the name of this sovereign. Since Krishna Deva Raya is occasionally called 'Raja of Chandragiri', it is likely that he either conquered or improved this fort, or even that he lived in it at times [5]. In that case the great Mahal, still standing at the foot of rocky hill crowned by the fortress, may have been built by that great Emperor; while to his brother and successor, Achyuta Raya, is attributed the smaller Ladies' Mahal [6]. The same Achyuta makes mention, in the copper-

1. Cf. *M.E.R., 1916*, para 75; S. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c., p. 185.

2. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 85.

3. Sewell, I, p. 150.

4. Cf. Garstin, *South Arcot Manual*, p. 3; Caldwell, *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 48.

5. Sewell, I, p. 139.

6. Ibid., p. 150. For a description of these buildings see Chisholm, *The Old Palace of Chandragiri, Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 295-6.

plates of July 13th, 1532, of the 'kingdom of Chandragiri' [1]; and in another inscription of 1540 at Pushpagiri mention is likewise made of the general Timmarasayya, son of Somarasayya of Chandragiri [2].

7. This was the palace which was for so many years the residence of Venkata, when Viceroy of the Tamil country. It was now to be the royal palace of the Emperor of Vijayanagara. A modern memorial stone over its central entrance, inscribed by a hand who had no knowledge of the more extensive sovereignty of Venkatapati Raya, records that the building was the 'Palace of the Rajas of Chandragiri' [3].

The earliest reference to Venkata as 'ruling from Chandragiri' is dated 1602 [4]; but Fr. N. Pimenta, in the account of his tour through the South of India, made in 1597, says in speaking of Venkata that 'Hee now resideth in Chandragiri' [5]; and Fr. Du Jarric, in the course of his account of the arrival of the Jesuits in 1601, says that 'Chandegiri is the residence of the King' [6]; the same fact is recorded in two inscriptions of 1603 [7], one of 1625 [8] and another of 1608 [9].

Now there is an inscription of 1587, in which Venkata appears 'in the residence of Hampe-Hastinavathi (Vijayanagara), ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom' [10]; then another of 1602-3, which shows him 'seated on the diamond

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1. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 51-2.

2. 302 of 1903.

3. Orme, *Historical Fragments*, p. 227, says: "It still remains to know whether the king of Chandergherri, to whom the Jesuits went in 1599, was a descendant of Timiragio, or of the rightful king of Bisnagar, murdered by Timiragio's son; but we believe of Timiragio."

4. Brakenbury, *Cuddapah Gazetteer*, p. 37.

5. Fr. Pimenta's letter, Purchas, X, p. 210.

6. Du Jarric, I, p. 654.

7. Rangacharya, I, p. 576, 16.

8. Siddhout inscription, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 248.

9. Rangacharya, I, p. 653, 863.

10. *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Cm, 79.

XII. Map of India of Sanson d'Abbeville, 1652.

throne at Vijayanagara...ruling the kingdom of the earth' [1]; and even two more, of 1613 [2] and 1614 [3], in which he is simply said to be 'ruling at Vijayanagara'. It is obvious to us that Chandragiri received also at this time the appellation of Vijayanagara, as Penukonda was likewise formerly called [4]. In the map of India by Sr. Sanson d' Abbeville, published in the year 1652, Chandragiri is marked as 'Bisnagar or Chandragiri' [5]. Moreover a traveller from Holstein named Mandelslo, who visited the Coromandel coast in 1639, says that the king 'resides sometimes at Bisnagar, sometimes at Narasinga' [6]. This must be respectively understood of Vellore, which was then the capital of the Empire, and of Chandragiri, which was also called Narsinga, as already stated. This information is of great importance to us, because it seems to prove that the capital of the Empire was always called Vijayanagara, whether it was Hampi-Anegundi, or Penukonda, or Chandragiri, as at this time, or as some years after, Vellore.

8. At Chandragiri not a small coterie of nobles had naturally gathered round the Emperor. Fr.A.Laerzio, Provincial of the Jesuit Province of Malabar, who visited Venkata's court in 1603, writing to Fr. J. Alvarez at Rome in the following year, says : " Those nobles are very rich and powerful; some have a revenue of five hundred thousand *cruzados*, some of six hundred thousand, and some of four hundred thousand" [7]. Fr. Du Jarric gives interesting information about one of the social institutions of the nobility at Chandragiri, corresponding more or less to our modern gymnasium. " The house fitted for this ", he says, " has a yard in the centre, the pavement of which is covered with a layer of lime so smooth that it looks like a mirror; there is a walk around it, spread over with red sand, on which they rest as on a soft bed. One who would wrestle

1. Butterworth, I, p. 269-71.
2. 452 of 1916.
3. *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr. 157.
4. Cf. Ch. X, No. 13.
5. See plate XII.
6. Mandelslo, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 94.
7. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, January 18th, 1604, Ap. C, No. X.

strips himself. Then several strong and brawny youths called *geitas*, who are ready beforehand, rub the nobleman; then they box, jump, fence and take other kinds of exercise with him, in order to strengthen him; and this they do until perspiration flows freely. Then the *geitas* cover the whole of the nobleman's body with sand, and massage him, and move his arms and legs in every direction as if they would disjoint his bones. Finally the nobleman is brushed, annointed and washed with warm water; and when dry, dresses himself. Noblemen take this kind of exercise almost every day before dinner, in order to be fit and healthy; thus men as old as seventy years look only thirty" [1]. Such is the description of the exercises taken in the gymnasium of Chandragiri, into which Fr. Simon de Sa, Rector of the College of St. Thome, was once admitted as a spectator.

9. After this re-transfer of Venkata's capital to Chandrgiri, his extraordinary devotion to the god Venkatesa at Tirupati was naturally revived, perhaps with greater zeal and ardour. The excellence of the rock of Tirupati, which we have several times spoken of, is sung in the *Venkatesvara Prabandha Baila Mahima*. The temple is stated to be near the famous mythic mount Meru, where the gods hold their assembly [2]. According to the legend, Vishnu himself once became incarnated here [3]. If we are to believe the Vaishnava literature, Tirupati, dedicated at its foundation to Vishnu, became later on a temple of Siva till the time of Ramanujacharya the reformer, who once more converted it into a Vaishnava shrine. To effect this he is said to have agreed with the Saiva priests of the temple to leave in it at night a conch and a discus, which are the insignia of Vishnu, and a trident and a small drum which are those of Siva; the temple was then closed; and on its being re-opened, it was found that the image had assumed the two first symbols. Accordingly Vishnu's cult was restored [4]. The great temple was built by one of the Yadava Princes in or about A. D. 1048.

1. Du Jarric, I p. 684-5.
2. Wilson, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, p. 589.
3. *Venkata Giri Mahatmyam*, Ibid., p. 588.
4. *Venkatesvara Mahatmyam*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 254-5.

Vishnu is worshipped there under five forms. Sri Venkatachala Pati, Malayapa or Utsavabari, Srinivas, Kolavu Bari and Venkata Toravar [1].

"The city of Tripeti (Tirupati)", says one of the Jesuit letters, " is very large and beautiful; and on account of a temple much venerated and dedicated to their Pirmal (Perumal), is for these heathens what Rome is to us. Crowds of people from the whole of the East flock here with gifts and offerings to pay a visit to this temple" [2]. The pilgrims, says another letter of Fr. Simon de Sa, "purge their sinnes by washing their bodies and shaving their heads and beards. The Idoll is in a cold hill compassed with fertile valleys abounding with fruits, none dare touch. There are plenty of Apes, which are so tame that they will take meate out of ones hand. The people take them for a Nation of gods which held familiaritie with Perimal. They worship Perimal in many figures, of a Man, an Oxe, Horse, Lion Hog, Ducke, Cocke" [3].

10. The vicinity of Chandragiri to Tirupati, fostered the special devotion of the Emperor for that holy place. Several of his inscriptions and grants of those years are more or less connected with Tirupati and the god Venkatesvara. On August 18th, 1598, Venkata, while at Tirupati, made a grant of a village to several Brahmans and re-named it Tirumalambapuram [4]. In the same year he made the Padmaneri grant in the presence of the god Venkatesa whom he invokes in the beginning of the grant [5]; the same is seen in the Dalavay Agraharam Plates [6]. Then a Tamil inscription around the Varadaraja shrine in the first prakara of the Srinivasa temple at Tirupati, dated 1606, records a grant by Venkatapati Raya to provide for offerings of rice to the god. [7]. Again

1. Ibid.
2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1602, Ap. C, No. VIII.
3. From Fr. Simon de Sa, Mylapore, November 20th. 1598, Purchas, X, p. 219.
4. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 54.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 297, vv. 46-48, and p. 296, vv. 1-3.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 187, vv. 41-66, and p. 185, vv. 1-3.
7. *M.A.D., 1920*, p. 39.

in 1601-2 he made the Vilapaka grant in the presence of the god Venkatesa, at Tirupati [1].

The principal ceremony performed at Tirupati is at the time of the Durga Puja, about October. Fr. Coutinho, who happened to be there at this time, gives the following account of what he had seen: "At the Feast of Perimals marriage was such concourse of people, that that dayes offering amounted to two hundred thousand Ducats, the King, Queene and Courtiers being present. The Idoll was carried in a great triumphall Chariot drawne by ten thousand men, about midnight, a mile and a half. The Feast of Kowes was solemnized a moneth before, and all the wayes filled with them: for they hold Perimal to have beene the sonne of a Kow" [2]. Purchas does not give the full narrative of Coutinho, preserved in a letter of Fr. N. Pimenta: "The carr was drawn by ten thousand people," says he, "the King himself being one of the first. It was begun at the close of the day; but at midnight it started to rain and then the king retired; but the rest remained hard at their work till the carr was carried back to the place where it was taken from, two hundred and fifty feet in distance" [3].

11. In the year 1603, while Venkata was residing at Chandragiri, the rebellion of the Nayak of Vellore took place. We have frequently spoken of the chiefs of Vellore, who had always remained faithful feudatories to the Vijayanagara Emperors. Chinna Bomma Nayaka was still living in the beginning of Venkata's reign; for in a Sanskrit verse by an unknown author he is called 'Viceroy of Velur, during the reign of Venkatapati Raya' [4]. The same authority describes the ceremony of bathing in gold, which Chinna Bomma Nayaka performed in order to do honour to the scholarship of Appaya Dikshita. He is said to have with his own hands poured the gold coins out of the vessel [5]. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar thinks that this Nayak was not Chinna Bomma

1. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270.
2. Purchas, X, p. 222.
3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, 1602, written by Fr. N. Pimenta, Goa, December 21st 1602, Ap. C, No. V.
4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 251.
5. Ibid.

himself, but his son and successor Lingama. This Lingama was the one who in 1601-2 obtained from Venkata II the Vilapaka grant: "With a libation of water (poured) over gold, the glorious King Vira Venkatapati Maharaya joyfully granted (the village of Vilapaka), sanctioning the request of the glorious Prince Linga, who was the renowned son of Prince Bomma of Veluru; who was the victorious grandson of prince Virapa Nayaka; who was ever devoted to the shrine of Vira at Sri Nellaturu; who resembled the sun (in conferring prosperity) on the lotus group, the hearts of scholars; who terrified the mind of prince Ballalaraya; who was engaged in establishing Mahadevas (lingas of Siva) and Mahidevas (Brahmans); who was the foremost of those who assert the priority of Siva; whose pride were the works (relating to) Siva; who was full of splendour; who, as the moon from the ocean, (rose) from the renowned Anakula gotra" [1].

Not long after the concession of this grant, Lingama Nayaka rebelled against his Emperer [2]; we know not why. Was he one of those who refused to acknowledge Venkata on account of the murder of Sadasiva? From the Jesuit letter, which is the best source hitherto known for the history of this event, and from which we shall quote extracts as we go on, it seems clear that Lingama wished to form a small principality independant both of his immediate lord, the Nayak of Jinji, and of the Emperor himself. He was bold enough to defy both rulers, trusting no less to his immense wealth than to the strong fortifications which rendered Vellore all but impregnable.

Venkata, without any delay, despatched in the month of October, 1603, his Adelaraya (Dalavay) or commander-in-chief to storm the capital of the rebel chief. Who was then the Dalavay of his army? In the first part of this Jesuit letter there is no reference whatever to the proper name of this general;

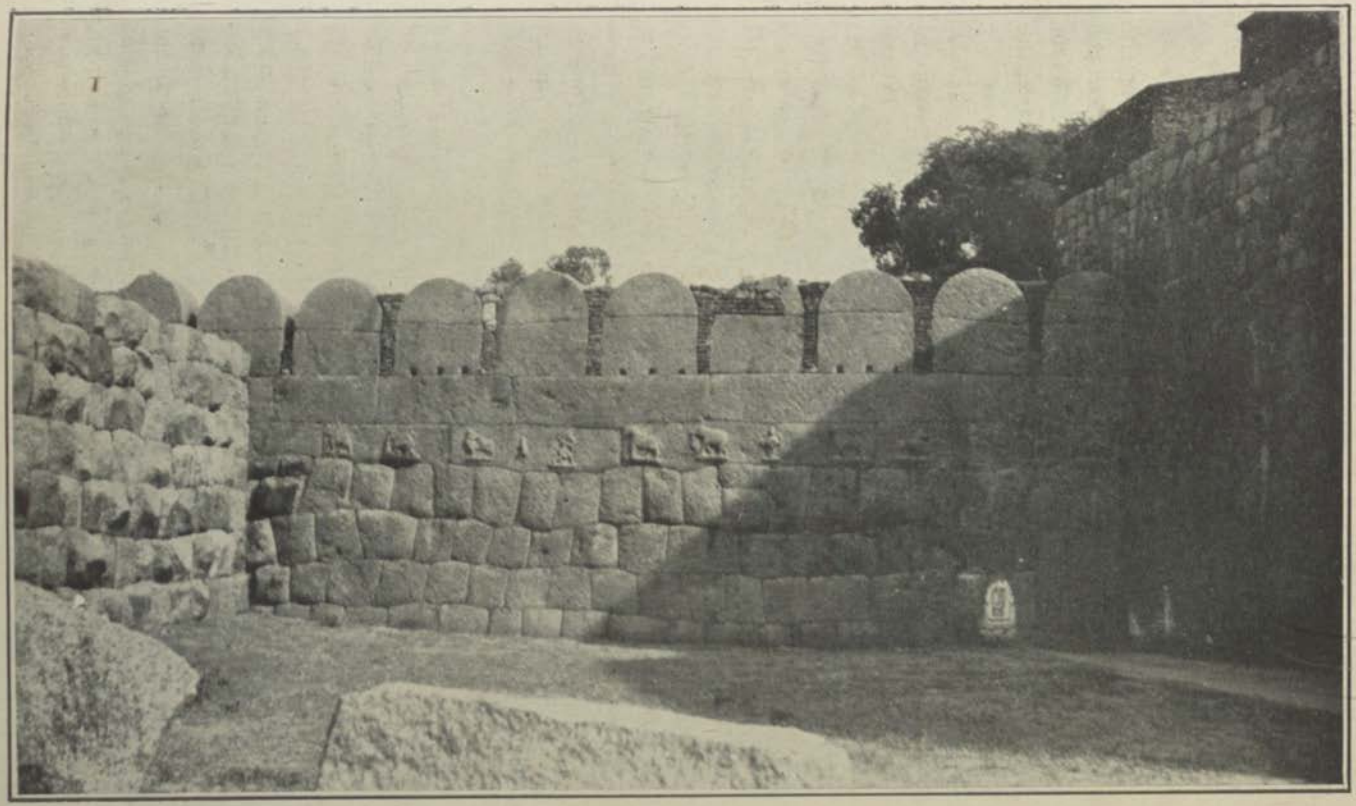
1. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 271. Lingama Nayaka had probably a brother called Nangama Nayaka, one of whose gifts is recorded in an inscription of 1602 in Malayappatu, North Arcot. 70 of 1887.

2. Anquetil du Perron, l.c., p. 170, assigns the year 1609 as the date of Linga's rebellion and destruction. Our sources written in 1606 says that the siege of the fort took place two months before January, 1604.

but we are informed by the *Bahulasvacharitramu* that Chenna, of the Kalahasti family, defeated Linga of Velur on the plains of Munnali (Minnal?) and captured the fortress of Vellore 'with its high fortifications and deep moat'[1]. We may conclude from this that Chenna Nayaka was the commander-in-chief of the army sent against Lingama Nayaka. Once he started on his march there, the Dalavay pretended to have lost his way on the first day, with the first object of marching so fast throughout the night as to reach Vellore unexpectedly before dawn. Unfortunately his plan fell through; for only his vanguard reached the neighbourhood of Vellore at the desired hour, early in the morning; but the bulk of his army lagged behind, and did not arrive till later, when the garrison of the town was ready to repel the attack. Accordingly showers of bullets were poured on Chenna and his soldiers just as he was preparing to storm the city, and he was finally forced to retreat. But with indomitable courage he invested the fortress, in spite of the rainy season which had already burst. The siege lasted two months. Then two officers of Chenna's army, who were on friendly terms with Lingama Nayaka, and even perhaps his relations (so suggests the Jesuit letter) were admitted into the fort to present their compliments to the chief. On returning to their camp, Linga, who seems to have been very kind and polite, accompanied his visitors a little way out of the gates of the fort. That was too golden an opportunity for the soldiers of Vijayanagara. Lingama was made prisoner and brought to Chenna's camp.

The siege nevertheless dragged on. Neither the sons of Lingama nor his generals were willing to surrender the fort, in spite of the imprisonment of their chief; while he, on seeing that all chances of escape were cut off, offered twenty laks to the Dalavay if he could abandon the siege of Vellore; of these twenty laks fifteen would be given in gold coins and the other five in pearls and other precious stones. But the commander-in-chief at once wrote to Venkata summoning him to come forthwith to Vellore, "saying that now was the time to fill the royal coffers and to extend his sway by the annexation of this most fortified town." The Emperor set out at once on January 9th,

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 305.



XIII. A portion of the walls of the old fort of Vellore.

1614, with an enormous army, besides a train of camp-followers and elephants, and hastened towards Vellore. Linga prostrated himself at Venkata's feet as soon as the Emperor reached the camp. In the meantime his sons kept up a continuous fire, and tried their atmost to prevent Venkata from entering the town. But at last Vellore fell, and Venkata with his Queen took lodging "in the marble palace of Lingama Nayaka, adorned with gold and precious stones" [1].

12. Venkata remained at Vellore till the following month of May. Then, "after having extorted from Lingama Naichen a large number of precious stones and pearls," he "took him prisoner to grace his own triumph from the fortress of Velur to Chandegri" [2]. Fr. B. Coutinho, who was himself an eye-witness of this magnificent state procession, wrote an account of it in the aforesaid Jesuit letter which we shall quote here: "On May 27", he writes, "four hours after sunrise (*viz.* at about ten o'clock in the morning) this procession entered the town. The road through the middle of the city by which he had to pass was decorated with a big arch in the centre, and with very many carpets and hangings made of green boughs. But what added more dignity to the king was the fact that a large number of attendants in groups of three, dressed in gorgeous uniforms, were stationed at different intervals by the roadside; there were besides military bands with brass instruments and others with the vina and other classical instruments; these were followed by many other insignia, and finally by the royal standard itself, in which a golden lion and a golden fish were painted, thus showing Venkata's soverignity over land and sea. This made the opening of the procession. Many

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1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII. The account does not say that one of the Jesuits accompanied Venkata's army on this occasion. Nevertheless this seems likely as the Jesuits were on good terms of friendship with the Emperor; moreover the detailed narrative of this campaign seems to be that of an eye-witness. Orme, *Historical Fragments*, p. 228-9, also mentions the siege and conquest of Vellore by Venkata. Cf. Henrion, *Histoire Generale des Missions*, p. 187. Fr. Pimenta says only that Fr. F. Ricio went there after a while.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

horsemen came next among whom there was Obraias himself (Oba Raya) the King's father-in-law, and with him many other grandees adorned with gold ornaments and precious stones; at the end the King himself, accompanied by Connanaiche (Chenna Nayaka) riding a beautiful elephant, the body and the head of which were painted yellow and adorned with feathers and silk drapery [1]: the silk pillow on which the King sat was embroidered with gold thread, and he was himself covered with pearls and precious stones.....Being thus triumphantly carried, he was looking graciously on the crowd below...and having finally reached his palace, sat on the golden throne, where he received a present from the Adelaraya, the governor of the city, as it is customary. Then all the nobles presented their homage and left. We also (says Fr. Coutinho,) went there, and Fr. Francis Ricio offered the King a gilt drinking-cup of glass which he had kept for this occasion" [2].

13. It is not on record whether Vellore was once more restored to Linga; but from the fact that he is no longer mentioned in the contemporary documents, we may reasonably conclude that Vellore was thereafter retained under the Emperor's immediate authority according to the advice of his Dalavay. Moreover, two years later, about the middle of 1606, Venkata established his court in the old city of Vellore [3], an event recorded also in the *Ramarajiyamu* [4]. But he used to reside at times at Chandragiri [5], and that is the reason why both cities are by the Jesuit Missionaries called '*royal*' [6].

The fort of Vellore, according to local tradition, was built

1. The fact that Chenna rode on this occasion at Venkata's side goes again to bear out the supposition that he was the commander-in-chief of the victorious army.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar quoted above.

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIII.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 243.

5. Cf. above No. 7.

6. No other change of capital of the Emperors of Vijayanagara is so far known, though some authors state that it was finally established at Chingleput. Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 120; Francis, *Smth Arcot Gazetteer*, p. 36, etc.

by one Bommi Reddi, or Naidu, a native of Bhadrachalam [1], and converted by Narasimha of Vijayanagara into a place of residence [2].

According to an inscription of Chinna Bomma Nayaka of 1582 at Adaipalam, the Vellore temple was constructed by Appaiya Dikshita [3], but since we know that this temple existed earlier we must understand that Appaiya Dikshita's work was some enlargement of the same. The pavement round the building was laid by China Bomma Nayaka himself in 1549, for the merit of Macha Nayaka of Vellore [4]. In 1702 Fr. Maudit said that 'the fortress of Vellore was one of the strongest throughout the whole of the country [5].' As a matter of fact this fort is perhaps the most beautiful specimen of military architecture in southern India, and fortunately it is still in a very good state of preservation.

14. We have already mentioned several feudatory chiefs of the time of Venkata, but to those we must add several other known through different sources. An inscription of Venkata of 1592 records the grant of a house for the location of a *matha* to Ananda Namasivaya Pandaram by Periya Errama Nayak of Punnarrur [6]. Venkatapati Nayaningaru, the grandson of Velugoti Pedda Kondama Nayadu, and son of Kummara Timma Nayadu, declares himself feudatory of Venkatapati Raya in an inscription of 1612 [7]; in another of the same year he is said to be 'an Arjuna in war' [8]. In another of 1616, Narakampi Nayaningaru, likewise a feudatory

1. Cox, *North Arcot Manual,* II, p 418.

2. Garstin, *South Arcot Manual*, p. 3 ; Caldwell, *History of Tinnevelly* p. 48.

3. 395 of 1911.

4. 60 of 1887. At Torudur, Tanjore, there is an inscription recording a gift of land to this temple in 1596. Sewell, I, p. 272.

5. From Fr. Maudit to Fr. Le Gobien, Caruvepondi, January 1st, 1702, *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, p. 310.

6. 61 of 1887.

7. Rangacharya, II, p. 1053, 36.

8. Butterworth, I, p. 246.

of Sadasiva, gave the hereditary privilege of worship in the temple of Kona Vallabharaya to one Kandagada Guruvayya[1]. The Venkatagiri Raja Pedda Yachama Nayadu, known as Yacha Surudu, got the Permadi country as a gift from Venkata II, and proved his loyalty to him in the following civil war[2]. Yachama Nayaka, one of the feudatories of Venkata, of whom we have previously spoken, was, it seems, amongst the most powerful chiefs of the Empire. the *Bahulasvacharitram* speaks of him as having received presents of elephants and horses from Nizam Shah, Adil Shah and Qutb Shah. He was highly esteemed by the people of the cities of Cuttack, Delhi, Agra, Ahmadnagar, Mahur, Shiraj, Kalamba, Manduva, Makkha, Bedandakota (Bidar), Hukumi and Mahishmati[3]. Finally, the Jesuit records mention another chief, named by them Paparagiu (Papa Raya), identified, according to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, with the chief Davalu Papa who was defeated by Velugoti Yachama Nayadu at Uttaramaluru[4]. Fr. Simon de Sa, writing from Mylapor on November 20th, 1598, says that this chief "in one house kept three hundred Brachmans, and gave hospitalitie to the Pilgrims which went on, or came from Tripeti[5]". Fr. Du Jarric, who calls him 'a powerful chief', mentions the same fact[6] and says moreover that "he placed his dwelling on the top of a very high mountain, encompassed by shady forests. The town was built all over the slopes of this mountain from the valley to the top[7]".

15. Venkata II appears to have been as generous as his predecessors to the temples and Brahmans for the maintenance of the Hindu cult. Being still Viceroy of the Tamil country, on June 24th, 1577, he made a gift of four villages

1. Rangachaya, II, p. 1049, 1.
2. Madhava Rao, *The Ruling Chiefs*, p. 490.
3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 305-6.
4. Ibid., p. 305, note. Cf. above No. 5.
5. Purchas, X., p. 219.
6. Du Jarric, I, p. 657.
7. Ibid., p. 675. I cannot verify which city is referred to by Du Jarric; it must be between Mylapore and Tirupati.

to the temple of Chidambaresvara and Sivakamasundari-Ammai to provide offerings and sacred morning baths for the merit of Kondama Nayaka [1]. In 1588 he made a gift of 300 *pon* to provide 20 rice offerings to the god Chidambaresvara at Chidambaram, to be distributed among the begging devotees [2]. In 1593, for the merit of the above mentioned Kondama Nayaka, he declared that the four districts and the five villages and all others whose possession had been enjoyed by the temple of Chidambaresvara from early times, were now made tax-free. In 1603 he imposed a tax on the weavers of Tindivanam, the proceeds of which were to go to the local temple [4]. In 1604 he gave the village of Vengalambapuram to a number of Brahmans coming from several places [5]. The year 1607 witnessed a grant of Venkatta to the god Narasinga [6]. Lastly, in 1608 the Emperor regulated the festivals and the daily services in the temple at Alagiyasingar at Narasimhapuram [7].

We also know of several gifts of the feudatory chiefs and other influential persons during Venkata's reign. In 1589 Madagani Basavareddi Kumarudu remitted the tax on the lands of the gods Mallikarjuna and Virabhadra at Vipanagandla (Karnul) [8]. In 1592 Krishnappa Nayaka granted to the god Ramanujakuta two villages in the Gangaikonda-sima [9]. In 1593 Naga Reddi and other jugglers gave away the allowance which they had received for the bamboo play to the god Agastyesvara of Chadipirala [10]. In the same year Gangadhara Cholamaharaya granted land to the deities at Palagiri [11]. Rayanamantri Bhaskarayya gave the god Chennakesava a fee of one *kasu* for

1. 334 of 1913.
2. 385 of 1913.
3. 369 of 1913.
4. 31 of 1905.
5. Rangacharya, I, p. 461, 1146.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, V, Bl, 145.
7. 243 of 1910.
8. Rangacharya, II, p. 961, 500.
9. Ibid., I, p. 153, 191-B.
10. Ibid., p. 610, 424.
11. Ibid., p. 615, 465.

every bullock-load of salt, two *kasus* for one of cotton and ½ *kasu* for other goods in the Gandikota district [1]. In the same year an iron lamp was set up in the Mallikarjuna temple at Srisailam, Karnul, for the merit of Mudiyappa Nayaka, by a certain Chikaiya, son of a carpenter of Henjera [2]. In 1605, Chandra Sekhara Vodeyar made a grant to the family god and his dancing girls [3]. In 1609, a gift of seven gold-gilt pinnacles for the big gopura of the Vira-Narasimha temple at Diguva Tirupati, Karnul, and of two fly-whisks and an umbrella of white silk with a gilt *kalasa* over it was made by some merchants of Aravidu, for the merit of 150 headmen of their community [4]. In the same year, a certain Kala Vaiyyappa built a temple for Agaresva Udaiyar at Polichchalar, Madras, endowing it with a piéce of land for the merit of the king Venkatapatiraya [5]. In 1614 Gangappa Nayaka, the governor of Srigiri-mandala, son of Venkatadri and grandson of Ganga, made a present of four villages in the Dupati-sima, Karnul, to the Chennakesa temple [6]. During this reign Matla Tiruvengala, the son of Anantaraja, built the gopura of the Govindaraja Perumal temple at Tirupati [7].

16. Some agricultural improvements were effected during Venkata's reign, but none by himself. All are due to the enterprise of chiefs and of private persons. Venkatapati Nayaningaru, his feudatory, deserves special mention for his efforts to encourage irrigation [8]. In 1612 the grandson of Velogoti Pedda Kondama Nayadu, and son of Kumara Timma Nayadu, sent for Rudrappa, the ruler of Kulluru, Nellore, and asked him to construct the eastern weir of the Kullur tank, which he did [9]. It is further recorded that a certain Nayinappa

1. Ibid., p. 620, 512.
2. 32 of 1915.
3. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ch, 23.
4. 67 of 1915.
5. 516 of 1913.
6. 286 of 1905.
7. *M.E.R., 1913*, p. 124.
8. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVIII, p. 97.
9. Rangacharya, II, p. 1053, 36.

Nayaka, son of Krishnappa Nayaka, improved certain land in South Arcot by constructing a tank near it and digging wells [1]. Finally, one Polusani dug a well in the village of Sowadaridinne, Karnul, in 1603 [2].

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1. 388 of 1912.

2. Rangacharya, II, p. 918, 111. We know of the existence of a guild of merchants in the city of Aravidu during Venkata's reign. The merchants who formed this guild were devotees of Vasavakanyaka, followers of Bhaskaracharya and supposed to be the progeny of the celestial cow, born of its ears. 67 of 1915.

CHAPTER XVI

WARS WITH THE MUHAMMADANS

SUMMARY.—1. Venkata starts an offensive campaign against Golkonda immediately after his coronation.—2. Great victory of Venkata over Muhammad Kuli Qutb Shah.—3. Beginning of Venkata's campaign in the Telugu country.—4. The jagirdars of the Telugu country rebel against Golkonda.—5. Victory of the Raja of Kasimkota over Amin-ul-Mulk.—6. Second invasion of Kandbir.—7. Result of Venkata's campaign in the Telugu country.—8. Siege of Penukonda by the Sultan of Bijapur.—9. Embassy of the Mughal Emperor Akbar to Venkata II.—10. Further projects of Akbar on Vijayanagara.—11. Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur sends an embassy to Venkata II.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Ferishta, Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda.—2. Jesuit letters.—3. Du Jarric, Guerreiro.—4. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—5. *Ramarajiyamu*, *Raghunathabhyudayam*.

A GRANT of Emperor Venkata, dated 1589, says explicitly that his campaigns against the Muhammadans were started 'immediately after' his coronation [1]. Accordingly the anonymous chronicler says that Venkata, in the beginning of his reign, 'made some incursions and invasions into the Golkonda dominions' [2]. This policy marked the opening of a new era in the long-standing struggle between Vijayanagara and the Muhammadans. Since the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, Tirumala, and after him Ranga I, had been satisfied with defending themselves against the followers of the Prophet. Ranga had only dared to expel the Muslims from Ahobalam and its surroundings [3]. But it seems that Venkata II, inaugurated his rule as Emperor of Vijayanagara with an offensive campaign which was successfully carried on some years later.

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1. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39.
2. Ferishta, III, p. 454.
3. Cf. Ch. XII, No. 7.

The Sultan of Golkonda, Muhammad Kuli Qutb Shah, nvaded the Vijayanagara territory, with the object of driving Venkata out of his dominions. He marched towards Penukonda "where he arrived without opposition," says the aforesaid chronicler, "and immediately commenced the siege". Venkata, who was at Penukonda, shortly afterwards deputed his minister Gobraj Tima (Govinda Raja Timma) and his general Pavia Chitti (Papaya Chetti) as Ambassadors to the Golkonda Sultan, " who, upon their making due submission, agreed to an armistice preparatory to negotiating terms of peace". The shrewd Sovereign decided to take advantage of this so-called armistice to prepare himself for a long defence. "The Hindus ", the anonymous chronicler continues, "taking advantage of the absence of the Muhammadans from the vicinity of the fort, supplied themselves in three days with provisions for a siege; and on the fourth the famous Jagdew Row (Jagadeva Raya), accompanied by Gulrang Setti, Manupraj and Papia Samywar, at the head of thirty thousand musketteers, threw themselves into the fort " [1]. It is most likely that at this juncture Venkata requested Achyuta Nayaka of Tanjore to send the prince Raghunatha to his assistance. At his father's behest " Raghunatha started on the expedition followed by hundreds of tributary chiefs", says the *Raghunathabhyudayam*. He reached Penukonda in a few days [2]. When the King discovered these proceedings ", continues the Golkonda chronicler, "he renewed the siege; but his forces made little impression. The rains were now approaching, provisions also were scarce in the camp; and aware that the inundation of the Krishna river would cut off all communication with the Golkonda territory, the King deemed it advisable to raise the siege " [3]. Thus does the Muhammadan writer conceal the humiliating defeat which was on this occasion inflicted by Venkata upon the army of Golkonda.

2. Reference is found to this action in different sources;

1. Ferishta, l. c.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 285.
3. Ferishta, l. c.

and we cannot question their veracity, specially when we consider the account of the following victorious campaign of Venkata in the Udayagiri country, given by the same Muhammadan author. The above-mentioned *Raghunathabhyudayam*, relating only Raghunatha's exploits, states that "many of the enemies of the emperor fled from Penukonda when they learnt of the arrival of Raghunatha with troops (a common poetical topic), while a few mounted horsemen opposed him. But they were easily defeated by the valiant Raghunatha, and were scattered as the Rakshasas were by Rama" [1]. This was only a partial victory obtained by one of the wings of the great army of Venkata. The Sidhout inscription of Ananta Raja also records that this chief 'displayed his heroism in humiliating the Muhammaddan Pachisa (Padischa) in the battle of Penukonda' [2].

After careful consideration of all the sources, it seems that the Golkonda army, after having been repelled by the garrison of Penukonda, retreated northwards pursued by the Hindus. "Venkatapati Raya", says the *Ramarajiyamu*, "collected his army and drove the son of Ibharam (Ibrahim Qutb Shah, *viz.* Muhammad Kuli Qutb Shah) who had invaded his territory, as far as Golkonda. He chased his army back and defeated it on the banks of the Pennar. The water of the river was crimson with the blood of the Muhammadan soldiers killed in the battle" [3]. This battle was no doubt a remarkable event in the history of the Hindu Empire; for almost all the grants of Venkata make mention of it. The Vilapaka grant and the Dalavay Agraharam plates, besides two other grants, state that the Muhammadan ruler was "forcibly deprived of troops, of horses and elephants, weapons, white umbrella, parasols, etc., at the head of a battle by the excellent soldiers of the army of this powerful (king)" [4]. The Vilapaka grant records moreover

1. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, l.c.
2. *M.E.R., 1916*, p. 148, para 78.
3. Ibid., p. 243.
4. Vilapaka grant, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270; Dalavay Agraharam plates, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 27-39; Grant of 1587, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83; Grant of 1589, *Ep Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39.

that the son of Malikibharama (Malik Ibrahim), Mahamandasahu (Muhammad Shah), reached his house in despair, reduced in lustre,' and ' thus daily,' it ends ironically, ' makes his name significant (or famous)' [1]. It appears that there was more than one battle, because the Vellangudi plates say that Mahamandasahu was " defeated repeatedly by the army of this King, and used daily to return dejected from the battlefield after being deprived of his elephants, horses, arms and umbrella " [2]. The defeat of the Golkonda Sultan is again mentioned in both the Padmaneri grant [3], and the Mangalampad grant of the Hindu Emperor [4].

3. The anoymous chronicler of Golkonda says that " the Muhammadan troops having been required to join the grand army against Penuconda, had left the district of Kandbir wholly unprotected ". This was a magnificent chance for Venkata to recover part of the territory lost in the last war. It seems that even before the final defeat of Muhammad Shah, Venkata despatched a force to assist Kowlanada, the Raja of Udgerrydurg (Udayagiri), ordering him to plunder and lay waste all the territory as far as Kandir and the Krishna; and that the Raja sent his son-in-law, Wurias Ray, to carry this project into effect. After he had fought with the Muhammadans several times he was finally defeated by Afzul Khan and Ajda Khan, with the loss of three thousand men killed, wounded and taken prisoners, and all his camp-equipage ".

In the meantime Venkata mustered an army of one hundred thousand men, the leaders of which were Yeltumraj, Gulang Setti and Manupraj, and set out to recover Gandikota from the hands of Sanjur Khan. Here the Hindus were daily harassed by sallies from the garrison; but they persevered in the siege till they heard that Murtaza Khan, with the main army of the Muhammadans, had captured the city of Karpa and destroyed its famous temples. Venkata, on being told of this, detached Yeltumraj and Manupraj with ten thousand cavalry to attack

1. Vilapaka grant, l. c.; grants of 1587 and 1589, ll. cc.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319 vv. 31-35.
3. Ibid., p. 297, v. 31.
4. Butterworth, I, p. 31, v. 26

Murtaza Khan, and probably followed them shortly after with the rest of his army [1].

As soon as the Sultan of Golkonda heard of this course of events, he despatched a force of five thousand horse under the command of Rustom Khan to reinfore Murtaza Khan. "Meanwhile", says the chronicler, "Murtaza Khan continued to defend himself for three whole months against the Hindus, whose numbers increased to such an extent that the Muhammadans found it impossible to give the battle, but confined their operations to plundering and cutting off supplies". Rustom Khan on arriving assumed command of all the troops, according to the Sultan's instructions. "On the day after his arrival", continues the Muhammadan writer, "he crossed a river in front of him, and imprudently encamped on a black clayey soil where the rain had fallen, but did not proceed to attack the Hindus. The enemy, having ascertained that a reinforcement had arrived, delayed also to engage the Muhammadans. At this time, whether to amuse their own soldiers, or for some other reason which is immaterial, the Hindus dressed up a red bullock [2] with gilded horns, and having painted it with many different colours, and fastened bells to its legs and neck, drove it towards the Muhammadans. Rustom Khan, who happened to be in front of the army and alone, became alarmed at the strange appearance of the animal. He galloped off to the rear in dismay, and caused a panic among his own troops [3]. The Hindus, observing confusion in the lines of the Muhammadans, took advantage of it to surround them with their musketeers, and galled them on all sides. The Muhammadan cavalry, which consituted the strength of their army,

1. Here the chronicle we are quoting says that 'after a severe action the Hindus were defeated and compelled to seek safety in flight. How can this be true when the same writer records immediately after the brilliant siege of the town by the Hindus, the distress of the Muhammadans, who required help from Golkonda, and the latters's final defeat?

2. Biggs thinks that the Pola festival is meant here.

3. Such cowardice could not be believed of such a general if the case was not narrated by the Muhammadan chronicler, Rustom Khan was, according to the chronicler, a notorious boaster.

unable to charge through the heavy black soil, were shot one by one, and might have been annihilated, but for Murtaza Khan, who, collecting a small party, forced his way through the enemy's ranks, and thus covered the retreat of many of the Mahammadans; but all the camp-equipage was taken and a heavy loss sustained". The defeat of the Muhammadans on this occasion seems to have been very severe: the chronicler adds at the end of his narrative: " Rustom Khan was disgraced on his return to Haidarabad, by being dressed in female attire; after which he was banished from the kingdom" [1].

4. At this time Amin-ul-Mulk, the Minister of the Sultan of Golkonda, sent officers to collect the taxes due to the Government by the different jagirdars. But those of the Telugu country were in hopes of throwing off the Muhammadan yoke with the help of the brave and fortunate new sovereign of Vijayanagara. Moreover the anonymous chronicler says that ' this demand had been so long deferred, that the jagirdars refused to pay the taxes demanded, and even invited the Vijayanagara sovereign to join them in opposing Muhammad Kuli's forces. As a proof of their intentions, they plundered the country belonging to Golkonda in the neighbourhood of Kandbir. These jagirdars were not all Hindus: both the Golkonda chronicler and the Aminabad inscription mention four out of these chiefs who rebelled against the Sultan; and of them, two were Muhammadans and two Hindus. The names given by the chronicler are the following: Alam Khan Pathan, Khan Khanan, Sabaji Maratha and Balla Row, which correspond to these given by the inscription: Alamakhanundu Khanakhana, Sabaji and Ballerayandu. This inscription states that there were other chiefs who joined the revolt.

When the dis-affection of these jagirdars was reported to the court by Etibar Khan, Amin-ul-Mulk himself volunteered to lead a force against the rebels, and after a while set out from Haidarabad at the head of ten thousand horse. On his arrival near Kandbir he was met by Kowlananda, the Raja of Udayagiri, who on account of his recent intercourse with

1. Ferishta, III, p. 455-9.

Venkata, was believed to be the instigator of the rebellion. Accordingly the Muslim general seized the Hindu chief and ordered him to be hanged. This prompt measure alarmed the insurgents. They had an army of seven thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry and were strongly posted in the fortress of Ardinga; but now they shrank from an encounter with the army of Amin-ul-Mulk, and retreated to join the army of Venkata. The Golkonda general pursued them, but did nothing more than devastate and occupy their estates. Hence the Aminabad inscription states that Amin Malka crossed the river Krishna with a large Golkonda army, and drove away the enemies before him 'as darkness before the rising sun'. On returning to Kandbir Amin-ul-Mulk seized, a number of Naigwaries who had been the allies of the rebels and ordered about 200 of them to be executed. Nevertheless in spite of this drastic measure, the Muslim general was not able to put down the rebellion; and after his retreat to Haidarabad, no other authority was acknowleged in the Telugu country but that of Venkata, who was still with his army in the South.

5. One instance of this was afforded shortly after by the conduct of Makund Raj, the Raja of Kasimkotta. After having received the robe of instalment from the hands of Muhammad Kuli himself in Golkonda, this young prince attempted to seize the person of Birlas Khan, the Sultan's representative in the country. "Such outrages,; says the Golkonda chronicler, "called for the immediate interference of the King; particularly as the Raja, confiding in the valour of his troops and his native woods and mountains for protection, had not sent the annual tribute to the court".

Accordingly, Muhammad Kuli sent his general Mir Zain-ul-Abidin with a force to proceed against the Raja. "Upon his arrival near Kasimkotta the general deputed a person to Makund Raj, requiring of him to pay the arrears of tribute, and to promise greater punctuality in its future payment; but as they were too few to enforce their demand, Mir Zain-ul-Abidin wrote

1. Ferishta, III, p. 460-1; Aminabad inscription of Amin-ul-Mulk, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 240.

to court for reinforcements. The King immediately directed the Amir Jumla, Amin-ul-Mulk, to join the former detachment with more troops, and to assume the principal command. Amir Jumla was accompained by Shankar Raj, the nephew of the late Bhaybalandar (the father of the young Raja). Makund Raj, alarmed at the serious preparations made to attack him, wrote to the neighbouring Rajas for assistance, as well as to Venkatapati, Raja of Vijayanagar, to induce him to take advantage of the moment and to detach a force to Kandbir, while he with thirty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry engaged the King's army in the neighbourhood of Rajmundri". After a hard-fought battle, in which Shankar Raj was killed, the Muhammadans were defeated with the loss of several brave officers and men. The Raja on reaching Kasimkotta "put to death Birlas Khan and Ghuzunfur Beg, together with several other Muhammadans whom he inveigled into his presence" [1].

6. In the meantime Venkatapati Raja, on the invitation of the Raja of Kasimkotta, again invaded the district of Kandbir. The Sultan of Golkonda, who was then defending the city of Ahmadnagar against the army of Prince Murad, Akbar's son, was informed of the intentions of the Vijayanagara Emperor. So he directed his army under Adil Khan Bungy or Bangush, accompanied by two hundred elephants and many guns, to oppose him. Adil Khan went straight to Kandbir with his cavalry, but was obliged to remain there sometime waiting for his guns. Venkata with his army of two hundred thousand horse and infantry and one thousand elephants, was still advan-

1 Ferishta, III, p. 464-5. The Muhammadan writer says that the Golkonda forces were 'nearly defeated'; that the Muhammadans lost several brave officers and men', and that the Raja on reaching his city 'put to death Birlas Khan', etc. Nevertheless, he attributes this victory to the same Muslim army. The imposture is evident. To save the honour of the Muhammadans after describing their defeat, he proclaims an imaginary great victory obtained by them over the Hindus. If the young Raja did not succeed in seizing Birlas Khan, the Sultan's representative, when there was not in the country such a formidable army of Golkonda, it is impossible to suppose that he could put him to death on this occasion in the face of so large an army commanded by the Amir Jumla, especially after his own army had been entirely routed by the army of Golkonda.

cing; but "finding that the King's troops had arrived, and that the army was very formidable, he thought it prudent to send ambassadors with rich presents to the King of Golkonda. The ambassadors had directions to proffer his excuse, by saying that the object for which he had left his capital and come towards Kandbir was merely to see the lake Cammum (Cumbum?). Orders were accordingly issued to Adil Khan Bungy to refrain from invading his territories, but to remain with the army at Kandbir as a corps of observation"[1].

Such is the incredible account given by the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, in his anxiety to conceal the defeat of the Golkonda troops. Is it not strange that Venkata, with the whole of his army of two hundred thousand foot and horse and one thousand elephants, dared not give battle to the Muslim general, with an army accompained only by two hundred elephants. and an artillery lagging behind him? As a matter of fact the Muhammadan army that opposed Venkata was not at all formidable. The story of the ambassadors sent by the Vijayanagara Emperor and of his desire to see the lake Cammum is still more obviously the writer's concoction.

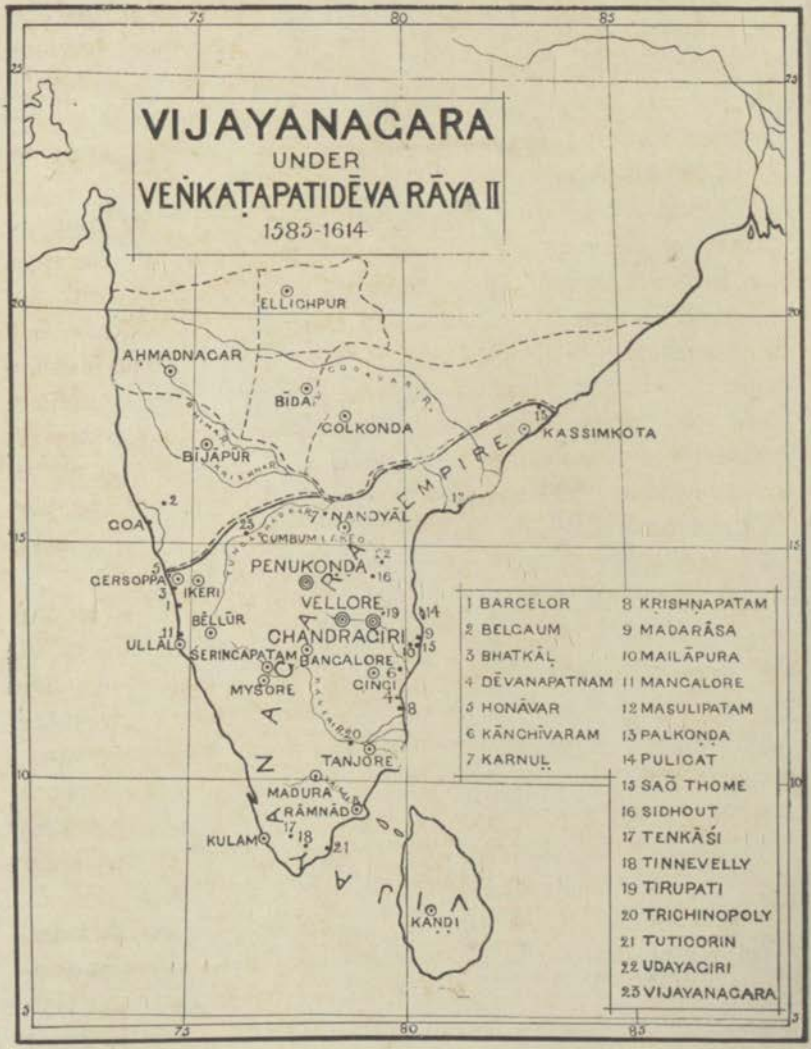
7. This becomes more than evident if we consider the version given in the *Ramarajiyamu* and the further history of the Telugu country during Venkata's reign. Both accounts show clearly the final success of the Hindu sovereign in the North-eastern corner of the ancient Empire. The *Ramarajiyamu*, for instance, shows us the Sultan of Golkonda 'as a suppliant seeking terms of peace' and settling finally with Venkata 'that the Krishna should thence forward form the boundary between their respective territories'[2].

Nothing could have been more pleasing to the Hindu ruler. It meant the recovery of all the lost territories and the re-establishment of the old limits between Vijayanagara and Golkonda[3]. Hence the Vellangudi plates state that 'just as Rama

1. Ferishta, III, p. 466-8.

2. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 243

3. The Vilapaka grant, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270, and the Mangalampad grant, Butterworth, I, p. 32, v. 28, state that Venkata defeated the king of Oddiya or Orissa. Probably the Sultan of Golkonda is meant in this passage.



XIV. The Empire of Vijayanagara under Venkata II

conquered the Rakshasas, this King defeated the Yavanas (Muhammadans)'[1]. And the Dalavay Agraharam plates say that 'he was ruling the earth triumphantly after destroying the demons, the Yavanas'[2]. Venkata's victories over the Muslim forces are again mentioned in other grants of his and those of his successors[3].

Accordingly, numerous inscriptions of the following years acknowledge Venkata as the sovereign of the Telugu country. In 1586-7 while the first campaign was going on, two inscriptions proclaim Venkata the ruler of Udayagiri[4]. A similar inscription dated 1612 is found in Rapur, Nellore[5]. In 1514, the chief Marakampi Nayaningaru, in Nellore, declares himself feudatory of Venkata[6]. At the end of his reign, a village in Udayagiri which had been bestowed before by his father Tirumala was again granted by him to some one[7], and there are besides two inscriptions of 1616, that mention Venkata as the ruling sovereign[8].

A certain Sriman Mahamandalesvara Muddayoadeva Maharaja, son of Kondadeva Maharaja, seems to have been the governor of the Telugu country under Venkata and acknowledged the latter's suzerainty[9]. In 1602 he presented the village of Nandirayi, Nellore, to Sri Chennakesavaraya of Palnaru, for providing light, refreshments, incense, etc.[10]. But according to an inscription 1613-4 at Kandukur, it seems that the Muhammadans retained their sovereignty over the northern part of the district[11].

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 31-35.
2. Ibid., XII, p. 186, vv. 27-39.
3. Padmaneri grant, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 297, v. 29; Kondyata grant of Venkata III, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 127, grant of 1587, *Ep. Carn*, VII, Sh, 83; grant of 1589, Ibid., XII, Ck, 39. Orme, *Historical Fragments*, p. 229, says that one of Venkata's title was this: '*Mahometa norum exercituum debellator.*
4. Butterworth, III, 1365-7 and 1637-9.
5. Ibid., p. 1284-6.
6. Rangacharya, II, p. 1049.
7. Butterworth, III, p. 1359-60.
8. Rangacharya, II, p. 1049, 1 and p. 1079. 263.
9. Butterworth, I, p. 269-71.
10. Rangacharya, II, p. 1056, 54.
11. Butterworth, I, p. 485.

8. No other wars between Golkonda and Vijayanagara are recorded in the Muhammadan histories. But in the meantime the Sultan of Bijapur, Ibrahim Adil Shah II, had sent several expeditions against the Kanarese country, as we shall relate in one of the following chapters. As a consequence of these incursions an alliance was made between Venkata and Burhan Nizam Shan of Ahmadnagar against Bijapur. Then Ibrahim Adil Shah again marched his army towards the South and laid siege to Penukonda [1]. According to Du Jarric, Venkata in this war against the Sultan of Bijapur, opposed his enemy with an army of seven hundred thousand infantry and forty thousand cavalry, besides five hundred elephants [2]. Ferishta relates that on the approach of the Sultan, Venkata entrusted the command of the place as well as of his army to one of his nobles and 'retired with his treasures and effects to the fortress of Chandragiri'. The Muhammadan writer does not tell us who this noble was, but we feel sure that he was no other than Mantla Ananta, called at that time 'the right- hand of the Emperor of Karnata'. The Sidhout inscription referring to him says that 'in the battle of Penukonda he destroyed the pride of the Muhammadan Padishah'[3]. This piece of information very likely refers to this action.

Ibrahim besieged the city investing it closely for three months. He was, it seems, determined to remain there, until he could either take it by storm or compel the besieged general to surrender. Ferishta relates that at the end of these three months 'the garrison were nearly submitting for want of provi-

1. Ferishta, III, p. 141, evidently misplaces this event, as we have previously pointed out. The ruler of Penukonda, Venkatadri, giving the command of the place to one of his nobles and retiring to Chandragiri, is a fact which cannot be placed in 1576-7, during the reign of Ranga I, precisely when this sovereign was made prisoner, or when his capital was so brilliantly defended by Jagadevaraya. Cf. Ch. XII, Nos. 5 and 6. The misplacement of a page of the MS. may explain this incongruence. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c. p. 185, and Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, before us, have acknowledged the anomalous occurrence.

2. Du Jarric, I, p. 653.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 249.

sions.' On this point, if we are to rely upon this writer's authority, Venkata "bribed Handiatum Naik, the chief of the Bergies, with twenty-four laks of rupees and five elephants, to desert with his followers from the King and harass his camp". Accordingly, Handiatum deserted the army of the Sultan, who was consequently compelled to retreat to his own kingdom, "leaving Mustafa Khan to protect the frontiers" [1].

9. Towards the beginning of the 17th century Vijayanagara was free from the Muhammadan attacks. The Jesuit letters are silent about the wars between Venkata and the Sultans of the Deccan, during the remainder of the former's reign. A great danger for those sovereigns was then rising in the North. In 1593, after the complete subjugation of the northern provinces, the Mughal Emperor Akbar had despatched an army under the command of Prince Murad and Khan Khanan, to start the conquest of the Deccan. They besieged the city of Ahmadnagar, which was bravely defended by the gallant Regent Chand Bibi. Ahmadnagar, however, fell into the hands of Sultan Daniyal, Akbar's third son, seven years later in 1600 [2].

At the same time Akbar, while still before the walls of Asirgarh, sent an embassy to the Emperor of Vijayanagara [3]. The account of this embassy has never been published hitherto. The letter of Fr. B. Coutinho which gives this informa-

1. Ferishta, III, p. 141. It was probably not long after this event that Abdul Wahab was deputed by the Bijapur Sultan, with a powerful army to take the fort of Karnul. He invested the town, which was then governed by the last of its Hindu rulers, Gopala Raja, a grandson of Rama Raya, the Regent of Sadasiva. This chief stoutly defended the town, which was strongly fortified. He was assisted, it is said, by a force sent by his relation the Emperor Venkata. Gopala Raja, however, was eventually forced to yield; and he is said to have fled from the town through the northern gateway of the fort, still known as 'Gopal Darwaza'. Gopala's palace, even in its present ruinous state, shows to this day its ancient beauty and richness. Cf. *M. E. R., 1915-16*, p. 44, para 26.

2. Cf. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 266-72.

3. Francois Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, IV, p. 214, says that Akbar "captured several cities of the kingdom of Narsinga (called otherwise Bisnagar and Vidjia Nagaar)". I am sure that Valentyn's information was not good on this occasion. He also says that Akbar reached Goa and Calicoet (Calicut), which is certainly false.

tion is dated Chandragiri, August, 1600, and seems to have been written during the stay of the ambassador at the court. Fr. Coutinho does not give the name of the ambassador, but only states that 'he is a prudent and experienced man'. On reaching Chandragiri, since there was no building fitted for receiving such visitors, the official who was responsible for the entertainment of the ambassadors and their introduction to the King, asked the Jesuit Fathers to lodge him in their own house for two days. "We gave him a suitable place," says Fr. Coutinho, "where he is staying for a month. It is he who informed us of what our Fathers had done at Achebar's (Akbar's) court". The reason why the ambassador of Chandragiri stayed so long was that Venkata did not receive him in audience till he had waited twenty days, "as he (Venkata) had been warned by his councilors", says the aforesaid Jesuit, "not to trust Achebar; because, if those three Muhammadan kings of Abdenegan or Melique (Ahmadnagar), Dialcan (Bijapur) and Mussalepatan (Golkonda) were to submit to him, he would easily also bring the Bisanagara Empire under his sway. On hearing this, the King, they say, replied that his kingdom was in the hands of God, and that 'if He wishes to deprive me, he said, of my Empire, who will be able to stop Him? So much is certain, however, I shall never kiss the feet of a Muhammadan; should he come over here, war is sure to follow'".

At last Akbar's envoy was received by Venkata. He presented the Emperor with four horses and other gifts on behalf of his sovereign, but Venkata returned them to the ambassador; the sums of money he had brought as a present were also handed back to him by Venkata's order 'to defray his expenses'. Fr. Coutinho says nothing of the political affairs discussed by the Hindu sovereign and the Muhammadan ambassador; he only states that the latter was loud in his praises regarding the Jesuits at his Lord's court, who held them in great honour [1]. "The King in his reply," continues Coutinho, "said that he, too, was quite pleased with us. More-

1. The Jesuits who were then at Akbar's court were those of the third expedition, *viz.* Fr. Jerome Xavier, Fr. Manoel Pinheiro and Bro. Bento de Goes.

over, he added that he would give us a church, house and whatsoever we needed" [1].

10. The suspicions aroused among the nobles at the court of Venkata were very well grounded. Fr. Jerome Xavier who was in Akbar's retinue when he was about to besiege the fort of Asirgarh in the kingdom of Kandesh, writes that "the purpose of this journey was to conquer Goa and the Malabar and the whole kingdom of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara) after having taken the Deccan kingdoms" [2]. And one of the secret purposes of the embassy to the court of Venkata was probably to examine the efficiency of his army and the strength of his fortresses, in order to enable Akbar to plan his intended campaign in the South. Fr. Xavier informs us that this was Akbar's method of ascertaining the enemy's strength. "And for this purpose, (*viz.* for conquering Goa), he very often sends some one of his courtiers to Goa with the title of ambassador. But it is understood that he is really a spy, sent in order to see either what the Portuguese are doing or what they are able to do; and he does this at the time of the arrival of the ships from Portugal, in order to estimate how much wealth and how many people have come" [3]. The same kind of espionage was probably now employed in the court of Venkata. Hence Fr. Coutinho rightly suspected that the formidable army, headed by excellent generals which Venkata had assembled round him, was for no other purpose than "for driving back the army of Akbar, and garrisoning the northern cities and fortresses against the Mughal invasion" [4].

After a while the fortress of Asirgarh too fell into Akbar's hands. [5]. That event added fresh encouragement to the old

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V. Cf. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 168.

2. Guerrero (*sic*), *Relacion Anual.....en los anos de 600 y 601*, p. 17; Du Jarric, III, p. 43.

3. Guerrero *(sic)*, o. c., p. 29-34. Cf. Heras, *The Emperor Akbar and the Portuguese Settlements, Indo-Portuguese Review*, 1924, p. 20.

4. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

5. Cf. Heras, *The Siege and Conquest of the Fort of Asirgarh, Ind. Ant.*, LIII, p. 33-41.

Emperor's imperial ambition, which would not be satisfied until he had the whole of India under his feet; and accordingly four years later another embassy was despatched to Venkata's court, to get fresh information of the Hindu ruler's position. The annual letter of the Province of Malabar, of the years 1604—1606, informs us that the Jesuit Provincial could only be received by Venkata after some days, because there were at that time at Chandragiri several embassies waiting for the King's audience; and one of these legations was that of the Mughal Emperor [1]. Death suddenly cut short the warlike projects of Akbar in the following year.

II. Another embassy that the Jesuit Provincial found at Chandragiri in 1604 was one from Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur [2]. No other information is given about this legation; it means however that the two sovereigns, though formerly irreconcilable foes, became friends in face of the common enemy. And probably even Bijapur went to the length of inviting Vijayanagara to form a defensive alliance against the ambitious schemes of the Mughal Emperor, as she herself had been invited by the Portuguese Viceroy, with further instructions, to seek the co-operation of the other Deccani Sultans [3]. Such an alliance served no useful purpose; forty years later we see both Bijapur and Golkonda taking possession of the territories and fortresses of Vijayanagara; and subsequently the great-grandson of Akbar, Aurangzeb, also appears on the stage sweeping away the relics of those two Muslim thrones and obliterating the ruins of the Hindu Empire.

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1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

2. Ibid.

3. Heras, *The Portuguese Alliance with the Muhammadan Kingdoms of the Deccan*, *B. B. R. A. S.*, I (N.S.), p. 125.

CHAPTER XVII

THE NAYAKSHIP OF MADURA

SUMMARY.—1. Behaviour of Virappa Nayaka towards Venkata II.—2. Virappa's death. 3. Short reign of Visvappa Nayaka.—4 Accession of Krishnappa Nayaka II. Death of Ariyanatha Mudaliyar.—5. Krishnappa's piety. His war with Travancore and relations with the Pandyas.—6. His rebellion against Vijayanagara.—7. Death of Krishnappa Nayaka II. Short reign of Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka.—8. Accesion of Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka. His action in the Fishery Coast.—9 Establishment of the Dynasty of the Setupatis at Ramnad.—10. The reign of Tirumalai Udaiyan Setupati.—11. Friendly relations between Muttu Krishnappa and Venkata II.—12. His successor Muttu Virappa Nayaka.—13. War between Madura and Vijayanagara.—14. War between Madura and Tanjore.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. *Pandyan Chronicle*, *Supplementary MSS.*, *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, *History of the Karnataka Governors*, *Chronicle of the Acts of the Setupatis*.—3. Jesuit letters.—4. *Moncoes do Reino* (Pangim Archives).—5. Du Jarric.—6. Anquetil du Perron.—7. *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*.

THE southern throne was still in possession of the grandson of Visvanatha, Virappa Nayaka. After the defeat sustained by his forces in the battle of Vallaprakara at the hands of Venkata, while Viceroy of the Tamil country [1], Virappa rendered unwilling submission to the Emperor of Vijayanagara, as several inscriptions of the first years of Venkata's reign prove. In 1586, Virappa requested and obtained from Venkata the Dalavay Agraharam plates, by which the village Ganga Varappatti with other villages around were given to a number of Brahmans. The plates say that Virappa was then 'living gloriously' [2]. An inscription of 1588 of Venkata himself at Pirammalai, Tiruppattur, Ramnad, shows that his sovereignty was at that time acknowledged in the Madura

1. Cf. Ch. XIII, No. 4.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 187, vv. 41-66 and 67-79.

country [1]. Another inscription of the same year, at Erode, records a grant of Virappa, as Venkata's subordinate [2]. In 1590 Venkata, while at Kumbakonam, granted some villages in the Tinnevelly district to a Vaishnava shrine under the management of a certain Krishna Das [3]; this also shows that his jurisdiction over the Madura country was unquestioned. Then in 1592 the Emperor made another grant to a temple at Tirukkurungudi, also in the Tinnevelly district [4]. But suddenly such acknowledgements of Venkata's suzerainty over the South are no more found. What is the cause of this interruption?

Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar says that there is no doubt about Virappa's loyalty to Venkata [5]. But we are sure that on this occasion the former's rebellion, recorded in the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, took place. Anquetil du Perron says that before the year 1595, the Madura Nayaka refused to pay due homage to the Emperor of Vijayanagara on the ground that the latter had murdered his legitimate sovereign [6]. This cannot be understood to refer to Virappa's first rebellion which took place about 1583. For then Venkata was merely Viceroy of the Tamil country; moreover both sources, the French traveller and the Hindu poem, state that at the time of this rebellion of the Madura Nayak, Venkata was already seated on the jewelled throne of Vijayanagara.

Again, Anquetil du Perron informs us that the first manifestation of this rebellion was the refusal to pay the tribute [7]. At once "Venkatapati Raya declared war against Virappa Nayaka of Madura", says the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, "and laid siege to the fort of Madura with a large army" [8]. The subseqent details given by this poem are not at all

1. Sewell, I, p. 297; Rangacharya, II, p. 1189, 223.
2. 13 of 1891.
3. Sewell, II, p. 3.
4. Ibid., I, p. 315.
5. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 81.
6. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166. This rebellion or the following one of Krishnappa II is mentioned in the *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ap. C, No. XXVI.
7. Ibid.
8. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 302-3.

trustworthy [1]. But Anquetil du Perron records the forcible submission of the Nayak before 1595 [2], which means a second defeat of Virappa by the imperial army.

2. In the beginning of September of the same year, 1595 Virappa Nayaka died after a reign of 22 years and several months [3]. His last known inscription, dated 1594, records the building of the temple of Kadirinaga Perumal and of a tank by his agent [4]. During his reign a *mandapa* was constructed in the Sundaresvara temple at Madura in 1582 [5]; and he is said to have "levied tribute from every country" [6]. His right-hand man in Government affairs, according to the Pudukkottai plates of Srivallabha and Varatungarama Pandya, was Tirumalairaja [7]. This chief's grandfather was Rama Nayaka, and his father Timma Nayaka. He was the chief of Chintalapalli, and a great devotee of the god Sri Ranganatha of Srirangam; he was brave in war, generous, just and courteous [8]. We have

1. Accorrding to this poem, "Virappa Nayaka managed to bribe the several generals of the Emperor's army. Tirumala Raya, the Emperor's nephew, was also one of those who accepted the bribe and, without continuing the siege of Madura, retired to the capital of his own viceroyalty to Seringapatam". Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 19 and p. 248, note; and Mr. Richards, *Salem Gazetteer*, p. 67, admit this account without further discussion. Cf. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 17; p. 81, note 17, and p. 99, note 9, where Dr. Krishnaswami gives a similar account of the course of events. This account is quite inconsistent with the information given by Anqutil du Perron, *viz.* the submission of the Nayak, confirmed by the inscriptions of his successor Krishnappa II, early in 1595. Neither can we believe that Prince Tirumala was one of the generals of the army; for he would have been too young then for such a task. The whole passage seems to be a poet's concoction for justifying Raja Wodeyar's capture of Seringapatam. "Hearing of these events", continues the poem, "the Mysore chief Raja Wodeyar resolved to drive the traitor Tirumala Raya from his Viceroyalty". l. c. Now the poet speaks of this capture of Seringapatam as immediately following Tirumala's supposed treason in Madura. Fourteen years separate these two events.

2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c.

3. *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, Taylor, *O.H.MSS.*, II, p. 119. Cf. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 83.

4. 470 of 1907.

5. 35 of 1908.

6. 470 of 1907.

7. *T.A.S.*, I, p. 61-2.

8. Ibid., p. 84, vv. 61-67.

seen him opposing Venkata's army at Vallaprakara. His activity in the government of Madura was probably due to the old age of Ariyanatha Mudaliyar.

Virappa continued his predecessor's policy with the Pandyas. About 1583, his officer Tirumalairaja obtained from Srivallabha and Varatungarama Pandya the grant of the village of Pudukkottai for a number of Brahmans [1]. The whole text of the grant shows a most intimate friendship between the Madura Nayak and the representatives of the old rulers of the Pandya country.

3. Periya Virappa Nayaka "had three sons, who were named respecively Visvappa Naicher, Kumara Krishnappa Naicher, and Kasturi Rangappa Naicher. Among these, Visvappa Naicher was crowned" [2]. Thus does the *History of the Karnataka Governors* announce the succession to the throne of Madura after the death of Virappa Nayaka. We can no longer entertain any doubt about the existence of this intermediate king between Virappa and Krishnappa II. The *Supplementary MSS.* also mention Visiappa or Visvappa as having ruled after the death of his father, and as having been succeeded by his younger brother, Kumara Krishnappa [3]. His statue under the name of Visvama Nayaka may also be seen, though misplaced, among the statues of the Nayaks, in the famous Tirumala's *Pudu Mandapa* at Madura [4]. The aforesaid *History* states that 'his brother Kumara Krishnappa Naicher was second to him in power'. This does not mean that both brothers were Kings, as Mr. Rangachari assumes [5]. Only one, Visvappa, is said to have been crowned; while Krishnappa was, during the life of his brother, only *Chinna Dorai,* 'associated in the government'.

1. Ibid., p. 84, vv. 68-77.
2. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 25.
3. Ibid., I, p. 205. In one of *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, Ibid., II, p. 260, Visvappa is called the younger brother of Krishnappa II.
4. The inscription over the fourth of these statues is damaged and illegible; but it cannot be other than the name of Visvanatha, Periya Krishnappa's brother. Cf. Heras, *The Statues of the Nayaks of Madura, Q. J. M. S.*, XV, p. 212.
5. Rangachari, *History of the Naik Kingdom,, Ind. Ant*, XLV, p. 81.

Visvappa Nayaka's reign must have been short. The Tamil chronicles mentioned above do not give any date; but since Krishnappa is mentioned in the future inscriptions we may conclude that Visvappa's reign had ended. In an inscription of 1696 Kumara Krishnappa appears as ruling over Madura [1]; and in a copper-plate grant of 1597 the same Kumara Krishnappa is styled 'the Pandya King' [2].

4. "After this", says the *History of the Karnataka Governors*, "the crown devolved on Kumara Krishnappa Naicher, and Kasturi Rangappa Naicher was his second in power" [3]. Kasturi was then only 'associated in the Government.' The most notable event that occurred during the reign of Krishnappa II was the death of his minister, Ariyanatha Mudaliyar. While Krishnappa was ruling, Ariyanatha is said, in the *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, to have 'delivered up both seal-rings to his lord and obtained the world of Siva (*i. e.* died)' [4]. The date given by this chronicle corresponds to April 19th, 1588, which is clearly wrong, as the same MSS. place his demise in the reign of Kumara Krishnappa II. Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar gives the year 1600 as an approximate date for Ariyanatha's end [5].

We read in the *Mrtyunjaya MSS.* that Ariyanatha Mudaliyar "held the united offices of minister and generalissimo during four reigns, or thirty-eight years and nine months" [6]. I feel sure that the power and efficiency of Ariyanatha in the Government of Madura have been hitherto exaggerated. Mr. Rangachari describes him as the real sovereign of the southern country [7]. Such a mistake comes probably from Ariyanatha's account in the *Mrtyunjaya MSS.* That document is a

1. 404 of 1907.
2. Sewell, II, p. 19.
3. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 25. Kumara Krishnappa's statue is placed in Tirumala's choultrie before the one of Visvappa, under the name of Lingama Nayaka, which seems to be another name of Kumara Krishnappa. Cf. Nelson, p. 107.
4. Ibid., p. 119.
5. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 86.
6. Taylor, o. c., II, p. 119.
7. Rangachari, o. c., *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 91.

panegyric on this minister very far from the truth, as we have already remarked a little above. The story of his appointment as Emperor of Vijayanagara by the dying sovereign Rama Raya on the battlefield of Raksas-Tagdi, and of the subsequent undertakings of Ariyanatha, is evidently false. Such a document is not at all trustworthy when praising its hero, specially as there is absolutely no evidence of his dominating influence. Moreover the silence of the inscriptions about him, specially in the reign of Virappa Nayaka (who is described by Mr. Rangachari as a puppet in the minister's hands) is worth considering while writing the history of Madura. I am however far from denying the general influence of Ariyanatha throughout the Pandya country as the prime minister of four successive Nayaks. His architectonic works are still an enduring proof of his efficiency in his post. The *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, say that he 'constructed thousand-pillared choultries in Madura, Tinnevelly and other places' [1]. His equestrian statue at the entrance of the thousand-pillared *mandapa* of the famous temple at Madura is the most evident proof of Ariyanatha's power, under the first Nayak of Madura.

5. Krishnappa Nayaka II is said, in the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, to have been a very pious monarch: "He gave to the god Rangapati a *kavacha* studded with precious stones, a similarly bejewelled *ushnisha*, yellow silk garments, neck-laces, crown, earrings, waist-zones, and presented him further with villages and gardens, and made arrangements for the celebration of car festivals and the daily services. He set up a number of lights in the presence of the god Sundara Nayaka; made arrangements for bathing the image of the god in milk and for the car festival...He performed the ceremony of weighing himself against gold...he founded *agraharas* for Brahmans and protected them; he paid the Brahmans enough money to enable them thereby to redeem their lands situated in the countries of other kings, which were mortgaged for the purposes of paying taxes" [2].

Fr. Pimenta, who knew him personally, gives another proof

1. Taylor, o.c., II, p. 111.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 320.

of his piety. " Hee daily sits in judgment," says he, "a Bramene standing by, which ever and anone whinet out the name of the Idoll Aranganassa (Ranganatha); and when one is weary another succeedeth and continueth that exclamation, though hee sits six houres " [1].

In the same Vellangudi plates, and again in the Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, he is called 'the conqueror *or* taker of the army of Panchar Tiruvadi' [2]. Fr. Pimenta, the Jesuit Visitor who, in the year 1596, passed through Travancore, relates that the king of Travancore had "certified to us that the king of Madura was coming against him with seventy thousand armed men and many elephants " [3]. Three years later, in 1599, when the Archbishop of Goa, Frey Aleixo de Menezes, was in Malabar, he could not meet the king of Travancore, who " was at the frontier of his kingdom, defending it against the attacks of the Nayque of Madura (the Madura Nayak)" [4]. The same account states a little later that this war was made towards the South of the Travancore kingdom [5]. We do not know the result of this war, which was probably due to the refusal of the Travancore king to pay the tribute; but we deduce that the Madura Nayak was victorious, from the fact that Fr. Barradas, writing from Cochin on December 12th, 1616, says that the king of Travancore is under the Nayak of Madura [6].

The relations between the Pandyas and the ruling family of Madura continued most friendly. The Pandya prince Abhirama Ativirarama, had a chief named Ayyakarappa, son of Peddappa and grandson of Nagama Nayaka, who bore the title of Kanchipuradhisa, being probably a nephew of Visvanatha Nayaka. At his request the aforesaid Pandya granted two

1. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 219.

2. Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 320; Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, Ibid., p. 227, vv. 67-77.

3. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 206. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 627.

4. Gouvea, *Iornada do Arcebispo de Goa*, p. 37.

5. Ibid., p. 95 back.

6. Sewell, p. 230.

villages, Muvaraikondram and Sattaleri, naming them Peddappanayaksamudram, to sixty-nine Brahmans, on October 2nd, 1593 [1]. Some years later the same Pandya, at the request of Ramakrishnappa Nayaka who was 'sitting on the lion throne of Vallabha Narendra,' granted the village of Nadikkudi, under the name of Ativiraramapura, to a number of Brahmans [2]. Ativirarama acknowledged the sovereignty of Venkata II, as an inscription of the year 1595, recording a grant of a piece of land to three private persons, proves [3].

6. In the beginning of his reign Krishnappa II appears as faithful feudatory of Venkata II. In 1597 Venkatapati, at the request of Krishnappa Nayaka, who is styled 'King Krishna, the Pandya King', issued a grant of the two villages Marudangudi and Karupuram in the Madura district to several

1. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 33.

2. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Ativirarama Pandya, *T. A. S.*, I, p. 134; Sewell, II, p. 31.

3. 615 of 1915. The above-mentioned account of the travels of Archbishop Menezes through Malabar gives some interesting details about this Pandya King and his dealings with the Christians. He is called by Fr. Gouvea Punhati Perumal, but must be identified with Ativirarama, the then ruling Pandya, because of the following words of the same author: "Oqual Rey foy antigamente senhor do Pande (Pandya), mas co guerras que teue com o Naique de Manduree, veyo a estas serras, & na falda dellas comprou muitas serras (terras ?) ao Rey de Tecacutes (?) aonde agora mora, posto que inda lhe obedecem algus pouos no Pande". It happened at this time that a tribe called of the *Malleas*, who were under his dominion, wished to become Christians. They requested an *olla* from the Pandya King, securing them from molestation on account of their conversion. The *olla* was duly obtained through the influence of an old Christian who 'was the chairman of his council'. This *olla* caused great excitement among the courtiers and Brahmans of the Pandya sovereign. They told him that the neighbouring kings were ready to wage war with him, if the *olla* were not cancelled; and the king of Turugure (a palaiyakaran) would also cause damage to the Pandya King's territory, by diverting the course of a river that was the source of much fertility to it. The mother of the Pandya sovereign was the first to try this *olla* revoked; but the King always replied that 'he would never revoke

Vaishnava Brahmans [1]. In 1598 Krishnappa obtained from Venkata, who is acknowledged the paramount sovereign and original donor, the village of Padmaneri, surnamed Tirumalambapuram, for a number of Brahmans, most of whom were well versed in the Vedas [2]. In this grant of Venkata, Kumara Krishnappa is called 'Lord of the southern Ocean' [3]. In the same year the Emperor, again at the request of Krishnappa, granted as an agrahara to a large number of Brahmans and Brahman ladies, the village of Vellangudi with five others around it [4]. But in the year 1599 Krishnappa II again withheld the payment of tribute; and Venkata himself had to march against him. "Hee (Venkata)", says Fr Pimenta, "was now embroiled in warre with the Naichus of Madure" [5].

Fr. Du Jarric gives some more information about this war. From his narrative, it is certain that Venkata himself took the supreme command of his army against the Nayak of Madura. Probably one of his generals was Matta Ananta, who is said in the Sidhout inscription of 1605 to have 'led the campaign against the king of Madura' [6]. Krishnappa, seeing himself unable to fight against the imperial army, agreed to an un-

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what he had once promised to Archbishop Menezes'. As a matter of fact, some subjects of the Pandya King, called *Mouros* (Muhammadans) by Gouvea, proceeded to the court of the king of the Tecankutes (sic), and finally succeeded in inducing this chief to threaten Punhati Perumal. A letter of the former against Perumal is mentioned by Gouvea, but no action between them is recorded. Most likely the Pandya sovereign apologized, and the false accusations of his subjects were unmasked. Gouvea relates that the Christian church of the Malleas was finally completed in spite of great difficulties. Gouvea, *Iornada do Arcebispo de Goa*, p. 82 back.

1. Sewell, II, p. 19; Rangacharya, II, p. 1002, 91.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 288-9, and p. 297, vv. 45-57.
3. Ibid., p. 297, vv. 67-77.
4. Ibid., p. 320-1, and p. 302.
5. From Fr. N. Pimenta, to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 210.
6. *M. E. R., 1916*, para 75. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 248-9, translates this passage as follows: "He protected the flying armies of the Madura chief from destruction." This version is inconsistent with the loyalty of this chief.

conditional submission to Vénkata. He was on this occasion made to pay something more than the usual annual tribute, *viz.* twelve millions of gold coins; for to the ordinary tribute was added a war indemnity [1].

7. After a short reign, Krishnappa Nayaka II died between May and June of 1601, according to the *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*[2]. Muhammad Sharif Hanafi, who was at this time travelling through southern India, informs us that a few days after his arrival at Madura, "the ruler died and went to the lowest hell. This chief," he continues, "had 700 wives, and they all threw themselves at the same time into the fire" [3]. An inscription of 1600 at Sermadevi seems to be the last one of his reign; it mentions Murti Settiyar, an agent of Krishnappa Nayaka [4]. He had been seriously ill in the beginning of his reign, about the end of 1597. After his recovery he retired to a country house, in a delightful place far from the crowds of the city, ostensibly for the sake of health [5]. But Fr. Pimenta, who passed through Madura a little after Krishnappa's retirement, gives another reason: "The Naichus of Madure is very superstitious, and resigned his Palace to his Idol Chichanada upon the authority of a Priest who said the Idol by night had bidden him tell the King that he or I must dwell in this house" [6].

Krishnappa II had a son; but according to the *Pandyan Chronicle* he had died before his father [7]. There was also a

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 685-6.

2. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 119. Cf. Sathyanatha Aiyar, o. c., p. 87.

3. *Majalisu-s Salatin*, Elliot, VII, p. 139. The author does not give the date of his visit to Madura. Anyhow we know that the work was compiled in his old age in 1628. Now in his journey to Madura he was accompanied by his father. Hence he could not be then more than 35 years of age. Now supposing that he was about 60 when his book was compiled, he was about 33 when Krishnappa Nayaka II died. We therefore conclude that this Krishnappa Nayaka was the ruler referred to by Sharif Hanafi.

4. 717 of 1916.

5. Du Jarric, I, p. 649.

6. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 219.

7. Taylor, o. c., I, p. 38.

son of the eldest brother, Visvappa [1]; but since he was a child [2], or perhaps, a young man, his uncle 'Kasturi Rangappa Naicher was crowned' [3]. Thus does the *History of the Karnataka Governors* announce the successor to the throne of Madura after the death of Krishnappa II. Both the *Pandyan Chronicle* [4] and the *Supplementary MSS.*, support this [5]; and no confirmation was needed from Kasturi's statue, which stands in Tirumala's choultrie at Madura immediately before the one of Mutu Krishnappa.

We cannot say how long Kasturi's reign lasted. Both the *Supplementary MSS.*, [6] and the *History of the Karnataka Governors* [7] affirm that he reigned seven years; but then there would be no room for Muttu Krishnappa, his nephew, who died in 1608. Hence we prefer to admit the authority of the *Pandyan Chronicle*, which also gives more details about his end. According to it "Kasturi Rangappa, after having been crowned, died eight days afterwards...on the opposite bank (of the river Vygai), where he was residing" [8].

8. After Kasturi's death Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka, son of Visvappa Nayaka, ascended the Pandya throne [9]. One of the first things intended by the new King of Madura in 1603-4 was to oppress with new taxes the Paravas of the Fishery Coast. During the reign of Krishnappa Nayaka II these poor Christians had been tyranically treated by two

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1. *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, Taylor, o.c., II, p. 260; Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 239. The *Pandyan Chronicle* does not state whose son he was. The *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor, o.c., II, p. 25, and the *Supplementary MSS.*, Ibid., I, p. 206, make him son of Krishnappa Nayaka II. The first opinion seems however the most founded.

2. *Supplementary MSS.*, Taylor, o.c., I, p. 206 ; *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Ibid., II, p. 25.

3. *History of the Karnataka Governors*, l. c.

4. Taylor, o. c., I, p. 38.

5. Ibid., p. 206.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., II, p. 25.

8. Ibid., I, p. 38.

9. *Pandyan Chronicle*, Ibid., *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Ibid., II, p. 25; *Supplementary MSS.*, Ibid., I, p. 206.

Palaiyakarans of the neighbourhood. One is styled in th Jesuit sources 'King of Tuticurin'. The Paravas of the neighbourhood also used to pay him an annual tribute. But when this chief demanded from the poor folk of Tuticorin a heavier sum, the latter refused to pay it. The petty king could not brook such a flagrant breach of obedience. He marched his army against Tuticorin, entered it by surprise, sacked the whole town, robbed the College of the Jesuits and destroyed the altars and images of their Church. The Father who was then in the College, and whose name is not given, was captured by the soldiers of the so-called king and carried to their capital, where he was kept in captivity till a ransom of four thousand cruzados was paid by the Paravas. Now these much-vexed people demanded from the Palaiyakaran some sort of amends for the injuries done both to them and to the Catholic Church. But the chief was rather inclined not to trouble himself as far as this satisfaction was concerned. On seeing this the Paravas of Tuticorin abandoned their city, and proceeded in a body to the little island called 'of the Kings,' a league from the sea-shore, where they settled. Later on fortifications were built round the island, by the license of the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha [1]. Naturally the escape of the Paravas from the continent was not a welcome news to the covetous Nayak of Madura. But another event, that followed soon after still more infuriated the Madura sovereign.

The Palaiyakaran of Vigiabadi (Vijayapati), named Ariya Perumal, was likewise heavily oppressing the Paravas that inhabited the tract between Cape Comorin and Manapadu. Once he besieged the village of Obari and took all its inhabitants prisoners to his capital. The Paravas could not stand such a humiliation. They secretly resolved to attack Vijayapati by night, in order to take revenge on the extortions of their tyrants. Early in October, 1602, the chiefs and promoters of the expedition, with 300 young men well equipped, (who were not yet cognizant of the purpose of the enterprise), embarked at Manapadu on six

1. Guerreiro, *Relacam Annal...no ano de 606. & 607*, p. 607. Cf. Besse, *La Mission du Madure*, p. 409-10.

boats. A tremendous storm dispersed the boats before they reached their destination, and at the break of day only two of them had arrived at the shores of Vijayapati. The garrison of the town was sleeping. Ariya Perumal himself and his nobles, who had held a festivity till the small hours in the morning, were also in a sound sleep. The brave Paravas crossed the ditch and entered the town without opposition and pitilessly slew all they came accross. On hearing of the attack Ariya Perumal left his palace and hid himself in one of the houses of the town. There he was finally found. It seems he begged to be brought alive as a prisoner to the presence of the missionary at Manapadu; but his request was not granted, and he was barbarously slain. His head was cut off and brought to Manapadu as a glorious trophy of that campaign. The Jesuit letter which affords this information states that not even one of the Parava heroes was wounded on that occasion [1].

Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka could not leave such a crime unpunished. An extraordinary heavy tribute of 200,000 *cruzados* was exacted from the poor Paravas the same year. To obtain it he despatched a body of 5,000 infantry with a number of cavalry and elephantry, under a captain. This detachment went straight to Tuticorin, which had been abandoned some months before. The captain then sent for one of the Jesuits who were in the island called of the kings. The Jesuit actually came, but replied that the Paravas could not pay such a large sum of money. On hearing this the captain gave orders that one of the neighbouring villages should be attacked. They did so, but at the same time the Portuguese captain of the island of Manar, who was then in the island of the kings with two galliots full of soldiers, proceeded with them to the sea-shore of Tuticorin and began an attack on the Hindu temple built near the city. All the priests and devotees of that shrine then ran to the Telugu captain begging for mercy, lest their temple should be destroyed. Shortly after pourparleurs were opened between the Jesuit missionery and the captain of the Nayak, which ended in the latter's retreat to Madura with his soldiers [2].

1. Besse, o. c., 404-7.
2. Ibid., p. 407-8. The Jesuit letters mentioned two other

These facts show how strange was the situation of these poor folks of the Fishery Coast. Oppressed with taxes and depredations by their natural lords, they had to be protected by a foreign people, whose sovereign in Europe took great interest in their welfare. When that monarch was informed of this new exaction, he wrote to his Viceroy as follows: "Manoel de Cunha, father of the Christians of the Fishery Coast, I recommend you to help those Christians as much as possible, and to employ all possible means to hinder the said Naique from making such extortions any more" [1].

This information, referring to the control of the Nayak of Madura over the Fishery Coast, is confirmed both by the fact that Muttu Krishnappa's son, Muttu Virappa, made a gift of land to the Bhagavati temple at Cape Comorin in 1606 [2], and by Fr.A. Laerzio's letter of November 20th, 1609, describing the Paravas as tributaries of the Madura Nayak and the latter as the ally of the Portuguese [3].

9. Muttu Krishnappa is said to have been the founder of the Setupatis of Ramnad in the Marava country. According to the *Pandyamandala Cholamandala Tondamandala Rajakal* the Marava people were originally a colony of fishermen from Ceylon, who settled at Rameswaram as well as on the opposite coast [4]. In the early times, when the Chakravartins flourished, seven persons from among the inhabitants of the Ramnad coast were

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irruptions of the Badagas into the Fishery Coast, in 1603 and 1604. Cf. Besse, o. c., p. 409-10 and 411. A new vexation of Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka is recorded in the Jesuit letters of 1607, on the ccasion of the shipwreck of a Portuguese boat near the island of the kings. Cf. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 109-10; Besse, o. c., p. 412-5.

1. From King Phillip III to the Viceroy Martim Affonso de Castro, Lisbon, February 26th, 1605, Ap. B, No. VIII.

2. Cf. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State*, I, p. 302.

3. Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, II, p. 2. Cf. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 107-8.

4. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 207. The poem adds that they were settled there by Rama after the conquest of Lanka, to guard the temple and protect the pilgrims; this cannot be admitted by history until proved.

XV. Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka and Muttu Virappa Nayaka.
Pudu Mandapa, Madura.

appointed to be its guardians [1]. They had been under the Pandya kings; but at the time of the Muhammadan invasion they attained their independence [2], and several famous princes had since ruled over the Marava nation. Udaiyan Setupati in 1434 built the outer surrounding walls of the western *gopuras* of the Rameswaram temple; and about 1540 Tirumalai Setupati erected the southern half of the second *prakara* of the same temple, finished by his son Raghunatha Tirumalai Setupati [3]. Their main task was to watch over the causeway leading to Rameswaram and to protect the pilgrims. But after the conquest of the South by Visvanatha Nayaka the Setupatis had lost their old authority, and were mingled with the other palaiyakarans of the South. Muttu Krishnappa gave that house a considerable strip of land in the Marava country; and this is the reason why he is considered the founder of that dynasty. This is how it happened.

The *History of the Karnataka Governors* relates that the chief guru of Muttu Krishnappa, who was invested with the title of Kartarkal or lord, went once on a pilgrimage to Rameswaram. Udiyan Sethopathi (Udaiyan Setupati), a descendant of the old Setupatis [4], whose task was to protect the pilgrims going to Rameswaram, was then living in the village of Pugalur. "He escorted the chief guru safely to Ramiseram (Rameswaram), without allowing him to suffer any insult or molestation on the way; and in like manner he also safely conducted him back again to Madura. Being greatly pleased with this attention, the chief guru introduced him as a skilful guide and safeguard on the road to Sethu". Consequently the chief was then presented by the Nayak with a number of villages, along with an honorary robe and various ornaments. On returning to Pugalur he built a fort there; and

1. *Chronicle of the Acts of the Setupatis*, Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, Ap., p. 49.

2. Cf. Ch. VI, No. 3.

3. Burgess, p. 57. Cf. Sewell, II, p. 227.

4. His father, or perhaps one of his relations, was one Muthuviraja Raghunatha Setupati, who in 1604 settled a dispute between two parties in the Ramnad country. 11 of 1911; Burgess, p. 62-3. Cf. Rangacharya, II, p. 1170,105.

assembling some forces, subdued all the turbulent country around and reduced them to his own sovereignty. He collected a considerable sum of money from taxes levied upon the newly-subdued people, and brought it over to the Madura Nayak. Muttu Krishnappa was greatly pleased with such activity, and accordingly "gave him an unrestricted grant to subdue additional people ; instructed him to see to the forest-lands, which yielded no revenue, that these be cleared and cultivated; and wrote letters to the people commanding their submission to his Viceroy." Udaiyan Sethupati went back to his country, and without delay took possession of a greater tract of land, and divided the revenue into two parts, of which he kept one for himself and sent the other to the Madura king. Then Muttu Krishnappa sent for him and invested him with the title of Setupati, or chief of Setu, "bestowing on him elephants and horses, with vestments and ornaments; and also gave him some banners or ensigns of dignity; and in Madura had him consecrated to his viceroyalty, by the sprinkling of the water of the Ganges" [1]. This ceremony took place, according to the *Chronicle of the Acts of the Setupatis*, in A. D. 1606 [2].

10. The *History of the Karnataka Governors* tells us that "Udiyan Sethopathi built a mud fort at Ramanathapuram (Ramnad), and ruled after the fashion of a king" [3]. And "the other six persons, who were also guardians, were included in his government and, together with all the inhabitants, yielded their consent" [4].

One of the first measures of the new Raja of Ramnad, as he is called in some inscriptions, was to make a gift of five villages to the temple of Ramanatha and Parvatavardhani at Rameswaram for worship and offerings, on November 20th, 1605 [5]. Then in a copper-plate, dated July 8th, 1607, Dalavay Setupati Kattadeva records another gift of eight villages near

1. Taylor, o. c., II, p. 27-9.
2. Ibid., Ap., p. 49.
3. Ibid., p. 29.
4. Ibid., Ap., p. 49.
5. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 37.

Pamban to the same temple for the regular performance of the *puja* and of offerings [1]. Some days after, on the 17th of the same month, he gave a plot of land in the island of Rameswaram to a servant of the Ramanathaswami's temple [2]. Then in the year 1607, he made a gift of lands to the people 'of the five countries' who served as priests and cooks in the Rameswaram temple [3]. These grants prove the care of the newly-appointed Setupati for the performance of the Hindu rites on that famous spot, of which he had been nominated the guardian.

An inscription of his of the following year 1608 at Rameswaram gives the list of his titles, which will appear again in some grants of his successors. Tirumalai Udaiyan Setupati is there styled "the lord of the city of Tevai; the responsible agent for the protection of the Setu embankment; the responsible agent for the charities of Ramanathaswami, who is actively engaged in worshipping Siva; the chief of all other kings; the destroyer of the army of the Ariyaraya, who cuts into a thousand pieces and three thousand pieces those failing in the correctness of their language; who conquers all the country that he sees and never gives back a country once conquered; the punisher of Muvaraya, the lord of the valorous and the fertile country, the protector of the Brahmans studying the Vedas; who has put down the pride and prosperity of the valorous and inimical Yavana kings" [4].

During his time, in 1608 according to an inscription at Ramesvaram, the temple of Ramalingesvara was built [5]; and it was at this time too that the sage Ramanatha, as other inscriptions testify, repaired the main temple at Ramesvaram [6] and constructed the Kotitirtha *mandapa* in the same temple [7].

1. Ibid., p. 37; Sewell, II, p. 50; Burgess, p. 60-8.
2. *Catalogue*, p. 38. Cf. Burgess, p. 75-8.
3. Burgess, p. 65-6; Rangacharya, II, p. 1170, 110.
4. Sewell, II, p. 6, Burgess, p. 65-66.
5. 102 of 1903.
6. Burgess, p, 59; Rangacharya, II, p. 1168, 78.
7. 100 of 1900. The same Ramanatha had built in 1598 the Adalmandapa in front of the central shrine of the Ramalingesvara temple at Ramesvaram. 99 of 1903.

11. The relations between Muttu Krishnappa and the Emperor seem to have been of mutual friendship and understanding. A grant of Venkata II of the year 1601, to the Bhasyakata shrine in the Madanagopal temple of Madura, proves these relations to have been such from the beginning of his reign [1]. Then an inscription of 1606 at Villapuram, outside the dominions of Madura, records a gift of a garden as a reward to Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka [2]. Finally a coin which probably belongs to Muttu Krishnappa, is a proof of the same. It bears on the obverse a standing figure of Vishnu with a fish the symbol of the Pandya kingdom—on his right; and on the reverse this inscription: 'Venkatapa' [3].

Moreover in September, 1604, Venkata II received in audience a special envoy of the Nayak of Madura, as a Jesuit letter of the year 1906 tells us [4]. And in 1608, the last year of Muttu Krishnappa's reign, another of his embassies reached Venkata's court. Fr. Coutinho, who was himself present at the public audience, gives in one of his letters a detailed account of the ceremony: "A very few days ago", he wrote on October 11th, 1608, "the Naiques of Tangior and Madura sent their tribute consisting of 500 thousand *cruzados* and many sorts of presents to the King. In order to receive these (things), (the King) dressed himself as on the days of great celebration, with many ornaments of gold and precious stones. The one he bore on his chest was valued at a hundred thousand *cruzados*. We were present at this ceremony by a special privilege and permission of the King" [5].

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1. 35 of 1908.

2. 326 of 1917.

3. Hultzsch, *Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara*, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 308, No. 37. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 104, and Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 64.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No XII.

5. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608. Ap. C, No. XXIII. It may be seen from this how groundless is the statement of Sewell, p. 220: "The Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore became independent in 1602."

12. Muttu Krishnappa must have died either at the end of this year or in the beginning of the following year 1609 ; for there is an inscription of the first half of this year recording a gift of money to celebrate certain festivals for the merit of Muttu Virappa Nayaka, his successor [1]. This was the eldest of the three sons of Muttu Krishnappa; the other two, according to the *History of the Karnataka Governors*, were named Tirumali Naicker (who was destined to become famous in the history of southern India) and Kumara Muttu-Naicher [2]. Of these three Muttu Virappa succeeded his father [3].

Following the wise policy of his father, the new Madura ruler continued on good terms with Venkata II during the first years of his reign. An inscription in Madura belonging to the year 1609 records that Venkatapatidevaraya, at the request of Muttu Virappa Nayaka, made a gift of the village of Nagenalluru, surnamed Mudduviramahipalasamudra, on the northern bank of the Kaveri river, to Brahmans. The Nayak divided the village into 82 shares and distributed them to several learned Brahmans on November 13th [4].

13. But suddenly these mutual relations appear to have been broken. No more inscriptions are found showing the names of the Emperor and his Nayak together; the latter does not acknowledge his overlord any more. Early in 1610 a gift of land of his to the temple at Ambasamudram, Tinnevelly [5],

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1. 87 of 1905.

2. Taylor, o.c., II, p. 29. I do not know why Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 97, does not accept the existence of this third son of Muttu Krishnappa. The *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, Taylor, II, p. 260, and the *Supplementary MSS.*, Ibid., I, p. 206, do not mention him because they only give the list of the Madura kings. The same must be said of the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 239. Silence in this case is not a good proof, when other sources mention Muttu Krishnappa's third son.

3. *Supplementary MSS.*, Taylor, I, p. 206 ; *Mrtyunjaya MSS.*, Ibid., p. 260; *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Ibid., II, p. 29.

4. 9, Ap. A of 1906 ; *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 55 ; Rangacharya, II, p. 1003, 95.

5. 122 of 1907.

and an exemption from taxes of the Mudaliyar servants of the Sokkanatasvami temple at Madura [1] are both recorded, without mentioning Venkata. The same policy is followed in the inscriptions of the following years. In 1612 a gift was made in Tinnevelly for the merit of Muttu Virappa Nayakkar [2]; in 1613 an inscription in honour of the same Muttu Virappa was carved in the greatest *gopura* of the Perumal temple at Madura [3]; in neither of these does the name of the Emperor of Vijayanagara appear.

Fr. A. Proenza, writing from Trichinopoly to Fr. General, G. Nickel, in 1659, said: "Tirumala Nayaka, who rules now, walking in the footsteps of his father resolved to free himself" [4]. We have seen that Tirumala's father always remained loyal to the Emperor. Beyond doubt Proenza took Tirumala's predecessor as his father; and this means, that Muttu Virappa Nayaka also 'resolved to free himself'. Fr. Vico, writing from Madura in 1611, says that the Nayak was not punctual in paying the tribute; often would he postpone the payment; sometimes he even refused it with insolence. "In that case", continues the Jesuit, "the Bisnagar (the Emperor) comes or sends one of his generals at the head of a hundred men, to make them pay all the arrears with interest" [5].

One of these rebellions took place in the beginning of 1610. Very likely Venkata did not lead the army which marched against the rebel Nayak. At this time he is described by both the Jesuit and the Portuguese sources as a very old, and a valetudinarian. Matla Ananta or Venkatapati Nayaningaru might have held the supreme command: the latter, in an inscription of 1612-3, is 'called the conqueror of the territory called Panchapandya' *i.e.* the kingdom of Madura [6]. The result of this

1. Burgess, p. 109–10.
2. 123 of 1907.
3. Sewell, I, p. 293.
4. From Fr. A. Proenza to Fr. G. Nickel, Trichinopoly, 1659, Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, III, p. 42.
5. From Fr. A. Vico to Fr. A. Laerzio, Madura, August 30th, 1911, Bertrand, o. c., II, p, 124.
6. Butterworth, I, p. 246.

fight was the same as on the previous occasions: Muttu Virappa was defeated by the army of Venkata, and compelled to pay a heavier tribute, summing up the arrears and the war indemnity. Fr. Roberto de Nobili, writing from Madura on December 12th, 1610, to Fr. Laerzio, says as follows: "A certain notable Pandara said to one of my Christians these last days that the coming of the King of Bisnaga was the destruction of the Naiche, just as my stay in this country was the destruction of the Pandaras" [1]. The saying referred to in this letter proves evidently both that the war was over at the end of the same year, and that its result was satisfactory to the Vijayanagara Emperor. The same is meant by Fr. Vico's letter, which says that the poor people had to pay for the fault of the prince: "all the country is laid waste and people are plundered or massacred" [2].

After this war, the control of Venkata over Madura appears again through the inscriptions of the following years. There is one dated 1611 on a rock in the Matribhutesvara temple at Trichinopoly, which records a gift of Venkata for the merit of Virappa Nayaka [3]. Then another inscription of Venkata of 1613 registers that a certain Venkatadari Bhattar set up at Vellangudi, in the country directly ruled by Muttu Virappa, the images of Krishna and Kamesvari and granted land for their worship [4].

14. Shortly after the war with Venkata, Muttu Virappa was engaged in another war. Fr. Laerzio, writing from Cochin on December 25th, 1611, says that he was going on his usual visit to all the houses of his Province. On the 22nd of September he was in the College at St. Thome; but he was prevented from proceeding to Madura on account of the war between the Nayak of Madura and the Nayak of Negapatam [5]. It was

1. From Fr. R. de Nobili to Fr. A. Laerzio, Madura, December 12th, 1610, Ap. C, No XXXI.

2. From Fr. A. Vico to Fr. A. Laerzio, Madura, August, 1611, Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, II, p. 124.

3. 134 of 1905.

4. 452 of 1916.

5. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, Decembe 25th, 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXIII. Cf. Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, II, p. 108.

usual among the Jesuits to call Nayak of Negapatam the Nayak of Tanjore [1]. Nothing is hitherto known either about the cause or the result of this war between Madura and Tanjore. Did it break out because the Tanjore Nayak had given his aid to the Emperor the year before, while going to subdue the rebel Muttu Virappa? We shall see that this feud between the two houses, that came to a head and burst in Venkata's reign, continued unabated till the extinction of one of them; and that very soon, just after the death of the Emperor, the Madura and Tanjore Nayaks again came to blows.

1. Du Jarric I, p. 633.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE MISSION OF FATHER ROBERTO DE NOBILI

SUMMARY.—1. The fruitless mission of Fr. G. Fernandez at Madura. —2. Fr. Roberto de Nobili in Italy, Goa and Cochin.—3. De Nobili at Madura. Investigation of the causes of the failure of this mission.—4. De Nobili's new plan approved by his superiors. —5. He presents himself as a 'Roman Brahman.'—6. His ordinary life.—7. His mastery of Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu.—8. His mode of dealing with visitors.—9. Albert, the first convert.—10. De Nobili dresses as a *sannyasi*.—11. Other conversions. Good spirit of the new Christians.—12. De Nobili's method of preaching. The fourth Veda.—13. A number of extraordinary events confirm the Christian Faith.—14. Relations between de Nobili and the Palaiyakarans. De Nobili's dealings with Srivallabha Pandya.—15. Frs. Leytao and Vico at Madura.—16. Criticism of de Nobili's mission.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Jesuit letters.—2. Du Jarric, Guerreiro, Figueroa.—3. *Moncocs do Reino* (Pangim Archives).—4. Juvencio.

ONE of the most important events in the history of southern India during the reign of Venkata II is the establishment of the mission of the Jesuit Fr. Roberto De Nobili [1]. The brief account of it which we give here is an attempt to do justice to that bold but holy undertaking of this famous Jesuit, so differently judged both by his contemporaries and by subsequent historians and controversialists.

In the year 1596 Fr. Gonzalo Fernandez arrived at Madura from the Fishery Coast. Here he settled down in order to look after the spiritual welfare of the Christian Paravas of Coromandel, who occasionally went to the capital on business [2]. Fr. Guerreiro, relying on the missionaries' letters, says that Fr. Fernandez stayed at Madura to negotiate with the Nayak about the affairs of the missionaries on the Fishery Coast [3]. What these 'affairs'

1. Hence both Mr. Rangachari, *History of the Naik Kingdom*, *Ind. Ant.*, *XLV*, p. 107-8, 116-9, etc., and Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 93-5; 106-8, speak at length of this missionary enterprise.

2. Besse, *La Mission du Madure*, p. 199.

3. Guerreiro, *Relacam Annal...no anno de 606. & 607.*, p. 112.

were is not stated in this work; but we feel sure that the frequent irruptions of the Nayak's soldiers into the villages of the Paravas proved the necessity of such an agent at the court of Madura. Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka II, the then ruler of Madura, received the missionary amicably and granted him permission to build a church in his capital. Accordingly Fernandez erected a church, not so magnificent as the Hindu temple, says Du Jarric, but yet beautiful and pious [1].

Madura was a new field to work in. The faith of Jesus Christ had never been preached in the old Pandya capital, and the zealous missionary did not lose his golden opportunity. He spoke about Christ and his holy religion in his conversations with the people of the town [2]. Frequent religious disputations were held at his house between the missionary and the Brahmans, who were often attracted thither both by the Father's benevolence and by their natural curiosity. Moreover the Jesuit established a dispensary and hospital, where everything was administered free to Christians and Hindus alike [3].

It has been often said that Fernandez's labours bore no fruit, a statement which is not founded on contemporary Jesuit authorities. The only information about this particular point is found in Guerreiro, who says that 'the Badagas (Telugus) greatly admired the holiness of the Father and specially his chastity'; but he also states that 'in the conversion of Hindus he did very little' [4]. This means, no doubt, that some conversions to Christianity were made, but the success was by no means encouraging. For a time Fr. Nicolao Levanto was sent there in order to study Tamil [5]. But he was soon sent to St. Thome, and Fernandez once more remained alone.

Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka followed the policy of his uncle in his dealings with the Father, and the bonds of friendship bet-

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 649. Cf. D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church*, II, p. 31.
2. Guerreiro, l. c.
3. Du Jarric, I, p. 649–50.
4. Guerreiro, l. c.
5. Du Jarric, I, p. 650.

ween the two were as close as ever. The King of Portugal, in a letter to his Viceroy dated February 26th, 1605, says that he is aware "that the Naique (the Nayak of Madura) made his salutations to a religious of the Society (of Jesus), who was conducting some business there" [1]. Great friendship must have existed between Muttu Krishnappa and Fernandez, if the knowledge of it reached the ears of even the King of Portugal.

2. Such was the position of the mission of Madura when Fr. Roberto de Nobili was sent there in 1606.

The new missionary had been born at Montepulciano, Italy, in September, 1577 [2], of a very noble family, related to Popes Julius III and Marcellus II and to the Cardinals Sforza and Bellarmino [3]. Another of his illustrious relatives did perhaps greatly influence Roberto's career. This was his uncle and namesake, Cardinal Roberto de Nobili, who died some years before Roberto's birth, at the early age of 18 years [4]. "Roberto de Nobili", says Pastor, "was a Cardinal upon whom the representatives of the Catholic reform party could rest their greatest hopes. Highly gifted from an intellectual point of view—he is said to have spoken Latin and Greek at ten years of age—he distinguished himself still more by his great piety. Like Aloysius of Gonzaga, whom he particularly resembles, he was scrupulously pure of heart. He could never do enough in his ascetic exercises; he fasted strictly, slept on a board, wore a hair-shirt, assisted at Mass every day, listened frequently to sermons, and often received Holy Communion, and from motives of humility would not allow his portrait to be painted. The dignity of the Cardinalate, which he had received from Julius III, was only used to assist the needy. He repeatedly thought of renouncing this dignity and of retiring into a

1. From King Philip III to the Viceroy Martim Affonso de Castro, Lisbon, February 26th, 1605, Ap. B, No. VIII.

2. Brucker, *Malabar Rites*, *The Catholic Encyclopædia*, IX, p. 558, says Roberto de Nobili was born in Rome. I prefer the authority of Dahmen, *Roberto de Nobili, S.J.*, p. 1.

3. Juvencio, *Epitome Historiae S.J.*, IV, p. 74-5. Guerreiro, l. c., says that he was a nephew of Card. Sforza. Card. Bellarmino was his father's uncle. Cf. Dahmen, l. c.

4. Dahmen, o. c., p. 2, note 1.

religious order; but his confessor, the Jesuit Polanco, dissuaded him from this step. Assisted by him he died after a painful illness, with the most perfect resignation to the Divine Will, on January 18th, 1559. Men like Charles Borromeo, Bellarmino and Baronius venerated as a saint this Cardinal, who was so early called away to a better life" [1].

The pious nephew, moved perhaps by the example of his uncle, in order to avoid any probability of his elevation to high eccleciastical dignity, joined the Society of Jesus in 1597 at Nocera, in the 19th year of his age. The famous historian of the Society, Fr. Nicolao Orlandini, was his novice master [2]. Four years later, though not yet a priest, he requested his superiors to send him to the missions of India [3]. In 1604 his wishes were fulfilled. He reached Goa in September, 1605, and was despatched shortly after to the College of Cochin, where he finished his studies in Theology [4]. One of his letters to the General, written at Cochin, shows both the state of the missions of southern India on those days, and his enthusiasm to undertake missionary life in the interior of the peninsula. It runs as follows: "It is but too true that till now our Fathers have hardly tried to get into touch with the people of the interior. With the exception of a few towns owned by the Portuguese and a few stretches on both coasts depending on them, where they had minor settlements, all that immense land of India, where the power of the King of Portugal never possessed any sort of influence, and where consequently one cannot expect any help from that power for the promotion of the missions, continues to grovel in the darkness of idolatry. Thus the way to the conversion of India is closed; and of our best missionaries all are content to employ themselves in the Colleges of Cochin and in the four residences we have along the coast, and close their eyes to the innumerable multitude of souls living in those wide-spread lands of India. Only a few try to penetrate into the interior" [5].

1. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, XIII, p. 176-7.
2. Dahmen, o. c., p. 2.
3. Ibid., note 4.
4. Ibid., p. 3-5.
5. Castets, *The Madura Mission*, p. 25. The last allusion of de Nobili is most likely to those who were at the court of Venkata II.

3. Finally in 1606 Father de Nobili himself ventured into 'those wide-spread lands.' In the middle of this year Fr. A. Laerzio, the Provincial of the Malabar Province, when going to pay his annual visit to the missionaries, took Fr. de Nobili along and left him at Madura. The same Provincial, in a letter written towards the close of the following year, says: "One year and a half elapsed since we sent Fr. Roberto de Nobili to the residence of Madura in order to learn the language of that country to perfection" [1]. And in another Jesuit letter of the same year, 1606, we read again: "In November last Fr. Provincial, passing through that residence (of Madura), left Fr. Roberto de Nobili there to help Fr. Goncalo frz (Fernandez), and to learn the more correct language of the court; and also to relieve the Father who, being old and sickly, required a successor" [2]. De Nobili was then 29 years old.

We find the first impressions of de Nobili after his arrival at Madura in a letter dated December 3rd, 1607, to his godfather the Marquese D. Gregorio Boncompagno: "This," says he, "is the chief city of the kingdom. It is thickly populated by men that are indeed rich and brave in war, but who have as yet no knowledge of the true God. They are addicted to a very wicked idol-worship; and our Fathers who work here find themselves confronted with such insuperable opposition that after twelve years they have not made a single convert, except three or four sick persons who were baptised shortly before death. Yet our Fathers, who have been at work so long here, are men of outstanding virtue and true ability" [3]. De Nobili, in another letter to his cousin the Comtessa de Santa Flore, compares the idolatry of Madura to the idolatry of the old city of Rome: "I am now", he writes, "in a famous city of this country called Madura, crowded with wicked idols, as was formerly the famous city of Rome" [4].

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1 From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 20th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XX.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ibid., No. XXVI.

3. Dahmen, o. c., p. 4.

4. Ibid., p. 12, note 1.

Naturally de Nobili investigated the causes of the failure of Fr. Fernandez, and finally discovered them. "There might, of course, be other explanations", says Fr. Dandoy here. "But one seems to have suggested itself at once to the clear and keen mind of the princely Tuscan missionary. There is an old proverb about the Rome to which de Nobili compared Madura: '*Si Romae vivis Romano vivito more*', (when thou art in Rome, do as the Romans do). In other words: one must adopt the customs and ways of the country one lives in. Nobili realised that one of the mistakes of his zealous brethren was that they not only failed to observe Indian customs, but by their example at least taught their converts not to respect them" [1].

One of the missionaries residing at the court of Venkata II, Fr. Antonio Rubino, after studying the causes of the lack of conversions, arrived independently at the same conclusions almost at the same time. In one of his letters to Fr. C. Aquaviva, he wrote: "It is astonishing how well barred is the entrance of this kingdom against the Holy Faith. This comes from the aversion and implacable hatred they have (towards us), based on the impression that we are the priests of the Portuguese, who eat beef and drink wine...We keep ourselves away from all these things, in this kingdom. Yet our black dress is quite enough to rouse such opposition and abhorrence; we are therefore looked upon by them as a pestilence. And to them it is quite enough, as said before, that they know us to be the priests of the Portuguese. It is necessary, in order to obtain different results, to dress oneself, to eat, and to keep other social customs, just as they do, *in quantum fieri potest* (as much as possible). I often wrote this to Fr. Provincial. He wishes to send me, dressed according to their fashion, to a city of this kingdom where I am unknown" [2].

This was neither the only, nor the main cause of such an aversion towards the Catholic priests. On account of a fatal misunderstanding the Paravas and their missionaries were called *Pranguis*; and the missionaries themselves, unaware of the

1. Dandoy, *A Sannyasi from the West, The Light of the East,* July, 1924, p. 6.

2. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, September 30th, 1609, Ap. C, No. XXVII.

real meaning of this word, had accepted it, and even called the Catholic Religion, 'the Religion of the *Pranguis*'. Christianity had been wrongly identified with *Pranguism* [1]. De Nobili, after a careful study of the meaning which the people attached to this word, realized the great mistake of his predecessors. "The word *Prangui*", he wrote some years later in his *Apology*, " does not, in the mind of this people, signify either Portuguese, or European, or Christian ; for they do not exactly know either the one or the other. It means a vile class of people, despicable to a degree not far removed from the beasts—people without virtue and modesty, given to drink, feeding on unclean meat and even human flesh, incapable of science, divinity or religion. The Hindus ", he continues, "have seldom met men of the illustrious Portuguese nation...The men who come here (from the Portuguese possessions) may be reduced to two classes. They are either men who, being born in India, have no Portuguese blood in them whatsoever, yet think that, when they have learnt by heart four Portuguese words and have dressed themselves like the Portuguese, they have changed their race and have become Portuguese ; these we call *Topazes* [2], and the Indians call them *Pranguis* ; hence it is clear that it is not only white men whom they call *Pranguis*, but anyone who, whatever his colour, dresses as a Portuguese. Or they are men who were born Jews, but came to some agreement with the Portuguese, and travel on business. These also the people of Madura call *Pranguis* without any qualification. Now anyone who has to deal with them knows the nobility, the reliability and the cleanliness of these two classes! No wonder then that the *Pranguis* are held most vile" [3].

4. The careful consideration of all these prejudices led to the natural conclusion that the mode of living of missionaries

1. The word *Prangui* is borrowed by the Hindus from the Muhammadans to designate denationalised people. This word, in Sanskrit *Phitanguin* and in Persian *Prangui*, was the name given by the Muslims first to the Franks, and then to all the Europeans in general. The special meaning attached to it in southern India, in Fr. de Nobili's days, was quite different.

2. One who uses two languages. Cf. *Ceylon Antiquary*, VIII, p. 210.

3. Dahmen, o. c., p. 6 and note 1; Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, II, p. 151.

had to be changed in order to attract the Hindus to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Blessed John de Britto, in a letter of 1683, wrote to this effect: "Fr. Roberto de Nobili, of revered memory, that great servant of God and that model of missionaries, having acquired a most complete knowledge of all these prejudices, and being persuaded with St. Ambrose that '*primus discendi ardor nobilitas est magistri*' [1], made himself all things to all men that he might win them all to Jesus Christ" [2].

But before taking any step in carrying out his new plan, he consulted his superiors about the matter. The Provincial Laerzio thoroughly approved of de Nobili's plan, and mentioned his approval in a letter to Fr. General, written in 1609 [3]. His ecclesiastical superior, Mgr. Francisco Ros, Archbishop of Cranganor, and a Jesuit, says: "Before adopting this manner of life, Fr. Roberto first consulted me, who am the pastor of that church. When we had decided between ourselves on a plan to be adopted, the Father gradually carried it out, whilst I decided to continue to be, in a certain fashion, his fellow-worker, and to assist him in so holy an enterprise. I first read books on Hindu idolatry, the subtlest that exist; next I sought the advice of the best theologians of the Malabar Province, of the Goan Inquisitor and of the Most Illustrious Primate, Dr. Frey Alexis Menezes, now Primate of Braga and Governor of Portugal; and on finding that their views agreed with what I had gathered from long experience of those parts of India, I gave my full sanction to the method followed by Fr. Roberto in the formation of his Christians. We declare in particular that the thread worn by the Brahmans, and the *kudumi* or tuft of hair which caste Indians grow on their heads, the sandal paste and other social customs, were not marks of a religious sect, but only distinctions of nobility, caste or family, and that the converts might keep them without any scruple" [4].

1. The eminence of the master excites the first desire to learn from him.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Madura Mission, 1683, Castets, *The Madura Mission*, p. 24.

3. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Ap. C, No. XXVIII.

4. From Mgr. F. Ros to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 19th, 1613, Castets, o.c., p. 29-30.

5. With such a full and encouraging approval from the Archbishop, de Nobili separated himself from his confrère Fernandez, and started his new mode of life, in 1607, a year after his arrival at Madura. Let us hear again the Provincial Laerzio, in one of his letters to Fr. C. Aquaviva. "God in his mercy", he writes, "has at last heard the prayers we addressed to Him long ago and crowned our hitherto fruitless efforts with success. A new field is open to our apostolic zeal; and everything makes us hope that it will be fertile in the labour, merit and fruit of salvation, to the greater glory of God. I mean to speak to Your Paternity about the Madura Mission, by whose beginning such brilliant hopes have been raised. Fr. Roberto de Nobili was moved by the deplorable blindness of those people, who are buried in the darkness of death, and was filled with the great thought that Jesus Christ had come down for the salvation of all men, and must everywhere triumph over the devil, destroy his empire and wrench all his slaves from him. So after discovering the true cause of their obstinacy, he resolved to bring an efficacious cure to such an evil. After the example of St. Paul, who made himself all to all, and specially after that of the Eternal Word, who made himself man in order that men might be saved, Fr. Roberto said to himself: I too will make myself an Indian to save the Indians.

"With my approval, and with the authorization of His Grace the Archbishop of Cranganore, he presented himself to the Brahmans, protesting that he was neither a *Prangui* nor a Portuguese, but a Roman Rajah[1], *i. e.* a man of high nobility; and a *sannyasi*, that is, a penitent who has forsaken the world and all its enjoyments. The life to which he has bound himself by such a profession is very hard and very difficult; but there is nothing that does not become

1. Such is the statement of Laerzio, followed by Fr. Castets, o.c p. 24, note 2. It is however contradicted by both Mgr. Ros and Blessed Britto, as we shall see later on. Moreover Fr. Juvencio, who based his work on the accounts sent annually to Rome, says expressly that de Nobili declared himself a Brahman, and adds: "Id quod vere predicare poterat, quippe qui e nobilissima inter Italicas gente ortus". Juvencio, *Epitome*, IV, p. 74. The same

easy to a man animated with a true desire to make Jesus Christ known and to gain souls to Him.

"From that moment, Fr. de Nobili admitted none but Brahmans into his service. Rice, milk, herbs and water, taken once a day, constituted his only food.

"He also thought it necessary to separate himself from Fr. Gonzalo Fernandez and having built for himself a house and a chapel, on a site given him by a pagan of high position in the Brahman quarter, he made it his own special home" [1]. Guerreiro's account states that the house was given him by the Governor of Madura [2].

Blessed John de Britto, writing on de Nobili's change of life, says that he adapted himself strictly to the Brahmanical manner of life, "used only Brahmans as servants, and gave himself out as a Roman Brahman Sannyasi, or in other words, a religious sage from Rome. Conformably to the social usages of the country, he avoided all public intercourse either with Europeans or with Pariahs" [3].

Moreover Mgr. Ros, while speaking of this strange evolution, says that 'he transformed himself into a Brahman

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Fr. Laerzio, in another letter written one year later, November 20th, 1609, states that Fr. de Nobili put on the thread of five strings, *because the Brahmans wear one made of three threads* (Italics mine). Cf. Ap. C. No. XXVIII. Moreover all the sources affirm that de Nobili's new house was placed in the Brahman quarters. Guerreiro, l.c., not acquainted with Indian things and customs says that he presented himself 'como Brahmene or Rayo'. In one of the contemporary letters there is an anecdote which might perhaps create some confusion. Once the Nayak Hermecatti (Erumei Chetti) sent soldiers to arrest one of de Nobili's disciples. At the official's request the missionary answered: 'If His Lordship wants my head, let him cut it off; but let him not expect from me a deed unworthy of my rank'. At these words one of the soldiers, who was a rajah by caste, was heard to murmur with some pride: 'Here is a true rajah. I know his caste from the way he behaves'. Bertrand, o.c., II, p. 94. Is Bertrand reliable here? I was unable to see the original of this letter.

1. From Fr. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, December 30th, 1608, Castets, o. c., p. 26-7.
2. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 112.
3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Madura Mission, 1683, Castets, o.c., p. 24.

philosopher'[1]. Accordingly he was called thereafter *Tattva-bodhaka Swami*, the Philosophical Doctor.

6. De Nobili himself, in a letter to Cardinal Bellarmino, dated Madura, December 1st, 1607, describes confidentially his ordinary life in his new settlement. "I now dwell", he says, "in a mud-house covered with straw, which is to me more useful and gives me more satisfaction than a rich palace. I hold it to be most certain that there is no consolation comparable to that enjoyed by one living in this voluntary sort of exile for the love of God, and toiling much for His sake. Nevertheless at times the labour I have undertaken becomes wearisome to me; and when the thought rushes on me, that I shall have to continue amidst such toil and fatigue all my lifelong, I begin to be apprehensive that I shall not be able to persevere to the end. But when I turn my thought from this to heaven, I am reminded of what Your Excellency used to say, explaining those words of King David: '*Qui posuit fines tuos pacem*'. I feel that my fear has vanished, and I am consoled at the thought that, since such peace and repose await us in the end, a longing for rest here on earth is simply unreasonable.

"My way of living is as follows: I remain continually shut up in my little mud-house. Thereto, every day, after I have said Mass and commended myself to the Lord, I give free admittance to whoever likes to speak to or to discuss with me. The time left to me, which is very short, I spend in writing, in the language of the country, the refutation of some of the false doctrines upheld by various leaders of thought among these people. As I am thus obliged to keep continually to my house, or rather to my single little room; and as the food I eat is not very substantial, since neither meat nor fish nor eggs ever so much as pass my door, I am always sickly; and few are the days in which I do not feel some pain either in the stomach or in the head. My food consists of a small quantity of rice, of which there is abundance in this country, and some herbs or fruits. This manner of diet I must observe; because if these people did not see me following this penitential kind of life, they would not

1. From Mgr. F. Ros to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Ibid, p. 29.

consider me fit to teach them the heavenly way. For so are their doctors wont to live, and some of them even follow a harder and austerer kind of life. There are those in fact who do not even touch rice. Now if Your Excellency reflects that here the use of bread is unknown, and that as to wine, I use it only for Mass, Your Excellency may gather how little a man has to feed upon if he abstains from rice. As for me, I do not venture so far; because what I already do, namely abstaining from flesh and fish and eggs, suffices in order that those people may condescend to consider me as a true teacher of religion. At this very moment I am suffering from such a strong fit of asthma that I can scarcely breathe ; and so I finish my letter bit by bit as I can" [1].

This food was prepared by a Brahman cook; and he never dared any more to take food prepared by a non-Brahman servant [2]. He had one daily meal only, and that at four o'clock in the afternoon, according to the custom of the *sannyasis* [3].

7. For the rest of the day he was extremely busy with the study of the languages of the country. Shortly after his arrival in Cochin he had taken up the study of Tamil. In his letter to Prince Boncompagno, quoted above, he says: "As soon as I came here I began to learn the language which, on account of its rich vocabulary and its syntax, is difficult. But God helped me, so that after six months I could hold conversation and preach without an interpreter" [4]. Two years later he wrote again that 'he finds it more difficult to speak Italian or Portuguese than Malabar (Tamil)' [5]. Writing to Card. Bellarmino, he says: 'I find their language very fine, very copious and very elegant' [6]. About the same time, Fr. Laerzio wrote to Fr.

1. From Fr. R. de Nobili to Card. R. Bellarmino, Madura, December 1st, 1607, Castets, o. c., p. 32-4.

2. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 112.

3. Figueroa, *Historia y Anal Ralacion. Los anos passados de 607 y 608*, p. 134-5.

4. From Fr. R. de Nobili to Prince Boncompagno, Madura, December 3rd, 1607. Dahmen, o. c., p. 4.

5. From the same to Fr. Fabius de Fabiis, Madura, October 8th, 1609, Ibid., p. 14.

6. From Fr. R. de Nobili to Card. R. Bellarmino, Madura December 1st, 1607, Castets, o.c., p. 33.

General: "Fr. Roberto charms every one by his conversations, the purity of his High Tamil, and the stories and passages from Indian authors that he quotes from memory [1]".

He now began to apply himself to Telugu and Sanskrit. No European had previously studied the latter language [2]. His teacher was a learned Brahman from Madura. In a letter dated April 22nd, 1609, Fr. de Nobili expresses to his Provincial his gratitude to that learned man. "I cannot express," he says, "all the obligation I am under to this excellent Brahman. Besides the knowledge of Sanskrit and Telugu, I owe him a knowledge still more precious: that of the most sacred mysteries of the Vedam. It is considered a crime for a Brahman to write down the Vedam; they only learn it by heart at the cost of incrediable fatigue, and it takes them ten or twelve consecutive years. My teacher has overcome his scruples on this point, which is a shining proof of his faith. He writes down all the laws for me; but this must be done quite secretly; if the Brahmans came to know of it, the least punishment inflicted on him would be the plucking out of his eyes. We spurn the danger because of the utmost necessity of this means: for on the knowledge of these secrets depends the conversion of the gentiles" [3]. His assiduity in study was so great that Fr. Vico, one of his companions later on, affirms that de Nobili used to study whilst the barber was shaving him [4].

In an account of the year 1608 we read as follows: "He has started to learn the *Gueredan* (Gradonic or Sanskrit) now,

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1. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1608, Ibid., p. 27. "Sabe ya la lengua Talmul (Tamil), mas cortesana, y pronunciala tan biem que no da ventja a los Bramanes mas entendidos. Lee y escrive ya la misma lengua, y tiene passados muchos libros de sus historias y decorados muchos pasos de su ley, y versos de los mas famosos Poetas de que ellos hacen mucho caso". Figueroa, o. c., p. 135.

2. Cf. Max Muller, *The Science of Language*, I, p. 143.

3. From Fr. R. de Nobili to Fr. A. Laerzio, Madura, April 22nd, 1609. Bertrand, o. c., III, p. 49.

4. Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 104.

and he reads it and speaks it moderately well" [1]. Two years later, in a letter dated December 8th, 1610, Laerzio reports that 'Father Roberto possesses the language, understands it perfectly, and speaks it with ease' [2]. Finally in 1613, Mgr. Ros is able to affirm that de Nobili has "learned three very difficult languages, investigated to their very depths the secrets of the sacred mysteries of the heathen and mastered them fully". And somewhat later on, the Archbishop expresses his admiration for the marvellous knowledge acquired by de Nobili in such a short time: "I have conversed with Fr. Roberto", says he, "about the languages and manners of these people, and I was so much impressed by his knowledge, that I, who may, however, be said to know something of those languages, am ready to swear, every time I am asked to do it, that this Father cannot have acquired the knowledge he possesses through natural means, any more than he can, without the special help of God, lead the austere life he leads" [3].

8. Admiring crowds gathered round the Philosophical Doctor, and curiosity led the men of Madura to see and hear him. Visitors flocked to the small hut to inquire where the new *sannyasi* came from, what was his caste, his doctrine, his manner of life and his purpose. But de Nobili, knowing the customs of the Indian ascetics, at the beginning did not stir out, and received visitors only with great reserve. When people came to see him, his disciple told them that the *sannyasi* was engaged in contemplation, or engrossed in meditation upon the divine law [4].

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1. Figueroa, o. c., p. 135.

2. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, December 8th, 1610, Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 88.

3. From Mgr. F. Ros to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 19th, 1613, Castets, o. c., p. 29. "Suspiciebant (Brahmanes) majorem in modum, tantam in homine Europaeo vernaculi sermonis facultatem, non secus ac si media in Madura et aula fuisset educatus; eruditionem vero in nulla doctrinae Indicae parte rudem." Juvencio, *Epitome*, IV, p. 75. "We feel deep admiration for his (Nobili's) learning and knowledge of Sanskrit, for not only the Sanskrit literature was known to him, but also the Veda, at least one of the Sakhas, the Yajurveda of the Taittiriyas". Caland, *Roberto de Nobili and the Sanskrit Language, Acta Orientalia, III*, p. 51.

4. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 113.

When admiration and curiosity were at fever-height he received the visitors, but not before they had come twice or thrice. "They tell the porter that they wished to speak with the Ayer (that means the lord)," says Figueroa. "Then after much waiting, as it is there customory, they are admitted to his presence to talk with him. They find him sitting on a dais covered with a red carpet-like cloth; another red carpet is lying before him, and next to this there is a mat. Those who come, even the most noble and principal courtiers, bow reverently before him, raising up their hands over their heads and then bringing them down in profound obeisance. Those who desire to become his disciples bow thrice in this style, and finally prostrate themselves for a while" [1].

Guerreiro affirms that even Muttu Virappa Nayaka was desirous of hearing the new European *sannyasi,* and manifested his wish several times to his courtiers; but one of them, who probably knew de Nobili, replied that 'the Father was so chaste, that he never went out of his house to avoid seeing women' [2].

As a matter of fact, de Nobili spent more than one year in that holy solitude, without having been seen in the streets even for a moment [3]. When, after a while, he began to go occasionally to his country-house for some rest, he went in a palanquin preceded by two criers to clear his way. Some years afterwards, however, all this show was dropped: he presented himself as a mere spiritual *guru,* proceeding simply on foot, with a long staff bearing his insignia and two Brahman disciples accompanying him [4]. All these ceremonies and honours were far from being dear to the heart of the humble missionary, who had joined the Society of Jesus in order to avoid them; but in his *Apology* he says that a Hindu *pandaram* had given him the following good advice: "If you desire your own salvation only, you should retire to a desert, where you can live stark naked. But if, as you tell me, you have at heart the salvation of the people of this land, you must surround yourself

1. Figueroa, o. c., p. 135.
2. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 113.
3. Ibid.
4. From Mgr. F. Ros to Fr. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 19th, 1613, Castets, o. c., p. 38.

with splendour: the spiritual man must be like a corpse who wears with equal indifference silk robes and linen rags, riches and poverty, honours and ignominy" [1].

De Nobili's purpose was successfully attained. Fr. B. Coutinho, in a letter of 1608, speaks "of the great fruit obtained in Madura by Fr. Roberto, and of the great edification he gives by devoting himself to the service of God in a sort of disguise" [2]. And Mgr. Ros is still more explicit in the following passage of the letter quoted above: "He (de Nobili) has attracted the hearts of haughty Brahmans, in such a way that not only do they come to see him, and hear from his lips the word of God with incredible admiration, but they go so far,—a wonder which no one could have expected,—as to kiss the ground he has trodden on and to embrace the faith that he preaches. Acknowledging their errors, they openly declare: 'Never has a man spoken as he does'" [3].

9. The immediate fruit of this admiration and veneration was a large crop of souls. The first Brahman who became a Christian was a teacher in the school founded at Madura by the Jesuits [4]. He was a very learned and proud young man, who had despised the Fathers and their doctrine. Fr. de Nobili gave him a Tamil Catechism written by Fr. G. Fernandez, to be translated into Telugu. The reading of this book excited much curiosity in the teacher's mind. On the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, that took place on February 25th, 1608, Fr. de Nobili refuted several of his ideas and superstitions. That was their first religious talk. After that the teacher was a frequent visitor at de Nobili's house, and became his constant disciple. Guerreiro gives the matter and order of some of these discussions: "They first spoke about the plurality of gods. The Father showed him its absurdity based on the argument of the divine perfection? For it is evident that if God were to have partners of his divinity inferior to Him, they would not be

1. Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 167.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C., No. XXIII.

3. From Mgr. F. Ros to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 19th, 1613, Castets, o. c., p. 29.

4. Cf. Ch. XXV, No. 13.

gods; if they were equal, none of them would be god, since each would be wanting in the perfections the others had. The teacher easily agreed to this reasoning. Then they discussed whether God had created this world out of nothing. On this point the pagans hold the same error as our ancient philosophers did, *viz.* that it is impossible to create something out of nothing. De Nobili refuted this as follows:—

"Everything that exists has its existence either because it has it from itself or because it has received it from another. Your Paju (Pasu) exists; now, this existence is given him by God or it comes from himself.

"The Hindu replied that it had not been given by God.

"Hence it comes from himself", added the Father.

"It seems so," answered the Hindu.

"Therefore, (replied de Nobili), this your Paju (Pasu) is God, and possesses an infinite being, and this being is not limited by anybody". On hearing this the Hindu remained silent: no answer could be given to the conclusion. Then, in order to convince him thoroughly, the Father proved the same with another more evident argument from the omnipotence of God. If God could not create something out of nothing, he was not mightier than the earth, which produces the trees out of their seeds; nor than the water, which aided by the sun and other circumstances produces fishes and other imperfect animals [1]. He would then be like a carpenter, who from a tree makes an image, but he cannot make it without the tree. De Nobili told him at the same time that God, in order to be infinitely powerful, cannot lack any power; but He would certainly lack power if He would need Paju (Pasu) in order to create anything. Hence either He was not Almighty or He was not in need of Paju (Pasu). The Hindu remained satisfied after hearing this reasoning.

"On another occasion, another important dispute took place about the transmigration of souls, an ancient dream of Pythagoras. The reason given by the Hindu was founded on the variety of men: some are kings, others are slaves; some are

1. This idea was founded on the ancient philosophical theory of spontaneous generation, which is now thoroughly exploded.

Brahmans, others Pariahs. While explaining his theory the Hindu spoke as a true Pythagorean would have done, since he maintained that the soul was not the form of the body, but was (he said) inside the body as the bird is inside the cage and the chicken inside the egg. It was not very difficult to show him the fallacy of this opinion.

"You know very well," said the Father, "that when the bird is inside the cage, the cage does not grow; unlike the body, that having the soul inside, grows up to its perfect height. Moreover you cannot deny that the bird out of the cage can beget another bird, and yet you will never state that the soul separated from the body could have sons. Moreover the soul is not in the body in the same way as the bird is in the cage.

"Then the Hindu asked de Nobili: 'How did it stay in the body?'

"The Father answered that the soul dwelt in the body as the form and the life of that body, and both together made one thing, called man. The Father proved this by the human operations of eating, walking and running; for these operations cannot be done by the body alone without the soul, but by both together. And for the same reason neither the body alone, nor the soul alone, but both together forming one single thing, make up what is called a man. Hence, it would not be in accordance with justice that any of them separately should be either punished or rewarded for the bad or the good deeds of the man; both together must be either punished or rewarded, since both together have done bad or good things. Then the missionary explained to him how a man dying in a state of sin, that is, in infinite malice, has to be punished with an infinite punishment. But to be a hundred years in the body of a dog was not an infinite punishment; therefore a place was necessary where, after passing away from this life, the sinner could be punished for ever without ever entering another body. As to the variety of men, from which the transmigration of souls was inferred, the Father replied that the potter from the same mud moulds a jar for the king's table and a basin for washing one's feet; in the same way God according to his will creates one to be a

king and another to be a slave; and nobody can reasonably complain by asking: 'Why was I made so?'

"This disputation lasted a long time. It was started at two o'clock in the afternoon and was not over before eight o'clock in the evening. From this, however, as well as from the preceding ones and from others that followed, in which the mysteries of our holy faith were declared to him, this Hindu was so satisfied and so enlightened, that he soon asked for Holy Baptism, which was finally administered to him after having been carefully instructed for twenty days; and he was named Albert.

"The Baptism of this fortunate teacher was the beginning of many others, that were subsequently administered to those who were coming to know the most sweet name of Jesus and his holy law. For after a while he baptised another noble youth whom he called Alexis Naique (Nayaka); and two more Badagas (Telugus), and a brother of the teacher Albert, and four or five more nobles, among them a very learned Captain. All this was done with great rejoicing; but secretly, in order that it might not reach the Naique's (Nayak's) ears till an occasion for the Father to pay a visit to him presented itself" [1].

10. But all these conversions could not be made as secretly and silently as de Nobili desired. For Albert had formerly been a disciple of a Pandara, who at once noticed his pupil's desertion. De Nobili was afraid of this Pandara because of his influence at court; but the man himself, moved by curiosity, once went, exhorted by his disciples, to the house of de Nobili. The missionary received him as kindly as he could; and after they were seated, a religious discussion at once began De Nobili declared to him the tenets of the religion of Christ, and so clearly, that the Pandara openly confessed before his disciples that 'Chhokkanatha (the god worshipped at Madura) and the ashes they put on their forehead were all sham, and that only the things taught by our holy faith seemed to him true'. On leaving the house, the Pandara told his pupils that those

1. Guerreiro, o. c, p. 113-5. The final refutation of the transmigration of souls is also mentioned in Juvencio, *Epitome*, IV, p. 75-6, and Marini, *Delle Missioni*, p. 119.

who embraced de Nobili's doctrine were worthy of much praise; and that he himself would help the missionary in his enterprise to the best of his ability. And his first advice to him was of great importance indeed.

It has been often said that, when de Nobili moved to the Brahman quarters, he also changed his black soutane for the dress of a Brahman *sannyasi*. This is not accurate. Up to this time, *viz.*, towards the middle of 1608, de Nobili wore the black soutane, as contemporary sources clearly show. It was at the advice of this Pandara that he changed his mind once more, and changed his habit too, for that of a *sannyasi*. "He advised him to leave aside the dress of the Portuguese, which was hated by the Badagas (Telugus), and to put on the garments used in that country by the *gurus* and learned people who profess to teach the divine law". De Nobili objected that this dress was too showy and, therefore inconsistent with his vow of poverty; but the Pandara solemnly replied :—

"Father, if you want to attain salvation yourself alone, you may dress as you like; but if you want to teach others the way to salvation, to be the *guru* of these people, to preach the spiritual law and to have many disciples, you must live according to the customs of this country, as much as you can" [1].

De Nobili followed the advice of the Pandara, and on this occasion he took to the dress of the *sannyasis* [2]. This dress is described in one of the letters of Fr. Laerzio as "a long robe of yellowish cloth, with a sort of rochet of the same colour thrown over the shoulders, a cap in the form of a turban on his head, and wooden slippers fixed on supports two inches high and fastened to each foot by a peg passing between the toes". "To this", Fr. Laerzio continues, "he adds a string, the distinctive sign of the Brahmans and of the Raju caste; but instead of the three threads of which it is generally made, he uses five, three gold and two silver ones, and a cross is suspended in the middle. The three gold threads, as he explains, represent the Holy Trinity, and the two silver ones the body and the soul of the adorable Humanity of Our Lord; while the cross in the middle

1. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 115-6.
2. Juvencio, *Epitome*, IV, p. 76.

XVI. Fr. Roberto de Nobili, S. J.,
in the costume of Brahman Sannyasi,
An ink sketch by a contemporary missionary Fr. Baltazar da Costa, Biblioteca Nacional, Panjim.

represents the Passion and Death of the Saviour" [1]. Figueroa, after having described de Nobili's costume in accordance with the preceding extract, adds the following consideration to the explanation of the string of five threads: "Thus with this string he publicly announces in that country the mysteries of the Most Holy Trinity of the Incarnation and of the Redemption" [2]. Later on de Nobili ascertained that a solitary ascetic need not wear the thread, and thenceforth he discarded it [3].

11. The number of conversions was gradually increasing. At the end of September, 1608, he baptised four prominent men of Madura—Dadamurti, the owner of the *agrahara* where Fr. de Nobili lived; Chritinada, a craftsman of great repute with the Nayak and the nobles of the court; Golor, brother of the chief porter of the Nayak's palace; and a fourth, whose name is not given. At the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, December 21st, nine others were also baptised [4].

In the following year, one of the most illustrious converts was de Nobili's own teacher of Sanskrit and Telugu. When their friendship began, the proud *guru* nursed fond hopes of converting the Christian *sannyasi* to Hinduism; but the result turned out to be quite other than he had foreseen or even hoped for. On June 7th, 1609 de Nobili announces this event, showing in his words the joy of his heart and his thankfulness to God: "Today", says he, "the feast of the Holy Ghost, I have baptised my beloved teacher: I cannot sufficiently express his joy, mine, and that of all the Christians. He has received the name of God-given. I trust he will do much for the conversion of the Gentiles, for he is a young man well known throughout Madura for his nobility, his cleverness, his erudition, and his profound knowledge of the sacred laws; and, what I esteem most, he has ever led a pure and regular life" [5].

The number of conversions cannot be ascertained with

1. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1608, Castets, o. c., p 27. Cf. Ap. C. No. XXVIII.

2. Figueroa, o. c., p. 134.

3. Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 110.

4. From Fr. R. de Nobili to Fr. A. Laerzio, December 24th, 1608, Figueroa, o. c., p. 141.

5. Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 37.

precision. Fr. Besse, after an examination of de Nobili's letters, records their number at 71 for this first period of his work, from 1607 to 1614 [1]. The letters of de Nobili and his companions often commemorate the virtues practised by these Christians, that recall to our mind those of the first Christians of Rome. Alexis Nayak is mentioned as an example of humility and Christian perfection [2]. His brother Vihuuada (Vihuvada) Nayaka preferred to be dismissed from the retinue of Kasturi Nayaka, a cousin of Muttu Virappa Nayaka, rather than mark his forehead with the sacred ashes as in former days [3]. Another called Calistri (?) is shown as busy spreading the Christian faith among his old friends and always desirous of the palm of martyrdom [4]. The craftsman we have mentioned above was offered great quantities of money to induce him to make several statues of idols; but he always refused them, preferring a life of poverty to contributing any more to the splendour of that cult [5]. Fr. Buccerio, a companion of Fr. Fernandez, by whom he was later on influenced against Fr. de Nobili, wrote a brilliant apology for the converts of de Nobili. "I observed in that Christian community", says he, "two other things well worthy of the highest praise, and exceedingly rare in India, among those who wish to become Christians. I may speak from experience, for during my long apostolate the Lord sent me many to be instructed and baptised. Those who thus present themselves generally come to us either because of the interest they find in joining Christians of their caste, or because of the difficulties they experience in remaining pagans or Muhammadans, or because they hope to secure some temporal advantage, or for other interested motives. For these reasons they are often he cause of great difficulties to us. What can we give them? How are we to clothe or protect them? At the same time we must give them much instruction in order to teach them to purify their intention, and to make them understand that in our religion alone can they find salvation. But, on the

1. Cf. Dahmen, o. c., p. 77.
2. Figueroa, o. c., p. 147.
3. Ibid., p. 145.
4. Ibid., p. 142.
5. Ibid., p. 143.

other hand I observe that, in Fr. Roberto's community, those new Christians have come with no other end in view than their salvation; also after having attended, during several months, the instructions of the Aiyer (de Nobili) and understood that our religion is the only true one, they asked to be baptised and to be made Christians, solely to please God and to save their soul. The Aiyer has never to give anything to his Christians; it is rather they who, on the day of their baptism, are wont to present the Aiyer with some little offerings for the use of his church, or for other similar purposes. We, on the contrary, are all our lifelong beset with cares and anxieties to find out how we may help our Christians, who are continually begging. Some of them have even come all the distance from Cape Comorin to this city, in order to approach me for some help. The second thing which I always tried, though in vain, to make both Christians and Pagans understand, is that our religion is no more the religion of the Portuguese than of any other nation; and that by becoming a Christian an Indian does not lose his honour or his caste, but rather keep all the honour he had, and adds to it the much greater glory of becoming an adopted son of God. But it is useless for us to speak to them in this way; we fail entirely to persuade them; for those who come to us are invariably regarded by Christians and Pagans as joining the caste of the *Pranguis* or Portuguese, or of that of the Paravas, according to the nature of the converts; and the Pagans look down upon us in the matter of caste, as being below everything. In consequence respectable Pagans, or even the Christians of St. Thomas, refuse to admit those converts into their houses or to their churches. Fr. Roberto has obtained totally different results. Hence, though both Christians and Pagans well know that the law he preaches is the same as that of the Portuguese (as is proved by the crosses and other pious objects which those Chrtstians wear in place of the image of their gods), the Christians (of de Nobili) have the satisfaction of being assured that the Father is not a *Prangui*; and the Pagans, who have the same conviction, are appeased and have no difficulties in dealing with the Christians in all social or civil matters" [1].

1. Castets, o. c., p. 35-6.

12. After having seen the relatively great success obtained by Fr. de Nobili, it may be of interest to know what his way of preaching was. He explains this in one of his letters: "The advice given in the *Exodus*", says he, "'Do not speak against the gods', applies even to pagan divinities; not that these divinities are not despicable, but because speaking against them, instead of doing good, prevents the conversion of souls. When we wish to drive darkness out of a room, we do not waste our time creating a great stir and trying to expel it with brooms; we light a taper, and darkness vanishes by itself. Reach the pagan heart by winning its esteem and affection, and then bring in the taper of truth, and all the darkness of idolatry will vanish without trouble" [1].

In another letter he explains more particularly the different articles of faith which formed the subjects of his conversations with his visitors: "To those who come to me," says he, "I teach that there is only one God in three persons, whose attributes are infinite; who created the world, man and all beings; who in order to save men assumed a human nature, body and soul, in the womb of an ever-chaste virgin; that this incarnate God, true God and true man, is called Jesus Christ—a name that means Saviour, full of grace and heavenly gifts; that free from all stains, He atoned for all the sins of men and saved them. The holy spiritual law which contains these truths is the Law I preach. It requires of none that he should give up his caste, or that he should join another caste, or do anything that is contrary to the honour of his caste. God is witness to me that the holy spiritual law is for all castes. As the great Nayak is the lord of these lands, so that all the inhabitants, Brahmans or Rajas, are obliged to obey him in all

1. Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 265. Accordingly in his works, of which we shall speak at length in the following volume, he never directly attacks paganism. Cf. Miranda, *The Introduction of Christianity into the Heart of India*, p. 23. Figueroa, o.c., p. 64, however affirms that "he had read many books of their stories. And these stories are to him of great help in order to refute them and to prove that there are not many gods, but only one who has no body". Anyhow, this refutation of the tenets of Hinduism always followed the exposition of the Christian Doctrine.

temporal concerns; so the true God is the legitimate Lord of all men, so that all conditions and castes should live according to His spiritual law. This is the law I preach, and which other saints and *sannyasis* have preached in this land before. If anyone were to say that this law is proper to *pariahs* and *Pranguis*, he should commit a great sin; for since God is the lord of all the castes, his law must be obeyed by them all; and no caste is so high that it is not further raised by obedience to that law. As the sun spreads its very pure light on all castes and all objects in this world, without losing thereby anything of its admirable purity; and as its light, instead of soiling the Brahmans, honours them; so the true God, the spiritual Sun, spreads over all men the gift of his holy law, the true spiritual light" [1].

Now the way of conveying all these new ideas to the mind and heart of his audience was purely Indian: even in his way of teaching he accomodated himself to the customs of the country. Fr. Laerzio says in one of his letters: "Fr. Roberto charms every one by a great number of verses of his own composition, which he partly sings and partly recites with exquisite delicacy and distinction" [2]. Fr. Castets, commenting on this passage, says: "The practice here described by Fr. Laerzio was then the approved method of preaching or teaching moral or religious truths. It is not unknown even now. The orator begins by singing a pithy stanza expressed in more or less enigmatic and very concise language. This is followed by a rather lengthy gloss in which the explanation of the text is interspersed with quotations, stories, allusions, according to the wealth of learning and fluency of the exponent. When one considers that Fr. de Nobili was able to go successfully through such a performance before a most fastidious and fault-finding audience, and even to astonish his hearers by the elegance of his diction and the wealth of his literary knowledge,

1. Bertrand, l. c.

2. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1608, Castets, o. c., p. 27. "Sabe tambien muchas canciones y las canta con tan buena voz y gracia, que le oyen todos con admiracion y gusto" Figueroa, o. c., p. 135.

after scarcely a year's study of the language, we must conclude that the Father must have been not only a man of wonderful ability, but a true prodigy" [1].

Finally, another unexpected circumstance drew to Fr. de Nobili the attention of his audience. "What helps me very much in the conversion of these people", says he in a letter of December 24th, 1608, "is the fact I discovered, that they had originally four Vedas; three which the Brahmans still teach, *viz.* of Vesmu (Vishnu), Brama (Brahma) and Rutru (Siva), and a fourth, wholly spiritual, by which salvation was to be attained. They say, however, that this fourth Veda is lost, and there is no man wise and good enough to recover it. And the wisest of their men state likewise that the most secret books affirm it to be impossible to attain salvation by any of the other three laws. Hence many think that there is no salvation at all, and others suppose that there is nothing beyond this life. From this I take occasion to show them that they are in a fatal error from which, as they themselves confess, none of their three Vedas can save them. I prove this to them with the very sayings of their books. These people have a deep yearning for eternal life; hence they are much inclined to do penance and to give alms, and to be very faithful to their idols. So I profit by this disposition to tell them that if they wish to be saved, they ought to listen to me; that I have come from a far-off country simply to save them by teaching them that spiritual law which (as their Brahmans avow) has been lost—thus following the example of the Apostle who preached to the Athenians the Unknown God. I tell them that if they wish to apprehend this fourth law, they ought to declare themselves my disciples. Their conversion becomes then very easy. For when they resolve to become my disciples, they easily receive from me the doctrine I preach to them; and thus their will being inclined in my favour, they gladly come to hear my explanations" [2].

1. Castets, o. c., p. 27-8.

2. Figueroa, o. c., p. 147. Cf. Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 21. About the discovery of the Veda, which Fr. de Nobili speaks of, see Yule, *Notes on Supara and the "Discovery of Sanskrit"*, *Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 96; *Burnell*,

This original way of insinuating himself into the hearts of the Hindus is acknowledged by Max Muller as a wonderful token of the prudence and knowledge of Fr. de Nobili. "The very idea," he says, "that he came, as he said, to preach a new or a fourth Veda which had been lost, shows how well he knew the strong and weak points of the theological system which he came to conquer" [1].

13 In this enterprise Fr. de Nobili was evidently aided by God himself. Mgr. Ros says that "God confirmed his (de Nobili's) testimony by prodigies and the gifts of the Holy

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On Some Early References to the Vedas by European Writers, Ibid., VIII, p. 98; Caland, *Ontdekkingsgeschiedenis van den Veda* (Amsterdam, 1918); Zachariae-Hosten, *The Discovery of the Veda, Journal of Indian History*, II, p. 127-57. In the 18th century, a MS. containing a new Veda, the Ezur-Veda was found in the Mission Library of Pondichery. The most respectable native Christians of the place held the opinion, founded on no authority, that the book was written by Fr. Roberto de Nobili. Nevertheless, Mr. Ellis, *Account of the Discovery of a Modern Imitation of the Vedas*, *Asiatic Researches*, XIV, p. 32, wisely says. "There can be no doubt that he (de Nobili) was fully qualified to be the author of those writings. If this should be the fact, considering the high character he bears among all acquainted with his name and the nature of his known works, I am inclined to attribute to him the composition only, not the forgery, of pseudo Vedas". Max Muller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, I, p. 174, note 70, categorically says: "The Ezur-Veda is not the work of Robert de Nobili. It was probably written by one of his converts. There is no evidence for ascribing the work to Robert, and it is not mentioned in the list of his works". In spite of the statements of these learned scholars, D'Orsey, *Portuguese Discoveries*, p. 256, boldly affirms that "Pere Robert applied his great skill to the production of a forgery in Sanskrit on an old bit of parchment. When questioned as to the genuineness of this certificate, he solemnly swore before the council of Brahmans at Madura that the document was authentic; and that he, like all Jesuits, was descended from their Indian Divinity! Nor was this all. He forged a new Veda, which was so well executed that, for nearly two centuries, it imposed itself upon the natives themselves". There cannot be more historical errors in so few lines. Then and Dr. Alex H. Japp, *A Jesuit Missionary in India, East and West*, III, p. 977-92, repeats this unfounded accusation; but he was thoroughly refuted by Fr. Ernest R. Hull, *Was Robert de Nobili an Impostor?* Ibid., p 1223-38. There cannot be any doubt about the authorship of the Ezur-Veda. A French Jesuit, named Calmette, wrote it one century later. As Prof. Caland, o. c., p. 33, shows, the spelling of the Sanskrit words and proper names points to Bengal and Orissa and not to the Tamil country where de Nobili ordinarily lived. Cf. Caland, *Robert de Nobili and the Sanskrit Language*, *Acta Orientalia*, III, p. 50.

1. Max Muller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, I, p. 174-5.

Ghost" [1]. Impartial history cannot but acknowledge the preternatural character of a number of cases related in the contemporary letters, either of Fr. de Nobili himself, or of his companions.

In 1607 a new Christian compelled the devil to leave the body of his wife, not yet a Christian, by making the sign of the cross over her forehead [2]. The same happened to a Muhammadan in July, 1608; for when Albert, de Nobili's first convert, made the sign of the cross, the devil exclaimed: "You owe my departure to the weapon given by this man". "Whose weapon is this?", questioned the Muhammadan. "The weapon of the Almighty God, who created both of us", replied the devil, and disappeared for ever [3]. In August of the same year one of the disciples of de Nobili, not yet a Christian, was lying very sick, together with his three children; de Nobili on being apprised of the case, sent Alexis, carrying the Gospel and holy water. By these two spiritual remedies the four patients were suddenly cured [4]. Another catechumen was sick unto death, as a result of an attack of apoplexy, on October 23rd, 1608; de Nobili went there himself and baptised his disciple, and the latter got up at once in good health [5]. At about the same time, another man possessed by the devil was presented to Albert. This Christian, before making the sign of the cross over the sick, asked the devil what kind of man was Father Roberto, and whether the things taught by him were true. The devil replied that Fr. de Nobili was a man of great authority, and that all the things he taught were perfectly true. Again Albert asked the devil about the progress and success of Fr. de Nobili's enterprise. The devil answered that the missionary would obtain

1. From Mgr. F. Ros to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 19th, 1613, Castets, o. c., p. 29. "Foy tambem o Senhor seruido de confirmar estes nouos Christaos com alguas obras marauilhosas, que os animam muyto a se consolarem com a fee que tem recebido, & perseuerarem nella". Guerreiro, o. c., p. 116.
2. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 116-7.
3. Figueroa, o. c., p. 139.
4. Ibid., p. 139-40.
5. Ibid., p. 140-1. See another similar case in p. 137-8.

very little fruit in the beginning, but, three years later his mission would be extraordinarily developed [1].

14. All these events were naturally spoken about at the court of Madura and even in the country around, and Fr. de Nobili's fame and deeds were on the lips of everyone: "The fame about me at Madura and through the country", he wrote on December 24th, 1608, "is that a new Mori (a spiritual ascetic and teacher) has come to destroy the idols. Hence they speak of me in very different ways" [2]. This was the cause of the friendship between de Nobili and a number of nobles and Palaiyakarans of the kingdom of Madura.

In a letter to Laerzio, dated October 25th, 1608, de Nobili says: "A chief Raya, about seventy years old, often came to the door of my house, and spoke to one of my neighbours, begging to be announced to one of my servants, for he was already old and the hour of his death was near. Then he begged my servant to be introduced to me in order to become my disciple, since many said in this city that I was teaching the road to salvation. I allowed him to come in, and he prostrated himself at my feet and prayed to be taught the law of salvation. I spoke at length to this old man, who was very clever and sensible; he promised to come regularly to my preaching, and to bring to me several other Rayas who were under him" [3].

On one occasion, one of the four Governors of Muttu Virappa Nayaka, in the city of Madura, went to pay a visit to the Father. A brother of his, who had been governing one of the palaiyams, had died childless shortly before, and had been succeeded by him. De Nobili asked him where his brother, once noble and rich, was; and concluded his interrogatory by saying that as he had not known the law of salvation, he was, on account of this ignorance, in hell. De Nobili spoke with such fervour on this point that his visitor burst into tears, and promised to come back to hear more of his teaching [4].

At the same time de Nobili wrote a letter to the Palaiya-

1. Ibid., p. 139.
2. Ibid., p. 145.
3. Ibid., p. 140.
4. Ibid., p. 137.

karan of Daraporan (Dharapuram), in which he said that there was no salvation for those who ignored God and the divine law, and offered to put him on the right way to salvation. The chief's answer is as follows:—

"I Chavarcovardin (Chakravartin), the slave of Your Lordship, wrote this, while bowing and looking at the feet of Your Lordship. I am ready to serve you at any time, according to the command of Your Lordship. With great rejoicing I received your letter, by which you announced you would come soon to teach me the divine secret. This was the main purport of your letter. But our land is now troubled with many wars. As soon as these matters are settled, I shall send a message to the holy feet of Your Lordship; and then, Lord, please come to us. Do not be sorry that I beg you to delay your coming a little, on account of the deadly dissensions in this country. I cannot discover what good luck it was that brought Your Lordship here. I shall let you know of everything"[1].

Friendly relations were also started in 1608 between de Nobili and the then Pandya King of Tenkasi, Srivallabha, the brother and successor of Ativirarama[2]. The missionary wrote Srivallabha a letter inviting him 'to hear of the things referring to his salvation'. The messenger sent by de Nobili, who must have been one of his disciples, was kindly entertained by the King. They spoke about God and the new doctrine preached by the Western *sannyasi*. Srivallabha showed his desire to see and hear Fr. de Nobili. Accordingly he replied that when he should go to Madura to pay a visit to the Nayak, he would see the Father and receive his instruction. Srivallabha went there on August 1st, and at once sent one of his Brahmans to the house of de Nobili, to visit the Father on his behalf; this envoy told

1. Ibid., p. 136-7.

2. Cf. *T. A. S.*, I, p. 57-8. The details given in the Jesuit source about this Monarch, who is still called 'Rey de Madure', King of Madura, leave no doubt that he is the nominal Pandya King. "Era este Rey antigamente muy poderoso, mas al presente el Nayque le ha vsurpado muchas tierras. Tiene buen entendimento, y en su conformidad desea saluarse, assi ay grandes esperancas de su conuersion". Figueroa, o. c., p. 137.

de Nobili that His Lordship would come later on, to speak with him about his salvation. Unfortunately the Pandya fell sick during his stay at Madura, and he had not yet recovered when the letter that gives this news was written [1]. We could not find any further details about this interesting subject.

Two years later, on December 24th, 1610, Fr. Vico wrote to Fr. Laerzio from Madura itself: "Two months ago a petty King, feudatory to the great Naique (Nayak), by name Utappa Naique, came to us. He was a man of very good nature, and desirous of finding the way to heaven. This man on reaching the chamber of the Aiyer prostrated himself, his face touching the ground; nor did he stand up till requested by the Father twice or thrice. He spoke with the Father about the misery of this life, and about the certainty of death. Finally, he earnestly begged the Father to come to his own country, as he was much interested in being instructed in our doctrine" [2].

15. The hard life and heavy work of the Christian *sannyasi* was too much for his enfeebled health. At the end of 1608 he wrote to the Provincial: "I cannot stand so much work alone. Hence I am in need of a companion. He must be a very fervent man, desirous of suffering for Christ's sake. For the families of those who are already baptised are very numerous, and there are other catechumens with their families. Many other nobles and rich Hindus come over every day. Rest is unknown to me day or night. I am afraid I shall not be able to bear up with so much toil" [3].

Shortly before, de Nobili had sent two of his new Christians to Cochin and Angamale, where they received the Sacrament of Confirmation at the hands of Mgr. Ros [4]. The presence of those new Christians excited great enthusiasm among the Jesuits at Cochin; many offered themselves to the Provincial to share in the fatigues of de Nobili [5]. Fr. Laerzio selected for

1. Figueroa, l. c.
2. From Fr. A. Vico to Fr. A. Laerzio, Madura, December 24th 1610, Ap. C, No XXXI.
3. Figueroa, o. c., p. 144.
4. Ibid., p. 159-60.
5. Ibid., p. 161.

this task Fr. Manoel Leytao, a Portuguese, who was then Master of Novices at Cochin [1]. He left this town on the 15th of August, 1609, in the garb of a *sannyasi*, and reached Madura on the 26th of the same month [2]. From there he wrote an interesting letter to Fr. Laerzio, of which the following lines are an extract: "After some time spent in holy conversation", says he, "Fr. Roberto told me it was meal-time. His disciples came to prepare the table. It was soon ready: a plantain leaf placed on the floor served as table, table cloth, dish and plates. I sat down close to the leaf, on which a Brahman placed the food. I began to eat; but in spite of my great hunger, I felt such abhorrence for this new kind of food, and also perhaps for the new way of taking it—with the fingers—that I had to force myself to swallow the morsels. This abhorrence lasted for several days. I begin however to get a little used to it; for every feeling must give way to the love of God, and to the desire I have to serve Him in this land" [3].

He however could not stay long. His health broke down, and he was recalled to Cochin at the beginning of the following year, and was replaced in the month of September, 1610, by Fr. Antonio Vico, lecturer in Theology [4], of whom we shall speak at length in the following volume.

16. This would be according to chronology the proper place to relate the beginning of the persecutions against Fr. de Nobili, which commenced towards the close of this period; but we think it advisable to leave the narrative of them for the following volume, where we shall be able to give an uninterrupted account of those sad events.

Before closing this chapter, however, it may be considered the task of the impartial historian to give a criticism of de Nobili's method of introducing Christianity into the heart of Hinduism. He had certainly many enemies among his own contemporaries; but they were swayed in their campaign against the missionary by evil passions, which induced them even to

1. Juvencio, *Epitome*, IV, p. 121.
2. Figueroa, o. c., p. 161-2.
3. Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 53-4.
4. Besse, o. c., p. 200.

calumniate the Christian *sannyasi*. Many Protestants have condemned Fr. de Nobili's system [1]. It is a pity to see several of those old accusations, now exploded, innocently reproduced in modern Catholic books. But impartial historians cannot but praise the work accomplished and the method so successfully employed by the illustrious Italian missionary.

Fr. Juvencio, the famous historian of the Society of Jesus, recognised in Fr. Roberto de Nobili a man who had been destined by God to begin the Madura Mission [2]. This statement is merely an echo of the eulogy of de Nobili, written in 1613, by Mgr. Ros. to the General of the Society of Jesus: "The Madura Mission", says he, "which is within my diocese, is a very spiritual one but very trying, and in all respects worthy of perfect men and true sons of the Society, entirely devoted to God, without any human satisfaction and with a perpetual mortification of the flesh. I am convinced that it has been commenced by divine inspiration, in order to open the way to the conversion of the whole of the Malabar (Southern India). At last, after numerous prayers, penances, tears, and holy sacrifices, God Our Lord opened the eyes of the *Zelotes* of the Holy Church; and they considered that the proper work of the Society was to do what St. Paul had done; 'I have made myself all to all'. Thus the good Fr. Roberto de Nobili went by a special inspiration of the Holy Ghost, into the great city of Madura" [3].

The method followed by Fr. de Nobili was the only one which ever met with success among the high castes of India. His way of preaching Christ's Gospel to Indians was the result of his deep knowledge of the religion, customs and literature of the priestly caste. His broad ideas made him clearly distinguish between religious and social customs, between superstition and good manners, between faith and nationality; and through a thousand difficulties and numberless hardships success crowned his enterprise.

1. Cf. D'Orsey, o. c., p. 257, and Japp, o. c., p. 991.

2. Juvencio, *Epitome*, IV, p. 66.

3. From Mgr. F. Ros to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 19th,1613, Castets, o. c., p. 28.

His splendid work and the encouraging results he and his companions obtained, reached the ears of Philip III of Spain, then also sovereign of Portugal. This pious monarch, whose zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith is well known, wrote to them an encouraging letter, the original of which we could not anywhere trace. But the Archives of the Portuguese Government at Pangim still preserve a copy of the reply of the Viceroy to his sovereign. Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo wrote in 1613 to this effect: " The letter Your Majesty sent will be given to those (Jesuits) of Madure whom I thanked on your Majestey's behalf for their good conduct in propagating Christianity. They are religious who well deserve it, because they do their work with the utmost care and assiduity" [1].

1. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo to Philip III, 1613, Ap. B, No. XII.

CHAPTER XIX

THE NAYAKS OF TANJORE AND JINJI

SUMMARY.—1. Continuation of the reign of Achyutappa Nayaka of Tanjore. His behaviour towards Venkata II.—2. Abdication and death of Achyutappa Nayaka.—3. Ragunatha Nayaka murders his eldest brother.—4. His suspicious relations with Vijayanagara.—5. Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji and his uncle. —6. Early revolt of Krishnappa against Venkata II.—7. Krishnappa Nayaka and Fr. N. Pimenta. Description of Jinji.—8. Foundation of the city of Krishnapatam.—9. Great power of the Nayak of Jinji. His feudatories.—10. Rebellion of Krishnappa against Venkata II. His madness.—11. Victory of Venkata over Krishnappa in 1608.—12. Krishnappa Nayaka and the Dutch. The fort of Devanapatnam.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Jesuit letters.—3. Du Jarric.—4. Anquetil du Perron.—5. Jongue's Dutch documents.—6. *Sahithyaratnakara. Ragunathabhyudayam, Ushaparinayam.*—7. *Velugutivaru Vamsavali.*

DURING the first half of the reign of Venkata II, the ruler of Tanjore was still Achyutappa Nayaka. The *Sahityaratnakara* relates that during his time the Dutch, who were then starting their trading career in the East, appeared before Negapatam and attempted to land in order to found a trading factory; but they were valiantly repulsed and driven away by Achyutappa [1].

Negapatam had been lent by his father to the Portuguese, and their number had been constantly on the increase [2]. Fr. Pimenta, who passed through it in 1597, tells us that "many Portugals dwell there and many winter there, which come from the Coast of China, Bengala, Pegu and Malaca." [3] Achyutappa Nayaka invited Fr. Pimenta to establish a Jesuit house with a Church at Negapatam; while another one was already started

1. *Sahithyaratnakara*, canto VI, v. 68.

2. Cf. Ch. VIII, No. 2.

3. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 207. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 632.

at Tranquembar [1]. And while Fr. Pimenta was in the town, the inhabitants actually purchased 'a place for five hundred Duckets, for a new Residence of ours' says the same Fr. Pimenta [2]. Fr. du Jarric gives a slightly fuller description of this place. He says that it was "by the river side having the sea to the West and was fitted for the functions of the Society". Fr. Pimenta sent two priests there [3].

As to his relations with Venkata II, Achyutappa Nayaka is mentioned with the title of Mahamandalesvara, in a much damaged and dateless record on a stone in the Kankudutta Vinayaka temple at Kavalkudaru [4]. An inscription of 1596-7, by the same Venkata in North Arcot, records a gift of money by Achyutappa Nayakar Aiyan for the merit of Dikshitar Aiyan [5]. Formerly Achyutappa had sent his son Raghunatha to help the Emperor in the siege of Penukonda [6].

But Anquetil du Perron gives us a piece of information not consistent with the above. He says that before the year 1595, both the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore had rebelled against Venkata [7]. We really doubt the accuracy of Anquetil in this passage; for the inscription of Venkata mentioned above is dated only a year later. It is possible, however, that the rebellion took place some years later, and was misplaced by Anquetil, confusing it with an earlier rising of the Nayak of Madura. As a matter of fact, one of Fr. Coutinho's letters from the court of Venkata seems to allude to an insurgent attitude on the part of Achyutappa; for he affirms that "the rumour was that the King (Venkata) would warre upon the Naichus of Tangaor, called Astapanaicus (Achyutappa

1. Ibid., Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 633.
2. Ibid.
3. Du Jarric, I, p. 633. A letter of Philip III to the Viceroy dated Lisbon, December 10th, 1607, mentions some riots occurred among the Portuguese of Negapatam; it seems that the leaders of the rioters were two brothers named Mello, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 146.
4. 298 of 1911.
5. 710 of 1904.
6. Cf. Ch. XVI, Nos. 1 and 2.
7. Anquetil du Perron, l.c., p. 166.

Nayaka)" [1]. This letter, published by Purchas, has been extremely mutilated. The original gives more valuable information. Coutinho says that Venkata "has a large army with many good generals in order to re-conquer Kanchivaram; which city, along with all the country around, surrendered to Astapanaichus (Achyutappa Nayaka), the king of Tangior" [2]. We deduce from this passage that the cause of the trouble was not precisely refusal to pay the tribute, but the city of Kanchivaram; though what the fact was that created this enmity is not clear. Moreover we know from the same letter that the war never broke out: "It is quite certain", continues Coutinho, "that the King does not think of that expedition any more" [3]. Venkata's designs were checked by the death of Achyutappa Nayaka [4]. And since this took place in 1600, this quarrel between the Emperor and the Nayaka must have occurred in 1598-9.

2. According to the *Sahithyaratnakara*, Achyutappa Nayaka, on account of old age, resigned the crown in favour of his son Raghunatha Nayaka, and retired to Srirangam, where he spent the rest of his life. Consequently Raghunatha was crowned according to the ancient rites, Govinda Dikshita performing the ceremony [5]. Up to this time we have relied upon the authority of Govinda Dikshita's son, Yagnanarayana Dikshita; who, however, to give some dramatic interest to his poem, placed the renunciation of Achyutappa after the outbreak of the civil war, and the death of Venkata II. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Anquetil du Perron said that Achyutappa "had resigned and given up the government affairs some years before 1600" [6]. But Fr. Pimenta, when passing through Tanjore in 1597, wrote that Achyutappa "has lately renounced the world and prepared himself for death" [7]. Fr. du Jarric

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho, Purchas, X, p. 222.
2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., Purchas, l.c.
5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 273.
6. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 168.
7. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 219.

agrees with him [1]. Hence there can be no longer any doubt about the date of Achyutappa's renunciation: the year 1597 witnessed the coronation of Raghunatha and his father's pilgrimage to Srirangam. The *Raghunathabhyudayam* agrees with Pimenta and Anquetil du Perron; according to this poem, Raghunatha was crowned King long before the civil war and the war with Ceylon [2].

Both Pimenta and du Jarric relate that, when Achyutappa retired to Srirangam, he was faithfully "accompanied in that devotion by his seventy wives, all which were to be burned in the same fire with his carkasse. Hee had bestowed five thousand pieces of gold in sweet woods against that day" [3]. Anquetil du Perron states that Achyutappa's death took place about 1600 [4]. And Fr. Coutinho, writing from Chandragiri on July 17th, 1600, reports: "This (Achyutappa Nayaka) died lately. His corpse, along with 370 wives still alive, was burnt in a big fire of sandal-wood" [5].

Achyutappa is praised by the son of Govinda Dikshita for his long and beneficient rule, for the destruction of his enemies, and for his liberal patronage of learned men [6]. He gave many villages in free tenure to the temple at Srirangam, offered a costly diamond-throne to the god Ranganatha, with a rich necklace, crown, and leg jewels, all set with diamonds. He had many *agraharams* built in his name, and lodged many Brahmans in them. He performed many *pujas* and other religious services in various temples, such as those of Chidambaram, Tirupati,

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1. Du Jarric, I, p. 648.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 286-7.

3. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, l. c. Cf. Du Jarric, l. c.

4. Anquetil du Perron, l. c.

5. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V. This passage had been translated by Purchas, X, p. 222, as follows: "His three hundred Concubines being burned with him to honour his Exequies, willingly leaping into the flames".

6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 273.

Kalahasti etc. [1]. According to the *Raghunathabhyudayam*, the beautiful golden tower over the shrine of Srirangam was one of his gifts to the god. This poem also records many presents made by him to the god Siva, who was worshipped at Rameswaram, and the restoration and reconstruction of many holy bathing ghats of this place which were then in ruins [2].

3. Govinda Dikshita implies that Raghunatha was the eldest son of Achyutappa Nayaka; but Anquetil du Perron tells us that the eldest son of Achyutappa had been imprisoned by order of his father [3], and this information is confirmed by Fr. Coutinho, in his letter of July 17th, 1600, to Fr. Pimenta [4]. No reason for such an imprisonment is given; what is clear is the extreme predilection of Achyutappa for Raghunatha. "When Raghunatha grew up", says Ramabhadramba in her poem, "his great qualities pleased his father very much. He had several Princesses of the Pandya and of other kingdoms married to him. Achyutappa made Raghunatha Yuvaraja" [5]. The same poem, when describing the return of Raghunatha from Penukonda after defeating the Muslim hordes, who were menacing the capital of Venkata II, gives an instance of his special fondness. When Achyuta heard that his son Raghunatha was returning after accomplishing his mission with the Emperor of Karnata, he proceeded some distance from his capital to meet him, and gave him a fitting reception [6]. Sivappa Nayaka, his grand-father, also had an extraordinary predilection for his grandson Raghunatha. If we are to believe Govinda Dikshita: "When he and many other famous scholars were once sitting in the court of Chevva (Siva), Raghunatha was brought before them, a small child. Seeing the child Chevva in great delight said: "This child will become great and rule the whole kingdom, and we

1. Kuppuswami Sastri, *A Short History*, p. 6-7. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 270.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 285.

3. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 168.

4. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 285.

6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 286.

shall become famous on his account"[1]. This singular love for Raghunatha naturally excluded the eldest son from the succession to the throne; and this was perhaps the reason of the latter's imprisonment.

On many occasions such predilections have been the origin of unspeakable family tragedies, as it was in the present case. The crime that ensued was carefully concealed by both the court poets, Yagnanarayana Dikshita and Ramabhadramba, who did not mention even the existence of such a brother. After Raghunatha's accession to the throne his brother remained under custody; and either because of a natural fear proceeding from the fact that his own right to the crown was less founded than that of his brother, or owing perhaps to a court conspiracy in which his own brother was implicated, Raghunatha murdered his elder brother; this crime is testified to by both Anquetil du Perron and Fr. Coutinho [2]. As Fr. Coutinho speaks of both events in the same letter, dated July, 1600, this fratricide must have been committed in the beginning of Raghunatha's reign, perhaps immediately after the death of his father.

4. Raghunatha's relations with Venkata II are a little suspicious. There is no doubt that in 1604 the latter received an envoy, probably with the tribute, from the Nayak of Tanjore [3]. Nevertheless it seems that, before 1606, Tanjore had withdrawn the payment of tribute [4]. In 1608, at the end of September or at the beginning of October, Tanjore again sent his tribute to Venkata, according to a letter of Fr. Coutinho, referred to in the preceding chapter [5]. About 1610, however, Tanjore was not on friendly terms with Vijayanagara. At about this time Venkata besieged the city of St. Thome; the Portuguese were aided by Ragunatha, who received for this service a letter from the Spanish sovereign (who was then also the King

1. *Sahitya Sudha*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 267.

2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c.; Letter of Fr. Coutinho mentioned above.

3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ibid., No. XXVI.

5. Cf. Ch. XVII, No. 11.

of Portugal) thanking him for his aid [1]. This is a proof that Raghunatha's policy towards the Empire was very suspicious. After Venkata's death however he became as we shall see, the most enthusiastic supporter of the heir appointed by Venkata on his death-bed.

5. When Venkata II ascended the throne of Vijayanagara, the Nayak of Jinji was probably Krishnappa Nayaka [2], called Vencapatir by Anquetil du Perron [3]. We do not know what kind of relations existed between him and Surappa Nayaka, who has been spoken of in the preceding chapters [4]. Anquetil du Perron says that Krishnappa Nayaka succeeded his father [5]. Who was then his predecessor? We cannot give a satisfactory answer to this question. Mr. Rangachari calls Krishnappa Nayaka, Varadappa Nayak (1580-1620), and states that he was the son of his predecessor Venkatappa (1570-1580); without however, mentioning the source of his information [6].

We know nevertheless that after the death of his father, Krishnappa Nayaka, who must have been then a young man, was imprisoned by his uncle in the same fortress of Jinji. But "by helpe of his friends", says Fr. Pimenta, "he forced (his uncle) to become in the same place (prison) his unwilling successour, having put out his eyes" [7]. Anquetil du Perron, who records the same fact, adds that Krishnappa was freed by his own subjects [8].

6. Krishnappa was probably one of the chiefs who revolted against Venkata II in the beginning of the latter's reign; for, we see him imprisoned by Venkata, early during the siege of Penukonda by the Golkonda forces [9]. On the occasion of his rebellion, the Emperor sent against him an army under the command of one Venkata, an elder brother of the Kalahasti

1. Cf. Ch. XXI No. 13.
2. *Raghunathabhyudayam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 286.
3. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 169.
4. Cf. Ch. VIII, No. 3 and Ch. XIII, No. 7.
5. Anquetil du Perron, l. c.
6. *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 92.
7. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 218.
8. Anquetil du Perron, l. c.
9. Cf. Ch. XVI, No. 1.

chief Ankabhupala. Venkata marched against Krishnappa and defeated him [1]. It seems that Krishnappa fell into the hands of the victorious generals, for he was afterwards kept 'in the Emperor's prison' [2]. Such is the expression used by Ramabhadramba in her *Raghunathabhyudayam*; it has been supposed, however, that this Emperor's prison was in the capital itself, Penukonda [3]. During the time of his confinement the Jinji territory seems to have been ruled by Venkata, the general who had defeated the Nayak; because the same *Ushaparinayam*, that gives us the information about his victory, says that after this event Venkata 'constructed in his territory (*viz.* Krishnappa's) a large tank, and named it Chennasagaram after his father" [4]. This seems to imply a long stay in the Jinji country.

It happened afterwards that Raghunatha Nayaka, after the defeat of the Golkonda forces, asked the Emperor Venkata for the release of Krishnappa, which was granted through the Tanjore Crown-Prince. "The lord of Tundira (Jinji) then prostrated himself with his Queen before Raghunatha, and showed his gratitude by giving Raghunatha his daughter in marriage" [5].

7. Some years after Krishnappa's return to Jinji, Fr. Nicolas Pimenta, a Jesuit traveller often mentioned in this work, made his acquaintance while making his visitation of the Jesuit missions in the South of India; from him we fortunately possess a valuable account of his dealings with the Nayak and of the very city and fortress of Jinji.

Their first meeting took place in the city of Chidambaram in 1597. Pimenta arrived there on his way to St. Thome, where Krishnappa Nayaka happened to be at the time. "The Naichus of Gingi", says Pimenta himself, "was come thither, in whose Dominion it standeth. He commanded that we should be brought to his Presence. Before us two hundred Brachmanes went in a ranke to sprinkle the house with Holy water, and to prevent Sorcerie against the King, which they use to doe every

1. *Ushaparinayam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 308.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 286.
3. Cf. Ibid., p. 272, note.
4. Ibid., p. 308.
5. *Raghunathabhyudayam*, Ibid., p. 286.

day that the King first entreth into any house. We found him lying on a silken Carpet leaning on two Cushions, in a long silken Garment, a great Chaine hanging from his necke, distinguished with many Pearles and Gemmes, all over his brest, his long haire tyed with a knot on the crowne, adorned with Pearles; some Princes and Brachmanes attended him. He entertained us kindly, and marvelled much that wee chewed not the leaves of Betele which were offered us, and dismissed us with gifts of precious Clothes wrought with Gold, desiring a Priest of us for his new Citie which hee was building" [1].

They met again after some days at Jinji itself. Fr Pimenta's narrative is worth reading; it shows the greatness and wealth of this famous city, called at that time by the Europeans *the Troy of the East*; it shows as well some of the customs and ceremonies performed in the court of Krishnappa Nayaka.

"Wee went thence to Gingi," writes Pimenta, "the greatest Citie we have seene in India, and bigger than any in Portugall, Lisbon excepted. In the midst therefore is a Castle like a Citie, high walled with great hewen stone and encompassed with a ditch full of water: in the middle of it is a Rocke framed into Bulwarkes and Turrets, and made impregnable. The Naicus showed us his golden stuffe, amongst which were two great Pots carried on their shoulders full of water for the King to drinke...The Naicus appointed our lodging in the Tower, but the heat forced us to the Grove (though consecrated to an Idoll) ..

"The next day the inner part of the Castle was shewed us, having no entrance but by the Gates which are perpetually guarded. In the Court the younger sort were exercised in Tilts. Wee saw much Ordnance, Powder, and Shot; a spring also of cleare water...He (the Nayak) was guarded homeward with a thousand armed men: in the Streete were ranked three hundred Elephants as it were fitted to the warre. At the Porch one entertained him with an Oration in his praise, a thing usuall in their solemne pompes. Christapanaichus (Krishnappa Nayaka), (that is his name)

1. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 208. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 634.

shewed us another day his store of Jewels, and gave us leave in his new Citie" [1].

8. This new city referred to by Pimenta was then under construction. It was named Christapatama, *i.e.* Krishnapatam, after the name of the Nayak, its founder [2]. "It is located", says du Jarric, "in the country called Arungor near the mouth of the river Vellar" [3]. In order to foster the new foundation, Krishnappa allowed every body to select his own building-site; and a piece of land was assigned to everybody in the outskirts of the city for agricultural purposes. Consequently many buildings were under construction when the visitor went there [4]. To superintend the building of this town, Krishnappa had appointed one of the nobles of his kingdom called Cholgana (Solaga), of whom we shall speak a little further on [5].

Krishnappa Nayaka earnestly asked Fr. Pimenta to build a church in this new city, and to erect a residence for a priest, he himself giving a good endowment: "two hundred pieces of gold being assigned to the Priest thereof," says Pimenta, "his Letters Patents written in the Tamulan and Badagan Languages" [6]. This grant was made in the presence of all the grandees and nobles of the court [7]. Accordingly Fr. Pimenta called Fr. Alexander Levi, 'a man of renowned holiness and of great knowledge of the vernacular', from Travancore, and left him at Krishnapatam to superintend the construction of the new church [8].

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1. From the same to the same, Purchas, X, p. 217-8. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 640-2. See Heras, *The City of Jinji at the End of the 16th Century, Ind. Ant.*, LIV, p. 41-2, where this extract of Pimenta's letter is illustrated and commented upon.

2. Du Jarric, l. c.

3. Ibid., p. 646. It forms the present Hindu quarter of Porto Novo.

4. Ibid., p. 646-7.

5. Ibid., p. 642.

6. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 218.

7. Du Jarric, I, p. 642-3.

8. Ibid,. p. 647. It is very strange to see Krishnappa Nayaka favouring so much the Portuguese Jesuits, whose nation was

9. One of the Jesuit Letters of 1606 states that from among the three Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji, he of Jinji was the most powerful, and accordingly he had divided his dominions among other smaller Nayaks. One of these smaller Nayaks, subjects to Krishnappa Nayaka, was, according to the same letter, Lingama Nayaka of Vellore [1]. Fr. Pimenta mentions two other feudatories of Krishnappa, 'the Princes of Trividin (Tiruvadi) and Salavaccha (?)' [2]. The above mentioned Solaga was also one of the chiefs of the highest rank [3]. He appears both in the *Sahityaratnakara* of Yagnanarayana Dikshita and in the *Raghunathabhyudayam* of Ramabhadramba [4]. During Fr. Pimenta's stay at Jinji, Solaga's son, a boy of fourteen, 'accompanied by many nobles and old men', reached the capital to ask Krishnappa to name him after himself; with the further request of a grant of a golden chair and several pieces of land. He became a close friend of the Jesuits; so close that when the Nayak allowed the Fathers to depart he commended them to the care of Solaga's son, who accompanied them safely to the castle of his father [5].

The latter was living in a small fort at the mouth of the river Colerun. " He had seene his eighties, and was a man of great authority among his subjects, feared by everybody " [6]. " Colgana (Solaga), a great man, received us with great kindnesse", says Fr. Pimenta himself. " Hee is old and severe, and hath caused Crocodiles to bee put in his River for his securitie, charging them not to hurt his owne people. They nevertheless killed a man; whereupon I knowe not by what arts hee tooke two of them which were the malefactors, and put chaines about

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reputed as polluted by the orthodox Hindus. Du Jarric, I, p. 635, affirms that the Nayak used to say that 'he had formerly seen other Portuguese priests, but none was alike to these.'

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.
2. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 209.
3. Du Jarric, I, p. 642.
4. We shall speak of him again in the begining of the following volume.
5. Du Jarric, I, p. 643.
6. Ibid., p, 647.

their neckes, and cast them into a miry place, there to bee stoned by the people, and to die of famine. One of these we saw" [1].

This description of the person and character of Solaga marvellously agrees with the account given of him in the *Raghunathabhyudayam:* "He had occupied an island near the sea, and was giving great trouble to the surrounding country. He used to carry away women from the neighbouring country, and was giving the people no peace" [2].

10. Such were some of the tributaries of the powerful Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji. Holding such a power as he did, it is not strange that his old ideas of independence should again rise in his mind. The fact is that in 1600 the nobles and courtiers of Venkata II were earnestly urging him 'to capture the town of Jinji', as Fr. Coutinho informs us in one of his letters [3]. Anquetil du Perron says that Venkata had plenty of reasons for waging war against the Nayak of Jinji, in 1600 [4]; but nowhere are these reasons found. One was, very likely, the refusal of the annual tribute as pointed out by the same Anquetil.

And then all of a sudden it happened that Krishnappa Nayaka became demented. "Krishnappa Naiken, the Sovereign of Jinji", says Anquetil du Perron, "became insane, as a result of a poison which was administered to him" [5]. This was indeed the first rumour of this affair; but soon it was clear that his madness was feigned, as we read in Fr. Coutinho's letter mentioned above. "Christapanaicus (Krishnappa Nayaka)", says he, "being poisoned, got mad, although the fraud is now patent: the King feigned to be out of his head in order to please four of the grandees of his kingdom, who were afterwards killed by his order". This apparent insanity saved Krishnappa Nayaka from the war

1. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 218. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 647-8.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 286.

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

4. Anquetil du Perron, l.c., p. 166

5. Ibid., p. 169.

which Venkata and his nobles were ready to make upon him. " They persuaded the King (Venkata) to invest this city (Jinji)", says Coutinho, " but he, though having right to do so,...replied that it would be a most cruel thing to go to war with a feudatory while he was insane" [1].

Four years later, in 1604, Krishnappa sent an embassy to Venkata, as the Jesuit letters inform us [2]; but war burst out at last towards the end of 1607, ending with great dishonour to the Nayak.

11. On this occasion Venkata, not being able to stand the tardiness of the Nayak in paying his tribute, 'despatched his captains to conquer the lands of the Naique of Ginga (Jinji)', says Fr.Coutinho in another letter. One of these captains, and perhaps the commander-in-chief, was Velugoti Yachama Nayadu; for the *Velugutivaru Vamsavali* says that in the course of Venkata's reign he captured Chengi (Jinji) [3]. " While the imperial army was approaching the fortress, God wanted to punish the Naique who was within, " continues Coutinho. "Had he remained in the fortress, nobody would have defeated him, for it is impregnable; but he, too arrogant, went out to meet the army of the King (Venkata). Then his own captains, despairing, deserted him ; and the said Naique fell prisoner into the hands of his enemies. And he," adds Coutinho, "distributed his earrings and other jewels he bore on his chest among his opponents, in order to induce them not to kill him ". Such was the great victory won on New Year's day, 1608.

News of the happy event reached Vellore at midnight. The Emperor set out for Jinji next morning with a large retinue of courtiers and relations. "The imprisoned Naique prostrated himself at his feet, and through the Queen and her brothers, agreed to paying him a sum of 600,000 *cruzados*, and to handing over to the Queen the fortress of Ganaripatao, which lay close by. After this, the King retired again to Vellur, and the Naique

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V. Cf. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

3. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 274.

of Ginga (Jinji), moved by his loss of money and elephants, marched towards Cirangan (Srirangam), one of his temples, saying that he did not want to govern any more, and so on. But the two Naiques of Madura and Tangior, who are his friends, presented him with many gifts and caused him to return to his State, where he is now" [1].

12. Precisely at the end of this year, an embassy from the Dutch traders arrived at Krishnappa's court, requesting his permission to establish themselves at Devanapatnam, near the present European Club, Cuddalore. A Jesuit letter informs us that the Nayak "received these (the Dutch) very hospitably, and allowed them to build a citadel at the post where they landed" [2]. The Nayak's *olla*, in which this first concession to the Dutch was made, is dated November 30th, 1608 [3].

The letter quoted above relates that the Dutch, after obtaining this document, 'had very diligently begun to build the citadel' [4]. In one of the following chapters we shall see the consequences that followed the construction of this fort, which was finally destroyed by order of Emperor Venkata.

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1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIII. See Ap. C, No. XXV, where Fr. Laerzio alludes probably to this war in his letter to Fr. C. Aquaviva, dated Cochin, December 30th, 1608.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1609, Ap. C, No. XXX.

3. "Copy of the Caull of the King of Gingier.—Jacob de Bitter, Captain, representing Admiral Pieter Willemsen Verhoeven: We promise to protect the Dutchmen who will settle in Tegenampatna, to allow them to build a town, to refuse entrance in it to the Portuguese, to whom we shall remain hostile. On the other hand, we Dutchmen promise to bring all kinds of goods, to traffic with all traders, on the condition that they will pay us four for every hundred of all the merchandise we shall bring there, excepting the rice which is used at home, for which they will not pay. Moreover we shall pay four for every hundred of the merchandise that we shall carry away from there. Those who have paid once will not pay again. We promise and take the oath to keep all these faithfully, Amen. On the 30th of November of the year 1608 in the large town of Gingier." De Jongue, III, p. 281-2.

4. *Litterae Annuae* mentioned in note 2.

CHAPTER XX

THE END OF THE KANARESE VICEROYALTY

SUMMARY.—1. Vindication of Viceroy Tirumala. His rule.—2. Tirumala and the Jesuits.—3. Conquests of Raja Wodeyar of Mysore. His relations with the Viceroy.—4. Muhammadan invasion of the Kanarese country.—5. Second inroad of Manjun Khan. Conquest of Mysore.—6. The Viceroy Tirumala leaves Seringapatam.—7. Occupation of Seringapatam by Raja Wodeyar. His relations with Venkata II.—8. The Nayaks of Ikeri.—9. The Queen of Ullal and her fortress against Mangalore.—10. Kempe Gowda II of Yelahanka.—11. The chiefs of Chitaldroog and Bellur.—12. Portuguese interests in Kanara.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Jesuit letters.—3. *Moncoes do Reino* (Pangim Archives).—4. Ferishta.—5. Guerreiro.—6. Anquetil du Perron, Travels of Pietro della Valle.—7. *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali, Annals of the Mysore Royal Family, Sivatattvaratnakara.*

THE concocted story of the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali,* about how Prince Tirumala was bribed by the Nayak of Madura in the beginning of Venkata's reign, and then retreated to Seringapatam in a rebellious attitude against his uncle, has found its way into several modern works. The character of the Kanarese Viceroy has thus come to be associated with the specially repulsive ideas of rebellion and treachery, totally at variance with the historical personality of the unfortunate nephew of Venkatapatiraya. Can it be possible that the energetic and warlike Emperor would have waited fourteen years till he saw his supposed rebellious nephew expelled from the capital of his viceroyalty? On the other hand, no word on this supposed attitude of Tirumala is found either in Anquetil du Perron, who merely remarks that he was residing at Seringapatam [1]; or in the Jesuit letters, which testify, however, that Venkata had a natural predilection for Tirumala's younger

1. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 167.

brother, Ranga [1]. Moreover we know two of Tirumala's inscriptions of the year 1585, in the Mysore district, in which he is styled Mahamandaleswara [2],—a title which suggests a subordinate rank under the Emperor. His rule as Viceroy of the Kanarese country could not be stigmatized as either weak or fictitious; for in 1609-10, just on the eve of his departure from Seringapatam, the Kalasa-Karkala chief, Bhayirarasa Vodeya, (son of Vira Bhayirarasa Vodeya, who did not acknowledge the suzerainty of Vijayanagara), is said in one of his inscriptions to rule as feudatory of Venkata II [3]. Fr. Coutinho says in one of his letters that Tirumala 'is liked by more as well as more powerful chieftains' than his brother Ranga [4]. Now, the above mentioned inscription of the Kalasa-Karkala chief proves that, instead of taking advantage of this friendship and respect of the subordinate chiefs for rebelling against his uncle, he obtained the acknowledgment of his sovereignty at least from one who did not pay homage to his predecessors since the time of the battle of Raksas-Tagdi [5].

Very little information about his internal administration has reached us. In 1598 he remitted the customs-dues on the village of Akalankajayya; and when Bachihalli-Pamappa Nayaka heard of this, this chief too granted a similar exemption to the village of Vijayapura [6]. In 1607 he made a grant for the service of the god [7]. Again, in 1610 he made another grant to Holinahala Linganna of the Seringampattana *matha* [8]; and another inscription of the same year seems to mention one of his dependants named Ramanujayya, who is styled 'the establisher of the path of the Vedas, follower of both Vedanta' [9].

1. Cf. Ch. XXIV, No. 6.
2. *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr, 39 and 40.
3. Ibid., Mb, 63. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *Karkala Inscription of Bhairava II, Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 127.
4. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C. No. V.
5. Cf. Ch. X, No. 17.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Gu, 52.
7. Ibid., Hs, 36.
8. Ibid., Ch, 194.
9. Ibid., Gu, 40.

2. Tirumala's character is fully described in the letters of the Jesuits who were living at this time at the court of Venkata. He was determined that at least one of the Fathers should reside at Seringapatam, and erect a church for the Christians of his country [1]. On July 17th, 1600, Fr. Coutinho wrote to Fr. Pimenta: "Trimaragius, the eldest son of the King's brother, heir of his kingdom, urges us again and again inviting us to his court. He sent us a letter which I am going to copy here:—

"Trimanus, Mahanda Lispara, Ramarragius Trimarragius, Lord great prince, sends this letter to the Fathers. I shall rejoice very much when I shall hear that you are coming to this town of mine; I shall give you then a good piece of land in this city to build a house and church; moreover five hundred-fold pagodes yearly. Besides, I shall receive you with great honour and generosity. So I swear by Lord Zanganatam (Ranganatam) and by the feet of my father Ramaraja. You will learn the rest from my ambassador. Come at once, and do not make me wait" [2].

This seems to have been Tirumala's first invitation to the Jesuits to come to his court. Later in the same year two of the Fathers went through Seringapatam in the company of Venkata's ambassadors to the Viceroy of Goa, as will be related in the following chapter. On this occasion Tirumala constantly urged the Fathers 'that one of them would stay with him on returning' [3]. But they did not gratify his wish; partly because of the want of missionaries, and partly on account of the antipathy of Venkata II towards his nephew, the Viceroy. In 1606 Tirumala sent once more a message to the Fathers residing at the imperial court, and addressed them the following letter:—

"In the year Subaratut, in the 10th month, on the 10th day after full moon. Letter of Trimalaraju, Ramaraju's son, the greatest Prince, Raju among Rajus, sent to the Fathers at

1. Guerrero (*sic*), *Relacion Anual...en los anos de 600 y 601*, p. 137. Cf. Heras, *The Jesuit Influence*, *Q.J.M.S.*, XIV, p. 133-4.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600 Ap. C, No. V.

3. Ibid.

Ciandagrini (Chandragiri). I received your letter you sent me through your Raju, and I kept it over my heart. All your presents are also in my possession. I was very glad to know that you have spoken in my interest with the King and the Princes of the kingdom, about my journey to the court. You told me, when passing through here on your way to Goa, that you would soon come back for good. I am astonished you are not yet here. Come soon ; do not hesitate. My envoy will tell you the rest "[1].

This second letter of Tirumala is a most valuable document for determining the relations between him and his uncle. He was desirous to go to the court; a strange disposition of mind to be expected from a rebellious feudatory, as he is commonly depicted. To attain this object he used the Jesuit influence at the court of his uncle. The Jesuits spoke to Venkata about Tirumala's coming; but apparently the Emperor disliked the proposal, or at least was loth to give his approval to it [2].

In 1608 the Jesuits had not yet gone to Seringapatam. Another letter of Fr. Coutinho, written in this year, says that "Tirumalarayu, the Prince, is continously writing *ollas* to us from Cirangapatao (Seringapatam), where he resides, calling us (to his court) and showing by writing the same friendship he showed personally to us while going to Goa, along with the ambassadors of the King " [3].

Tirumala's wishes were never granted. The year 1610 witnessed the end of his viceroyalty; and several years passed before the opening of the Jesuit mission in Mysore.

3. One of the influential chiefs of the Kanarese country at the beginning of Venkata's reign was, beyond doubt, Raja

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

2. Can this agree with the following words condemnatory of the conduct of Tirumala towards his uncle: "This coolness (of Tirumala towards Venkata) led directly to the taking of Seringapatam by Raja Wodeyar of Mysore." Richards, *Salem Gazetteer*, p. 67. We shall see later on that the capture of Seringapatam was due precisely to the coolness of Venkata towards Tirumala. Cf. No 6 infra.

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIII.

Wodeyar of Mysore. We have seen elsewhere how at the end of Ranga's reign, he began the policy of annexing petty States to his own. As Madura was in the Tamilian, so too he wanted to become supreme lord of the Kanara country ; and yet always, it seems, under the sovereignty of the Vijayanagara Emperor. With this aspiration he continued now to absorb systematically the territories of the neighbouring chiefs. According to Wilk's list the territories seized by the Raja of Mysore in the beginning of Venkata's reign were the following: In 1545, he conquered from one Tima Raja, Rang Sammudir containing twelve villages. In 1590 he captured Kembala by assault. In 1505 Narmalli and Karugalli were taken from one of his relations. In 1600 Arrakerra, the primitive jagir of Jagadeva Raya, was likewise annexed; and in 1606 he took Sosilla and Bannur from the Raja of Talakkad, and Canniambaddi from Dudeia Prabhu [1].

Such accession of power naturally aroused the suspicions of the Seringapatam Viceroy. That was perhaps the reason why he besieged the town of Kesara, which depended on the Wodeyar. But the Mysore forces defeated the army of the Viceroy, one elephant being among the plunder. "But Raj Wadeyar", says Wilks, "sagely reflecting, as the manuscript states, that he could maintain thirty soldiers at the same expense as one elephant, sent the animal as a peace offering to the Viceroy. The next year," continues Wilks, "we find him received with particular favour at the court ; and immediately afterwards, not only refusing to pay his tribute on pretence of some damage done to his plantations by the people of the Viceroy, but receiving a further grant of land to compensate for the injury" [2].

The Government of Seringapatam was unwillingly yielding to the powerful chief ; and an attempt on his life was made, but without success. "The opportunity", says Wilks, "was expected to be obtained by the mission of an officer of the court, attended as usual by a large but select retinue, for security after the perpetration of the murder, and ostensibly charged

1. Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p. 44.
2. Ibid., p. 38.

with a secret and confidential message from the Viceroy. The Raja, unsuspicious of treachery, without hesitation ordered all attendants to withdraw ; but a more vigilant observer took the precaution of concealing himself behind one of the pillars of the hall of audience ; and on perceiving the officer to grasp his dagger, instantly inflicted on the assasssin the fate intended for the Raja" [1].

4. The Viceroy, however, was not the only one who was scheming to seize the newly-acquired territories of Raja Wodeyar. A new foe had sprung up in the person of the Sultan of Bijapur. Early in 1587, while Venkata was waging war with Golkonda, Ibrahim Adil Shah II despatched one of his generals, Balil Khan, with twelve thousand horse, "to collect the arrears of tribute from the Rays of Malabar (Kanara); and in case they refused payment, to reduce their forts" [2]. He was in Kanara for one year, during which 'he nearly brought affairs in that quarter to a final adjustment' [3]. But he was suddenly recalled to the court to join the Sultan's army against Ahmadnagar. When he received his order "he was just on the point of receiving a large sum as part of the arrears of tribute, which would have been lost to the treasury had he immediately made public his orders of recall; and the troops would also have met with great difficulties", as he himself confessed in the presence of the Sultan, according to Ferishta [4]. Finally he retreated to Bijapur with several Rajas of the Kanarese country, who "accompanied him to pay their compliments to the King" [5]. These chiefs were afterwards honoured by Ibrahim Adil Shah with precious robes [6]. One chief was, according to Ferishta, the son of Arsappa Nayaka [7]. Another was named, as the Portuguese sources tell us, Sam Carnao Botto (?) We have been unable to identify this person, whose territory was near the fort of Basrur. When

1. Ibid., p. 39.
2. Ferishta, III, p. 161.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 162.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 163.
7. Ibid.

the Portuguese sovereign was informed by his Viceroy of the intention of this chief to relinquish his dominions to Bijapur, he sent his instructions as follows : "As regards the business of Sam Carnao Botto, which is of great importance, as is clear from the way it goes on, I recommend to be very careful, and to consent by no means that those fortresses be handed over to Idalxa (Adil Shah), using every possible endeavour to this end" [1]. But shortly after tidings were sent to the King of the actual surrender of these forts to Bijapur: "Again the same governor informs me that, on account of the entrusting of the fortresses to Idalxa by Sao Carnao Botto the fortress of Barcelor (Basrur) is in a great distress" [2].

5. Nevertheless this subjection of the North Kanara petty rulers to the sway of Bijapur was due only to the force of the latter's arms ; for from the time of Balil Khan's retreat in 1588 up to the year 1593 all of them ' had neglected to pay their tribute'. Ibrahim Adil Shah resolved this year to humble these chiefs. "For this purpose", says Ferishta, "he despatched Manjun Khan with a considerable army. This general on arriving at Bakapur halted, and summoned all the Rays to meet him with their tributes; promising protection to those who obeyed, but threatening the refractory with vengeance. Most of them prepared to comply with his demands! and intended coming in a body to visit him; but as Ganga Naik, who was one of the principal Rays of Malabar (Kanara), and had eight or ten thousand horse and foot in his pay, went first to pay his respects, the rest jealous of his power, and suspecting that he had gone to form some plan against them with Manjun Khan, broke off their engagements and withdrew to the mountains. Manjun Khan, not thinking it prudent to follow them into an unknown country, marched with Ganga Naik against Jerreh which belonged to Arsappa Naik; who with his allies, to the number of twenty thousand men, endeavoured to interrupt the siege. For three days bloody

1. From King Philip II to the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, Lisbon, January 12th, 1591, Ap. B, No. I.

2. From the same to the same, Lisbon, January 12th, 1591, Ap. B, No. II.

skirmishes were maintained by the Bijapur troops, who could not make use of their cavalry owing to the nature of the ground, so that their success was frequently doubtful. But at length the good fortune of the king prevailed", says the Muhammadan writer; "and Arsappa, seeing further resistance vain, consented to pay tribute, and made a present of two fine elephants to Manjun Khan, with many curious and valuable effects for the King".

Manjun Khan, accompanied by Ganga Nayak and Arsappa Nayak, who now joined the invader, then proceeded southwards and besieged the city of Mysore [1]. The siege lasted three months; but the city was finally reduced, twenty five elephants being taken among the booty. It is a pity that we have no further details concerning the surrender of Raja Wodeyar's capital, about which the Hindu sources maintain a discreet silence.

Mysore however did not remain long in the possession of the Muhammadans; for Manjun Khan was again recalled at Bijapur in the same year to assist the Sultan's troops against his brother who had rebelled at Belgaum [2]. After his retreat the Kanarese Rajas again withdrew their allegiance to Bijapur, as is implied in Ferishta's statement: "The Hindus of Malabar, (Kanara) seizing the opportunity, invaded the districts of Bankapur" [3]. These Hindus who invaded the districts of Bankapur must have been a detachment sent there by Venkata II himself, according to the treaty enacted just then between him and the Sultan of Ahmadnagar against the Sultan of Bijapur [4]. Naturally the presence of the imperial army in North Kanara suggests the freedom of the petty Rajas of Kanara from Muslim slavery.

The rising of Ibrahim Adil Shah's brother at Belgaum proved on this occasion the salvation of Kanara. The rapid conquests made by Manjun Khan were the beginning of the successful

1. Ferishta says here that Mysore belonged to Venkatadri Naik, *i. e.*, the Ikeri Nayak. This is a palpable mistake, copied by Burgess, *Chronology*, p. 56.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 175-6.

3. Ibid., p. 180.

4. Ibid., p. 286.

campaign which would have marked the end of the Hindu power in this country. This was likewise the opinion of the Portuguese of those days, who were close to the scene of that tragedy, and interested enough in the revenue coming from Kanara to fill up the empty state-coffers. We know of this feeling of the Portuguese through a letter of their King written in 1596. He wrote to the Viceroy as follows: "(Mathias de Albuquerque) also writes to me that the Idalcao (Adil Khan) had sent some captains to fight against the Kings and Lords of Canara, at the request of the Queen of Baticalla (Bhatkal); he says likewise that two fortresses would have been taken by them in Gatty, had not the rising of the brother of the said Idalcao compelled him to recall the captains" [1].

6. Soon after the expulsion of the Muhammadans from the Kanarese country, an event took place in the capital of its Viceroyalty which completely upset the political balance in the West of the Empire. We refer to the occupation of Seringapatam by Raja Wodeyar of Mysore.

The *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* says that Raja Wodeyar, on hearing of the defection of Tirumala in the siege of Madura, "resolved to drive the traitor Tirumala Raya from his Viceroyalty, and sent his spies to test the feeling among Tirumala Raya's feudatories" [2]. But we have rejected this passage as a concoction of the poet inconsistent with other proved historical facts, and as clearly evincing the author's biassed purpose, *viz.* to extol the founder of the dynasty. But this is not the only story forged around this event. "The acquisition of Seringapatam in 1610", says Wilks, "is related in different manuscripts with a diversity of statement, which seems only to prove a mysterious intricacy of intrigue beyond the reach of contemporaries to unravel. The pervailing tale states that the Viceroy Tremul Raj, being afflicted with *rajpora* or royal boil (the disorder most fatal to opulent and luxurious Indians) retired to the holy temple of Talcaud (Talakkad), with the view of being cured by the interposition of the

1. From King Philip II to the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, Lisbon, February 8th, 1596, Ap. b, No. V.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 303.

idol, or of breathing his last before the sacred shrine; and that previously to his departure, he had selected Raj Wodeyar of Mysore for the confidential trust of administering the government in his absence; and in the event of his death, of transferring it to his kinsman and heir the Wodeyar of Ammatur"[1]. Wilks wisely rejects this tale, and we reject both as contradictory to each other.

It is, however, worth while noticing that according to Wilks the only thing proved is 'a mysterious intricacy of intrigue beyond the reach of contemporaries to unravel'. This intrigue was probably the one referred to in the MS. of Naggar Putia, which according to the same Wilks, "even details the names of the persons, probably of his own court, who had combined (as it is stated, with the permission of Vencatapetti Rayil who then reigned at Chandergherri) to compel him to retire"[2]. Now it was Venkata's interest, as we have declared elsewhere, to disgrace Tirumala before his subjects, by showing him as incapable of defending Seringapatam against his opponent Raja Wodeyar; and he did so thoroughly attain his aim, that even now, three centuries after, the prevalent opinion is against the last Viceroy of Seringapatam[3].

Yielding to the advice of his courtiers and secretly admonished by Venkata, Tirumala quietly retired to Talakkad[4]. According to the *Annals of the Mysore Royal Family*, the Viceroy retired from Seringapatam with his two wives Alamelamma and Rangamma[5]. The *Palace History* gives

1. Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p. 41-2. See another story from a Mackenzie MS. in Rangachari, *History of the Naik Kingdom*, *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 134, note 65.

2. Ibid., p. 43.

3. Cf. Heras, *Venkatapatiraya I and the Portuguese*, *Q.J.M.S.*, XIV, p. 314.

4. S. Krishnaswsmi Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 19, and *Ancient* India, p. 282-3, affirms that the retreat of Tirumala took place during a siege of Seringapatam by Raja Wodeyar. Really the *Congu Desa Rajakal Kyfeyut* speaks of a seige and storming of Seringapatam at this time. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, III, p. 33.

5. Puttaiya, A *Note on the Mysore Throne*, *Q.J.M.S.*, XI, p. 263. There are incongruencies in this passage of the *Annals*, such as the

one name only, *viz.* Alamelumanga [1], and seems to suppose that before reaching her husband, who went ahead, she met her end; Raja Wodeyar being most probably responsible for her death [2]. Frs. S. de Sa and B. Coutinho, while going to Goa with Venkata's embassy, met the father-in-law of Tirumala, *viz.* the father of one of these two ladies [3]. But he seems to have had no sons, since the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, speaking of the two nephews of his namesake Venkata II, say: 'Of these two, Srirangaraya begot sons' [4]. Both Wilks and Rice state that Tirumala died soon afterwards [5]. But there is a grant from Gundlupet Taluk which seems to indicate that he was still living in 1614, and probably with the authority of Viceroy, though very much reduced; he is called in it "the Mahamandalesvara Rama Raja Tirumala Rajayya", and is said to have made to Vengadeyya-Bhatta, 'establisher of the path of the Vedas', a grant of the village of Yereyur, rent free [6].

7. After the retreat of Tirumala to Talakkad, Raja Wodeyar occupied Seringapatam, apparently with the consent of the Emperor Venkata, as will be proved by the latter's further grants [7]. Most likely on this occasion the Mysore Raja sat on the throne of the Viceroys of Seringapatam left vacant by the retreat of Tirumala [8].

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appointment of Sri Ranga Raya, the son of Tirumala, as ruler at Seringapatam, the seven kings governing there till 1610, etc. Nevertheless there is no reason for rejecting the names of the two wives of Tirumala.

1. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 284.

2. Ibid., p. 285

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIII.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 253, v. 22. Several authors as Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p. 42; Sewell, II, p. 252; and Rice, I, p. 364, call Tirumala an aged man; we have proved elsewhere that he could not be more than forty on this occasion. Cf. Heras, *Venkatapatiraya I and the Portuguese*, l. c.

5. Wilks, o.c., p. 43; Rice, o.c., p. 364.

6. *Ep. Carn.* IV, Gu, 13.

7. This was already noticed by Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 122, and Richards, *Salem Gazetter*, p. 67.

8. Puttaiya, *A Note on the Mysore throne*, *Q.J.M.S.*, XI, p. 262-3. This seems to be the old throne of the Mysore dynasty which is sacredly kept in the Royal Palace as a holy relic of the past.

We cannot with comfidence join in the chorus of the authors who look upon this event as the first act of the dismemberment of the Empire [1]. Raja Wodeyar always acknowledged the sovereignty of Venkata II, as may be seen from an inscription of 1604, recording a grant made by him, when Venkatapati Raya was seated on the jewelled throne [2]; also from another of 1612, which commemorates another of his grants to Siva, after acknowledging Venkata as his paramount lord [3]. In the same year 1612, another event took place that proves Raja Wodeyar's subjection to the Emperor of Vijayanagara: it is a charter confirming the acquisition of Seringapatam, obtained by Raja Wodeyar from Venkata II. This document is not yet available, but is referred to in an inscription of Chama Raja Wodeyar of 1622: "On a certain day", says the incription, " when this Chama Raj Odeyar of Maisur was engaged in conversation on good stories of works of merit, it came into his mind that he would establish an agrahara. And on inquiry, finding that formerly in the Saka year 1534 (A. D. 1612), when Venkatapatideva Maharaya being in Ghanagiri (Penukonda), ruling the kingdom of the world, he had granted to Raj Odeyar, a King of his own line, Ummatur and Seringapatana, as an hereditary estate, Raja Odeyar had then sent a petition saying he wished to establish an *agrahara*, and that Venkatapati Raya had expressed his strong approval and granted a copper sasana" [4].

This ratification of the capture of Seringapatam and the concession of the village of Bevinahalli to Raja Wodeyar by Venkata are recorded in two inscriptions of the former belonging to the years 1614 and 1615; both prove likewise the loyalty of the Raja to Venkata till the end of the latter's reign, for they mention him as the supreme sovereign. The first mentions a grant of Raja Wodeyar "for the god Chaluvaraya and 28

1. Cf. Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 356; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 122; Sewell, p. 220; H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, *A.S.I., 1911-12*, p. 196.

2. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ch, 62.

3. Ibid., 135.

4. *Ep. Carn.*, III, TN, 62.

Brahmans belonging to Seringapatam, which Venkatapati Raya has assigned to him as an umbali" [1]; the second records another grant made by the same "for the god Ramachandra of Vahnipura of the village of Bevinahalli belonging to Bannur, which he had received from Venkatapatideva Maharaya as an hereditary permanent estate" [2].

8. The Mysore chief was not alone in his desire to obtain supremacy in Kanara. The Ikeri Nayak, Chikka Sankanna Nayaka, was successfully administering his kingdom. It was he who gave the first impulse to expansion, which was followed by his successor Venkatappa. A letter of the King of Portugal to the Viceroy Conde de Vidigueira informs us of the ambitious projects of Chikka Sankanna. It runs as follows: "You say that the Queen of Baticala (Bhatkal) has not paid the tribute due for many years, and that she is now in great distress on account of one Naique (Chikka Sankanna Nayaka) formerly a subject of the king of Narsingua (Vijayanagara) but now risen to power, and who gives clear proofs of his ambition to become the paramount lord over all those neighouring kings" [3].

Chikka Sankanna constructed a beautiful new town at Ikeri with a magnificent palace, which was provided with a handsome theatre. At the village of Sangala he had a big tank built and a garden laid out, which contained all kinds of trees and creepers [4].

Although he had a son called Siddhappa Nayaka, in his old age he appointed his elder brother's son, Venkatappa Nayaka, his successor, and nominated the latter's younger brother, Rama Raja, Yuvaraja [5]. This fact must be placed before, or in the

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1. Ibid., Sr, 157.

2. Ibid., TN, 116. According to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 281, the 'grants' of Venkata II to Raja Wodeyar 'appear to have been conquests rather than grants'.

3. From King Philip II to the Viceroy Conde de Vidigueira, Lisbon, November 21st, 1598, *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, III, pt. 2nd, p. 916.

4. *Sivatattvaratnakara*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 339.

5. Ibid., p. 338-9. Mr. Sewell, II, p. 177, says that Siddhappa Nayaka succeeded his father Sankanna, but reigned only one year (1603-4).

first half of 1592 ; for there is an inscription of September 30th, 1592, in which Venkatappa appears as Nayaka of Ikeri making a grant for the services of a *matha* [1].

The new ruler was to be the most illustrious of the princes of Ikeri, and was destined to become for time the rival of Mysore in his wars of conquest; but since most of his achievements as a successful conqueror belong to the period subsequent to the death of Venkata II, we shall refer to them all in the following volume. Mr. Sewell qualifies him as a 'weak ruler' [2], a statement that appears entirely false; for he was a valiant and enterprising general as well as a shrewd politician. It has also been said that he threw off his dependence on the Vijayanagara Emperor [3], though no reliable proof of this has been yet afforded. As a matter of fact, we have convincing proofs of his loyalty to Venkata II in the aforesaid inscription of 1592 and in another of 1614, at Udipi, South Kanara, in which mention is made of the grant of the village of Huvinakere by Venkatappa Nayak of Keladi to the local Krishnamatha [4]. In both, the Ikeri chief acknowledges Venkata II as his sovereign.

9. One of Venkatappa's royal neighbours was Bukka Devi Chautar, Queen of Ullal, of whom we have already spoken in a preceding chapter. After the settlement of the differences between her and the King of Bangher, recorded during the reign of Ranga I, it seems that she constructed a fortress in Ullal to oppose the one built by the Portuguese at Mangalore, but was compelled by the Portuguese Viceroy to destroy it probably in fulfilment of one of the terms of the treaty of peace. The King of Portugal wrote to the Viceroy on February 18th, 1595, approving of this treaty with the Queen of Ullal [5]. But on the 26th of the same month, probably after getting fuller information, his Majesty wrote to his representative in India as follows : "I approve of the peace made with the Queen

1. *M. A. D., 1923,* p. 106-7.

2. Sewell, II, p. 177.

3. Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 431.

4. 110 of 1901.

5. From King Philipp II to the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, Lisbon, February 18th, 1595, *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, III, p. 478.

of Ollala (Ullal) after forcing her to pull down the fortress that she had constructed and retained with such great loss of reputation to that State (of Portuguese India); but I am informed now that the aforesaid fortress of Ollala has not been demolished as completely as it ought to have been, and that the foundations are still remaining, in such a way that in a very few days and with very little work it may be put up again; I recommend you to see that the foundations are totally destroyed" [1].

Accordingly the Viceroy sent to Ullal Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, who razed the fortress to the ground, as another letter of the King informs us [2]. In the same letter we are told that the Queen was waging war against the King of the Serra (?) at about 1597. The King of Portugal "had written to the King of Banguel (Bangher) charging him to settle such differences; and praying him that he would by no means join the aforesaid King of the Serra against the Queen " [3]. This final recommendation of the Portuguese sovereign makes it seem probable that the King of Bangher had formerly rendered some aid to the King of the Serra against the sovereign of Ullal. This was customary in the court of Portugal; it recommended people not to do in future that which it knew was already being done. Anyhow this incident was probably the cause of the definite break of relations between the two neighbouring chiefs.

The Italian traveller Pietro della Valle informs us about the relations between these two sovereigns and the subsequent events resulting from this break of intercourse; "yet, though they were Husband and Wife," says he, "they liv'd not together, but apart, each in their own lands: on the confines whereof, either upon Rivers, where they caus'd Tents to be erected over boats, or in other places of delight, they came to see and converse with one another; the King of Banguel wanting not

1. From the same to the same, Lisbon, February 26th, 1595, Ibid., p. 503.

2. From the same to the Viceroy Dom Francisco de Gama, Conde de Vidigueira, Lisbon, February 5th, 1597, Ibid., III, pt. 2nd, p. 667.

3. Ibid.

other Wives and Women who accompany'd him wherever he went. 'Tis reported that this Queen had the Children, which she hath, by this King of Banguel, if they were not by some other secret and more intimate Lover; for, they say, she wants not such" [1].

10. During this period, in the petty state of Yelahanka, we find Immadi Kempe Gowda II; but we cannot admit that he was the immediate successor of Kempe Gowda, without at the same time admitting that his reign lasted 89 years; and specially when there are documents to support the probability of another chief between the two Kempe Gowdas [2].

He improved the Somesvara temple at Ulsur and, calling from Belur a famous sculptor named Jakanachary, ordered him to carve on its walls the episode of the marriage of Parvati and Siva. "The carvings," says Mr. B. Puttaiya, "consist of numerous sculptures and figures of Gods and Goddesses who attend the marriage, including Brahma and Vishnu and the thirty-three crores of Devathas or inhabitants of the celestial world. The details of the assemblage at the ceremony are all carved in stone with a wealth of elegance, ornament, and realism, so that one is astonished at the wonderful skill displayed in carving such intricating details on hard stone" [3].

It is said that Kempe Gowda II died in 1658. Hence we shall speak of him again later.

11. Very little is known about the other states of Kanara during Venkata II's reign. The year 1602 seems to have witnessed the death of Obana Nayaka; who, being appointed by Sadasiva chief of Chitaldroog, had acquired considerable importance during the reign of Tirumala and Ranga. He was now succeeded by his son Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka, during whose reign the possession of Mayakonda, Sente Bennur, Holalkere, Anaji Jagalur and other places was contested in

1. Della Valle, II, p. 313. Fr. Coutinho in one of his letters says that 'Tornagoda, the Governor of Olala, invites us (to go there)'. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V. This must be a governor on behalf of Bukka Devi.

2. Cf. Puttaiya, *The Kempe Gowda Chiefs*, *Q.J.M.S.*, XIII, p. 729, and *Ep. Carn.*, IX, An, 47.

3. Puttaiya, o. c., p. 730.

several battles with the Basvapatna chief. But they remained attached to the Chitaldroog territory. His governorship lasted until 1653 ; and in the long tenure of his office he had considerably extended his territories [1].

In Bellur we find a grand-son of Era Krishnappa Nayaka and son of Venkatadri. An inscription of 1587, which acknowledges the suzerainty of Venkata II 'ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom', records that Krishnappa Nayaka, grand-son of Era Krishnappa and son of Venkatappa Nayaka, made a grant for watchmen from money obtained from the temple endowments [2].

12. No other conquests by the Portuguese took place in Kanara during this period ; but the King of Portugal as well as his Viceroy at Goa were carefully watching the fortunes of this country. We have seen the interest the Portuguese sovereign took in the affair of the fortresses of Sao Carnao Botto. Portuguese trade received its greatest supplies from Kanara. "Accordingly (Manoel de Sousa) writes to me," says Philip II, "that the greatest quantity of pepper that comes by these fleets is taken from Kanara, and according to him it will be increased every year ; a thing which will be of great value for the loading of our ships. He says, moreover, that he was trying to satisfy the kings of the coast as much as he could because of this pepper, the majority of which comes from the lands of Sao Carnao Botto [3]."

This was the reason of the intercourse between the Portuguese and the chiefs of the Kanara country ; for trading purposes also, several Portuguese forts were built on the coast, as we have narrated during the reign of Sadasiva. In the begining of Venkata's reign, these fortresses were repaired and furnished with sufficient ammunition, according to an order of the Portuguese sovereign to the Viceroy dated February 18th, 1595 [4].

1. Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 502.

2. *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Cm. 79.

3. From King Philipp II to the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, Lisbon, January 12th, 1591, Ap. B, No I.

4. From the same to the same, Lisbon, February 18th, 1595, Ap. B, No. IV.

CHAPTER XXI

VENKATA II'S RELATIONS WITH THE PORTUGUESE, DUTCH AND ENGLISH

SUMMARY.—1. St. Thome under Venkata II.—2. Contemporary description of the town.—3. Formation of the Portuguese, Dutch and English Trading Companies.—4. Spain against England and the Netherlands.—5. Embassy of Venkata II to the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha.—6. Embassy of Ayres de Saldanha to Venkata II.—7. Differences and riots at St. Thome.—8. Erection of the Diocese of Sao Thome de Meliapor.—9. Destruction of the city of Madras and fortress of Mylapore.—10. Great distress of the Portuguese in India in 1608.—11. Venkata II causes the Dutch to be expelled from Devanapatnam.—12. Correspondence between Venkata II and Philip III of Spain.—13. Siege of St. Thome by Venkata II.—14. Decision to fortify St. Thome and necessity of a Governor.—15. The Dutch obtain Pulicat from Venkata II.—16. First attempt of the English to settle at Pulicat.—17. Embassy of Venkata II to the English at Masulipatam. Their second voyage to Pulicat.—18. Portuguese designs against Pulicat.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. *Moncoes do Reino* (Pangim Archives). —2. Jesuit letters.—3. Travels of Gasparo Balbi and Ludovico de Barthema, Anquetil du Perron.—4. Du Jarric, Guerreiro, Queyroz.—5. Documents concerning the Mylapore Diocese.—6. Letters of the E. I. C.

THE history of the dealings between Venkata II and the Portuguese chiefly centres round St. Thome and Pulicat; and in the meantime, Dutch and English traders appear in the southern seas, boldly challenging the Portuguese monopoly and trying to make friends with the local rulers.

The city of St. Thome, from its position within the territory of Vijayanagara, paid at this time an almost nominal tribute to the Emperor: it consisted of a quarter per cent of the merchandise imported by sea [1]. Nevertheless, its administration was

1. From King Philipp III to the Viceroy Don Jeronymo d'Azevedo, March 7th, 1613, Ap. B, No. XIII.

immediately under the authority of the Nayak of Tanjore [1]; and accordingly it paid an additional tribute to him, at least from the year 1600 [2]. It was the Nayak of Tanjore who appointed the governor or *adigar* of St. Thome; the Jesuit annual letter of 1604-1606 tells us that in 1600 the Tanjore Nayak nominated to this place one Puley or Pillai, a noble of Kanchivaram. [3].

This governor did not reside at St. Thome, but at the ancient city of Mylapore. "The Portuguese", says the Jesuit annual letter of 1606-1607, "have a captain or *ouvidor*, to govern and administer justice. In another separate town, but in its vicinity, there is a captain of the King (of Vijayanagara), who collects the taxes and governs the Hindus" [4]. Mylapore is the same city that Gasparo Balbi speaks of in the account of his travels through India in 1582: "Without the Citie of Saint Thomas is another Citie invironed with walls, made of earth, and inhabited with Gentiles Souldiers, whose Chieftaine is called Adicario (*adigar*), who hath power to execute justice" [5]. Apparently Mylapore was then fortified and garrisoned by the Emperor of Vijayanagara; hence it receives the appellation of a fortress in several Jesuit letters of those years [6]. All these letters distinguish between this fortress and a Hindu town which was a little farther away. We have suggested elsewhere that this Hindu town might be the one called Madarasa, next to which the Fort St. George was constructed several years after by the English traders, who called it Black

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1. Du Jarric, I, p. 638. Cf. Hay, *De Rebus Iaponicis*, p. 740.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

3. Ibid.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Provinee of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ap. C, No. XXVI.

5. Purchas, X, p. 148.

6. From Fr. M. Roiz to Fr. J. Alvarez, St Thome, November 1st, 1606, Ap. C, No. XII; From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ibid., No. XIII; From the same to the same same date, Ibid., No. XIV; *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ibid., No XXVI.

Town, as inhabited by coloured people [1]. The Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva Raya mentions both Mailapura and Madarasa as connected with the father of one of the Brahmans favoured with the grant [2].

2. The above mentioned Gasparo Balbi has an interesting description of St. Thome which deserves to be quoted in full. It runs as follows: "The Front is towards the West, very strong by reason of the Blockehouses, which are upon the Port, along towards the sea. This port is so low that elephants cannot enter in at it, for the horses enter with not a little trouble. There are three Churches: one very fair, of Saint Thomas, which is well served with Priests, the chiefe of them is a Vicar (for so they call him) who was sent thither by the Archbishop of Goa. There is another of Saint Francis, very well served with Capuchins and another of Saint John the Baptist, where the Fathers of Saint Paul of the Companie of Jesus are in continuall prayer; to build this they had not so many transomes as were sufficient, when miraculously a great piece of timber was cast up by the Sea, which seemed to be made by the line and measure of that Church. I was here when this piece of timber was cast up; for one day going to Masse to the Church of our Lady, I saw great concourse of people running to the Sea-side, and I went also to see what was the matter, and saw this piece of timber cast upon the shoare. Then the Church of St. John the Baptist was finished, but because they wanted transomes to make the roofs they covered it with straw. The foresaid Fathers of Saint Paul have another Church in the Citie dedicated to our Lady, where they baptise the Gentiles, and exhort and instruct them in matters of Faith [3]. There is another Church called of Our Lady of Light, which (is) served by Saint Thomas his Priests...Saint Thomas

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1. Cf. Heras, *Venkatapatiraya I and the Portuguese*, *Q.J.M.S.*, XIV, p. 316, note 9.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 215. Several of the Brahmans' names in the list of this grant are connected with the territory. Cf. Ibid., p. 216.

3. The congregation of this Church consisted of five thousand recently made Christians, in 1606-7. Cf. Guerreiro, *Relacam Annal... no ano de 606. & 607.*, p. 105.

is as faire a Citie as I saw any in that Countrie, and the houses joyne one to the other, so to be able to succour one another" [1].

Such was the city of St. Thome in the begining of Venkata's reign. At about the same time several events took place in Europe, which were to influence much the future history of Vijayanagara.

3. Up to the year 1587, the monopoly of Portuguese commerce had rested with the Government; but in this year the whole trade was handed over to a newly established company called '*Companhia Portugueza das Indias Orientaes*', a definite step towards the 'Comercial Company', '*Companhia do Comercio*', which was created in 1630 [2]. This new organization was intended to meet the fresh needs which were beginning to face Portuguese trade in the eastern seas.

A little earlier, on April 8th, 1583, the Dutchman John Huighen Van Linschoten had sailed from Lisbon to the East Indies; and after visiting the Portuguese colonies and some other places inland, returned home and published the account of his travels ten years later. Linschoten's account excited the enthusiasm of his fellow countrymen, who had shortly before thrown off the Spanish yoke. One chapter of his narrative in particular, "of the Spices, Drugs, Plants, and Stuffes for Physicians and Apothecaries, ordinarily used in India, and of their growing" [3], had the effect of launching several trading companies in the Netherlands, which sent about fifteen expeditions to the East between 1595 and 1601 [4]. On March 20th, 1602, the various Companies of the Flemish States, became united under the name of '*De Algemeene Geoctroyeerde Oest-Indische Compagnie*' [5]. During the next year the new United Company sent out a great expedition of thirteen ships to the East Indies under Steven van der Hagen, and in the instructions furnished to him made special mention of the piece-goods trade of Pulicat and Masuli-

1. Purchas, X, p. 147-8.
2. Danvers, *Report*, p. 12.
3. Purchas, X, p. 310.
4. Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 6. See *A Collection of Voyages Undertaken by the Dutch East India Company*, Introduction.
5. Galletti, l. c.

patam on the East coast [1]. But neither of these places was to house the first Dutch factory on the eastern coast. We have seen elsewhere that in 1608-9, through the benevolence of the Nayak of Jinji, the Dutch were building a factory in Devanapatnam [2]. We shall speak later of the transactions between the Emperor Venkata, the Nayak of Jinji and the Portuguese which resulted from the building of this fort.

But the Dutch were not then the only rivals of the Portuguese in the Eastern seas. Early in 1527, Robert Thorne, a merchant of Bristol, had addressed a memorandum to King Henry VIII of England advising the opening of a route to India by the North-West [3]. But the attempts made through this route proved a failure. Subsequently, from 1580 to 1584, several letters were received in London, spurring the merchants of the place once more to try a new route to India: such letters had been written by the Jesuit Father Thomas Stephens, the first Englishman who set foot in India. In one of them, dated October 24th, 1583, he describes several kinds of fruits and other productions of Salsette and Goa [4]. Such a description was a tacit invitation to the enterprising British traders. Accordingly, after an unsuccessful attempt of Sir Robert Dudley in 1596, a large

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1. Ibid.

2. Cf. Ch. XIX, No. 12.

3. Cf. Basu, *Rise of the Christian Power*, I, p. 16.

4. "We have here a tree oftener seen than the elm or the vine, called the Palm on account of its likeness to it, or perhaps because it is really so, if you admit that Palm is a generic word and consists of two species. It gives oil, liquor (vinum), toddy (lac), syrup (mel), sugar and vinegar. Coir rope is also made from it to tie with, and its branches are used to protect huts from rain. It gives fruit all the year round, which are rather nuts than dates, resembling a man's head. When the exterior rind has been removed, they equal the size of two fists. Inside the fruit contains water like beer and good to quench one's thirst. It is so plentiful that, after drinking from one fruit, you would not look for another. In the interior of the nut is a kernal lining it all over like a covering and forming a prized article of food. The shell furnishes the blacksmiths with charcal. Those that live near the sea not only load their boats with the tree, but also utilise it for making ropes and sails. You will find hardly any piece of writing except on its leaves. Those that live on land invariably make use of them to shelter themselves from rain", etc. Saldanha, *The Christian Purana*, p. XXIII-XXXVIII.

number of English merchants formed themselves into an association and subscribed upwards of £ 30,000 in support of the undertaking. A Charter of Incorporation was granted by Queen Elizabeth to George, Earl of Cumberland, and two hundred and fifteen Knights, aldermen and merchants, under the name of '*The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies*'. The first expedition of this Company, under Captain Lancaster, sailed from Wollwhich, on February 13th, 1601, but it did not reach India. In 1604 a second attempt was made under the command of Henry Middleton but with no better results. Finally a third expedition was sent, and Captain Hawkins its commander, landed at Surat, proceeding thence to the court of the Mughal Emperor. New voyages to the East Indies were subsequently made almost every year [1].

4. These Dutch and English activities were by no means propitious to the prospects of the Portuguese in the East. Since 1584, the relations between Spain and England had become daily more and more strained in the European seas. Moreover in 1566 the Netherlands had rebelled against the Spanish sovereign. And Portugal, now united to the Spanish crown, was destined to taste in India the bitter fruits of this disagreement between her conqueror and these two enterprising nations [2]. True, a treaty of peace between Spain and England had been made in 1604, one of the articles of which, the 9th, provided that the English were not to go to India, nor carry on commerce in any part of it [3]. But the British traders went on acting as though there were no such treaty. Precisely at this time John Mildenhall was in the court of Akbar, deputed by Queen Elizabeth, and trying to persuade the Mughal Emperor to allow the British to trade in his dominions on the same terms as those enjoyed by the Portuguese. Moreover he asked

1. Cf. *Letters Received by the East India Company*, I, p. XV-XLI; Das Gupta, *India in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 26-67; Roberts, *History of British India*, p. 21-22; Hawkins, *Voyages*, p. 379-419.

2. Danvers, *Report*, p. 15-7.

3. *Torre do Tombo, Livros das Moncoes*, Livro 32, fol. 72; Livro 33, fol. 72. Cf. Danvers, o. c., p. 29.

Akbar not to take offence if the English captured Portuguese vessels or ports on his coasts [1]. They however endeavoured to avoid open hostilities with the Portuguese, while they competed with them for the Eastern trade [2]. Early in 1604 Fr. A. Laerzio wrote that there were in the gulf of Bengal "many Dutch and British ships, our enemies, who had captured some Portuguese vessels" [3].

5. But at this time the influence of the Portuguese in southern India had reached its zenith, through their ancient friendship with the Emperor of Vijayanagara. Early in 1600, when the Superior of the Province of Malabar, Fr. A Laerzio, passed through Chandragiri and was received in audience by Venkata, the sovereign ordered all the courtiers to leave the hall and remained alone with the Fathers; then taking the Provincial apart, he told him he wanted to send his ambassadors to the new Viceroy of Goa "in order to renew and strengthen the old friendship with the Portuguese". Now he wished that Fr. Simao de Sa, who was then Rector of the College of St. Thome, should accompany them; hence he begged Fr. Laerzio to give him permission to do so. "Then the Provincial replied that when the news of the landing of the Viceroy should arrive, he would consider the cause. But the King urged again (saying):—

"And when this news comes nobody will be here to give this permission to the Rector (Fr. de Sa). We must make our decision now; afterwards we shall not be able to do so."

" Then Fr. Provincial gave his permission according to the wishes of the King, who betraying his joy (in his countenance), told Fr. Rector in a loud voice:—

" You have already permission to go to Goa along with my ambassadors" [4].

The new Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha landed in Goa in the

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1. Cf. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 292-3.

2. Danvers, o. c., p. 21.

3. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, January 15th, 1604, Ap. C, No. IX.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

same year 1600; and, according to a letter of Fr. Pimenta dated December 21st, 1602, shortly after his arrival wrote to the Emperor Venkata "announcing by this letter his landing in India, thanking him for the benevolence with which he treats the members of our Society" [1]. This news probably reached Venkata's court early in 1601; and it was then that Venkata sent to Goa his legation briefly mentioned by Anquetil du Perron [2].

The ambassadors, along with Fr. de Sa and another Father, left Venkata's court in the same year 1601. Fr. Ricio, who remained at Chandragiri, wrote on October 20th, of the same year: "The King wishes to be in close friendship with the Portuguese, and sends his ambassadors to the Viceroy along with two of our Fathers, who are Fr. Simao de Sa and Fr. Belchior Coutinho, and presents (the Viceroy) with two rings that cost five thousand *pagodes*, along with a message showing his desire to be the brother in arms (ally) of the King of Portugal" [3]. This extract shows clearly Venkata's purpose in sending such an embassy to the Poruguese Viceroy; it was to establish firmly a defensive alliance with Portugal, probably against the Mughal Emperor Akbar, whose designs were at least suspected at Venkata's court [4].

In a letter of December 21st, 1602, Fr. Pimenta, who was still at Goa when the two Jesuits reached the city with the ambassadors, writes: "I could write a long account of this legation, as well as of the earnest entreaties of the Prince (Tirumala), whose country (Seringapatam) they had to pass through, that one of the Fathers should stay with him on his return" [5]. Unfortunately Pimenta did not set down this account at length; he only says that the embassy passed through Seringapatam; hence it would proceed to Mangalore, and from Mangalore would perhaps reach Goa by sea.

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1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, written by Fr. N. Pimenta, Goa, December 21st, 1602, Ap. C, No. V.

2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 168.

3. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I.

4. Cf. Ch. XVI, Nos. 9 and 10.

5. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, referred to in note 1.

The success of this embassy seems to have been extraordinary. In another Jesuit letter of 1602 we read: "The ambassadors, after having left Goa full of gifts and honours from the Viceroy, went by land to Chandegri (Chandragiri), where in the presence of the King and of the nobles of his court they extolled all our things and the honours and favours they had received from the Viceroy and our Fathers in Goa; this was highly esteemed by the King, who showed himself hereafter more inclined to our interests" [1]. Even Philip III congratulated the Viceroy on the success of this legation; he wrote to him from Valladolid on December 23rd, 1604: "I was very glad to know that the ambassadors of this king (of Vijayanagara) were gallantly entertained and heard by you, as you wrote to me that you did" [2].

6. The Viceroy naturally returned this courtesy with an embassy of his own, the account of which is also found in one of the Jesuit letters that runs as follows: "The ambassador was received by the King (Venkata) with great respect and splendour, as on his arrival at Chandegri (Chandragiri) one of the chiefs of the Royal Council, accompanied by elephants, camels, horses, kettle-drummers and other signs of joy and meriment, went out to fetch him and lodge him in the best palaces and houses of that city. The King was at that time at Tripeti (Tirupati), two leagues from Chandegri. The King determined to receive our ambassador in this city, for which he sent his favourite with great show and reverence to bring him there. The King was outside a very great court; not dressed in rich clothes, because it is not customary, but covered with precious stones, armlets and strings of pearls from his feet to the crown of his head: he wore among others two jewels of great beauty, one of which was an emerald surrounded by big pearls and brilliant diamonds, and the other a ruby of high price and extraordinary greatness. The ambassador knelt down, but the King ordered him to get up and sit down. He (the King) joyfully received the letter and

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1602, Ap. C, No. VIII.

2. From King Philip III to the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha, Valladolid, December 23rd, 1604, Ap. B, No. VII.

the gift of the Viceroy, and spoke of the friendly relations he wished to have with the Portuguese, and of other things concerning the welfare of the State. Then he sent back the ambassador loaded with honours and presents" [1].

Thus the old alliance which Venkata's predecessors had made with the Portuguese was renewed [2]. "It had been almost forgotten at the time", says the above-quoted letter [3]. Venkata himself in a letter to Fr. Pimenta, who was then at Goa, wrote as follows: "My old love for the Portuguese was sufficiently proved at Goa. I have determined to send a ring with other gifts to the Viceroy; my interpreter Condogor will be charged with handing them over to him. Kindly inform the Viceroy about my purpose, in order that the old friendship may be renewed" [4].

7. In the meantime in the city of St. Thome there were continuous differences between the Portuguese themselves, and even sometimes between them and the neighbouring Hindus. This uneasy state of affairs is indicated in a letter of the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to his sovereign, in the year 1613: "The inhabitants of the city of Meliapor (*viz.* Sao Thome de Meliapor) were accustomed to live in the most absolute freedom. Justice has no other meaning than the one those citizens, and specially those who are reputed as powerful, are pleased to give it. For since that land belongs to the King of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara), and there is no garrison nor authority to be respected, such and many other troubles take place there every day" [5].

Venkata was aware of these dissensions, and felt how hard the task of the governor or *adigar* of that city must be. The one appointed in 1599 was, it seems, a man without the experience

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1602, Ap. C, No. VIII.

2. Cf. Ch. IV, No. 5.

3. See Ap. C, No. VIII.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, written by Fr. N. Pimenta, Goa, December 21st, 1602, Ap. C, No. V.

5. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to King Philip III, 1613, Ap. B, No. XVII.

of years or of affairs; hence Venkata wrote to Fr. Simao de Sa to look carefully after the welfare of the city, and also ordered his *adigar* to take no serious steps without previously consulting the Jesuits [1]. As a matter of fact, one of the Jesuit letters of 1600 relates that some differences between the governor and the Portuguese were settled through the deligence of Fr. de Sa and Fr. Manoel de Veiga [2].

Nevertheless, the riots in the city of St. Thome continued in the following years. "When I reached this country on September 3rd, 1606", writes Fr. M. Roiz from St. Thome itself, "I found the Portuguese quarrelling and fighting among themselves, as they were doing two or three years ago" [3]. And another letter, recounting the affairs of the same year 1606, states: "This city of Sao Thome is for the best divided into factions and there are often terrible fights, as in times of civil war. No remedy can be found for that, since it is situated in the country of the Hindu King, and far from the capital; and neither the judicature nor the captain is so provided with military force as to arrest and punish the criminals. Great troubles however have been checked by our (fathers). One Friday during Lent the preacher spoke so fervently and zealously against hatred and strife that the chief of one of those factions, who was hearing the sermon together with other people carrying arms and muskets, was so deeply moved that he determined to change his life at once and to become a friend of his foe; as he did in the Mother Church of St. Thomas the Apostle, where he made amends for the damage and loss he had caused and went to confession with signs of contrition and amendment. At present there is no hatred nor strife" [4].

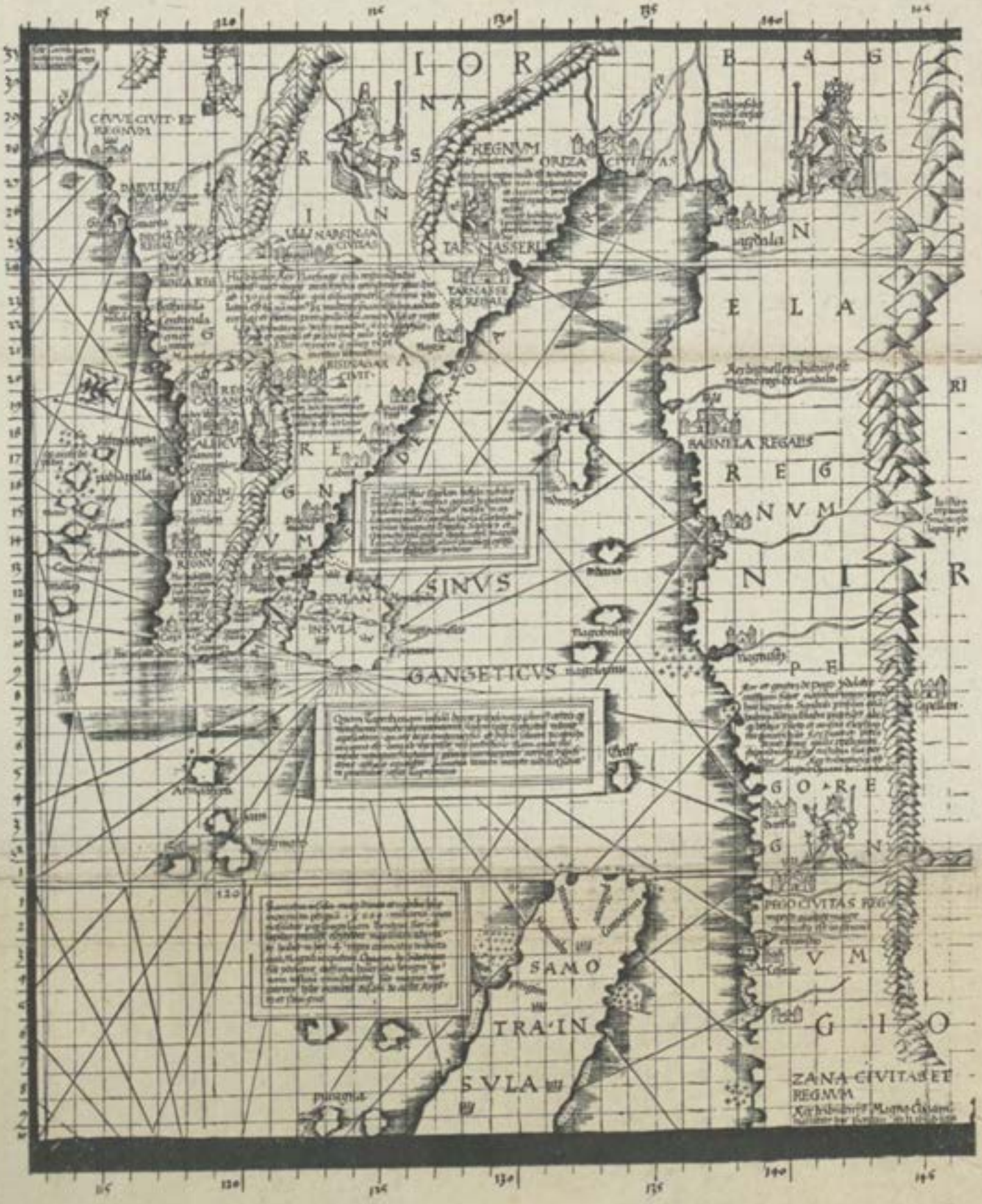
8. In order to put an end to these continual disturbances, it seems that the appointment of a Bishop for Sao Thome was

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 682.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

3. From Fr. M. Roiz to Fr. J. Alvarez, St. Thome, November 1st, 1606, Ap. C, No. XII.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ap. C, No. XXVI.



XVII. India and Burma according to the 'Carta Marina' of 1516 by M. Waldseemuller.

proposed, as is clear from a letter of the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to the King written in 1613. In this letter the Viceroy states that experience has shown that the citizens of Sao Thome have not improved after the appointment of a Bishop there [1]. On the other hand, the Bishop of Cochin was unable to make his pastoral visit through the whole of his diocese on account of its extent [2]. Hence Philip III of Spain, moved by these two reasons, requested His Holiness Paul V, to erect a new Bishopric in Sao Thome [3]. His Majesty's petition was presented to the Pope by Cardinal Eduardo Farnesse [4]. Paul V finally erected the Church of St. Thomas at Mailapur (Mylapore) as the Cathedral of the new Bishopric on January 9th, 1606; and on the same day appointed the Augustinian Friar Fr. Sebastiao de Sao Pedro as its first Bishop, according to the King's request [5]. The new Diocese embraced the whole Coast of Coromandel and the kingdoms of Bengal, Orissa and Pegu [6].

The new Bishop reached St. Thome late in 1608. "The new Bishop sent by Holiness and His Majesty", writes Fr. Coutinho, "has reached St. Thome. And our Fr. Rector entertained him very kindly in our own house, where he resided; and when he went through the streets on foot, he was received with great pageant, dancing, garlands, triumphal arches, etc. He is our sincere friend" [7].

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1. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to King, Goa, December, 1613, Ap. B, No. XIV. It seems that Dom Jeronymo even proposed to abolish the Bishopric of St. Thome, for on March 2nd, 1615, Philip III wrote to him as follows: "Na mesma carta me propondes que os bispados da China y Meliapor se devem tornar a unir aos de Malaca e Cochim.....e por quanto os inconvenientes que aportaes nao me parecerem bastantes para alterar o que, tao pouco ha, tenho ordenado, hei por bem que assy se continue". Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, III, p. 284.

2. *Noticia deste Bispado de Mailapur*, Ap. D, No. II.

3. Ibid. Cf. *Mitras Lusitanas*, p. 95.

4. *Copia do mais essencial da bulla da ereccao do Bispo de S. Thome*, Ap. D, No. I.

5. *Noticia deste Bispado de Mailapur*, l. c.

6. *Copia do mais esencial*, l. c.

7. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIII.

9. Precisely in the very year of the establishment of the Diocese of Mylapore, an event took place in St. Thome which enraged Venkata II against the Portuguese. The occasion was a fight the Portuguese had with the Hindus, owing to the death of a Portuguese gentleman married at St. Thome, who was stabbed by the Hindus at night in their own city (probably Madras). He had gone fully armed to it in search of a girl, who either had run away from him or had been stolen from his house by a soldier of the *adigar* [1]. A fight having ensued there, many Hindus joined this soldier, and the Portuguese was killed and a brother of his wounded. News reached St. Thome at once. "Our men", says Fr. Coutinho, "rioted and wanted to set out during night to attack the fort. The captain stopped them till next day, when at dawn they went well armed to the captain's house; and the counsels of the young men prevailed over those of the Priests and the old people of the city". The captain, moreover, was forced by the relatives of the deceased to take revenge. At last, gathering together a strong force of armed people, he marched against the Hindu town (Madras), by storming and sacking it and slaying a number of people; and as the *adigar* had taken shelter in a fortress close to St. Thome (Mylapore) the Portuguese set the fort on fire.

News of this rising was reported to Venkata by the same *adigar*. But his letter "related the events falsely", says the same Coutinho, "and the Queen, who has paramount power all over the country at present, excited the King against the Portuguese on account of this affair; so that, after the aforesaid letters (of the *adigar*) were read in the presence of the whole court, the sovereign...became so furious that, though usually as meek as a lamb, on that occasion he looked like a lion, and said several times that he would destroy even the foundations of our city; to do which he appointed some captains, declaring that he did not want friendship with the Portuguese any more, and that he would call the Dutch, and so on." One of the things he said, according to another Jesuit letter, was that "if the *adigar*

1. The sources we use for the narrative of this fact are not concurrent on this point.

had committed anyoffence, they (the Portuguese) ought to have represented it to him and he would have punished him". "His courtiers said", continues Countinho, "that they had never seen him so much excited as on this occasion".

"The inhabitants of St. Thome", says another letter, "fearing that the King might send an army to besiege them, deputed Fr. Rector, Nicolas Levanto, to go to the King and appease him with reasons and presents. The King on hearing of his arrival sent him a message inviting him, in case he had come to talk on the Fathers' business; but if he had come to talk on the affairs of Maleapor (Mylapore) he would not listen, seeing that they had offered him such a great affront; nor would he receive their presents". Nevertheless Venkata gradually relented; and being 'naturally meek and benevolent', after two months he sent for Fr. Levanto, who was received by the Sovereign with signs of great affection. Then the Rector of the college of St. Thome offered to the King all the presents he was carrying on behalf of the Portuguese, and obtained everything he had asked for, "even to remove that *adigar* or captain of the fort, placing in his stead another one according to the wishes of the Portuguese". Such was the end of that unpleasant incident, which might easily have been the ruin of the city of St. Thome [1].

1. From Fr. M. Roiz to Fr. J. Alvarez, St. Thome, November 1st, 1606, Ap. C, No XII; From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ibid., No. XIII; From the same to the same, same date, Ibid., No. XIV; From the same to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ibid., No. XVIII; *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ibid., No. XXVI. Two years later Venkata received in his court at Vellore a Portuguese merchant dealing in emeralds. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIII; Guerreiro, *Relacam Annal..... no anno de 606. & 607.*, p. 105. It is worth while to compare this account based on impartial contemporary documents with the following extract from Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power*, p. 28: "When St. Thome was held to ransom for the intolerant acts of some Jesuits and Franciscans, the Raja of Vijayanagara kept such faith with the Portuguese that, as one of them says, such humanity and justice are not to be fund among christians".

10. It was their very good fortune not to lose for ever the friendship of the powerful monarch of Vijayanagara, in those days of great trials and dangers for the Portuguese in India; their cause was in great distress, and the success of their enterprises was then first thwarted by the enemies who finally ruined their once flourishing State.

Fr. Alberto Laerzio, an Italian and hence an impartial witness, in a letter to Fr. J. Alvarez dated Cochin, November 20th, 1608, says that the causes of these troubles were two: the maladministration of Archbishop Menezes, who was then acting as Governor General since the death of Dom Martim Affonso de Castro [1], and the increasing power of the Dutch and the English traders; "the Dutch ships", he says, "are cruising in these eastern seas, checked by nobody" [2]. At the same time the English had taken possession of Masulipatam; and Philip III, in a letter dated December 10th, 1607, recommends his Viceroy to do his best with Venkata in order to obtain their expulsion from the place [3]. At the end of the same year, the new Viceroy Conde da Feira was eagerly expected at Goa; but the Dutch were interested in impeding his arrival. He had left Lisbon with a fleet of fourteen ships, one of which, says Fr. Laerzio in the above mentioned letter, "parted from the Viceroy and reached Mozambique in the month of August; and finding there thirteen Dutch ships that had besieged our fortress, was conquered by them after one day's hard fight". The Dutch were then informed that the Viceroy was coming behind; hence they raised the siege and went to Goa, where they anchored off the mouth of the river. "During

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1. In 1606 the Archbishop Governor sent the gift of a horse to Venkata II. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C, Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIV.

2. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, November 20th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIV.

3. From Philip III to the Viceroy Martin Affonso de Castro, Lisbon, December 10th, 1607, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 146. Another letter of the same sovereign, dated Lisbon, February 21st, 1610, speaks of the same expulsion of the English traders from Masulupatao (Masulipatam). Ibid., p. 359.

our stay there", continues Laerzio, "news reached us that a ship, *Oliveira* by name, belonging to the Viceroy's party, had also arrived and was six miles away on the North and even within sight: our ships went there from Goa, threw all money and goods overboard and, before the arrival of the Dutch, had set the ship on fire and reduced the whole of it to ashes, that the enemy might have nothing of it. "Of the other twelve ships with the Viceroy no news whatsoever is heard", so Laerzio says at the end [1]. As a matter of fact Conde da Feira never saw the shores of India: he died on the way.

11. At the end of the year 1608 the Dutch obtained from Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji permission to build a fort in Devanapatnam, as we have stated in one of the preceding chapters [2]. It seems that in the place selected by them there was formerly an old fort [3]. They soon started to construct their own. But according to a letter of Venkata to Philip III of Spain, which we shall quote later on, no sooner did the Emperor hear of the construction of this fort, than he sent an envoy to the Nayak of Jinji, ordering the expulsion of the Dutch from his territory. It seems that Krishnappa Nayaka did not obey his sovereign's order; for in the following year 1609, Fr. Nicolas Levanto was deputed by the Bishop and the Municipality of St. Thome to obtain from Venkata the expulsion of the Dutch from Devanapatnam. Levanto went to Venkata's court and easily obtained from him a new order for the Nayak of Jinji, to whom he personally presented it. He was also well received by Krishnappa. Matters however were seriously discussed; "the nut was a hard one to crack", says the Jesuit letter we are transcribing here, "because of the large profit he was hoping to get from the new guests; hence he (Krishnappa) told the Father to hope for the best, but at the same time delayed giving him a definite reply". Venkata in the meantime suspected the cause of this delay, and accordingly issued a third letter of his own accord, in which he scolded the Nayak for his disobedience, and ordered him again

1. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, November 20th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIV.

2. Cf. Ch. XIX, No. 12.

3. Rea, *Monumental Remains*, p. 13.

"to do according to the demand of the Father, and expel from his territory the foes of the Portuguese, who are better friends than the Dutch".

As soon as Krishnappa received this letter he sent for Fr. Levanto; and after assuring him that he was ready to obey the Emperor's order, gave him letters for the Bishop, the Captain and the Municipality of St. Thome. In these letters he announced his final resolution that the fort already in construction should be delivered to the Portuguse. Fr. Levanto himself went there, by the Nayak's express command, to witness the expulsion of the Dutch. "The foundations and the walls of the citadel had already been built on all sides to some height. There was a huge amount of lime and a good supply of bricks, for the fort was going to be of brickwork. One of our priests remained there" [1].

Great was the success of the Portuguese on this occasion, thanks to the benevolence of Venkata; and equally great was the disappointment of the Dutch. But they did not relinguish all hopes; for once more before Venkata's death they demanded from Krishnappa Nayaka permission to settle in Devanapatnam and Porto Novo, the new city founded by Krishnappa [2], but this time without success [3]. Probably it is on account of these constant refusals on his part to allow the Dutch to settle in his territory, that Krishnappa is said in a letter of the Portuguese Viceroy, Dom Francisco da Gama, dated November 28th, 1634, to be "very fond of the Portuguese" [4].

12. This friendship of Venkata with the Portuguese was confirmed in the same year on receipt of a letter from Philip III, King of Spain and Portugal, in which His Catholic Majesty thanked the Vijayanagara Emperor for his royal protection of the Missionaries of the Society of Jesus. The text of this letter

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1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1609, Ap. C, No. XXX. Cf. Figueroa, *Historia y Anal Relacion...Los anos passados de 607 y 608*, p. 114-5.

2. Cf. Ch. XIX, No. 8.

3. *Memorial against the Jesuits of Vijayanagara*, Ap, C, No. XXXVII.

4. This letter will be published in Vol. II.

runs as follows, according to a copy we have found in the Pangim Archives :—

" Very Noble King of Bisnaga (Vijyanagara).

" I, Dom Phelippe, etc., make you aware that I have come to know the good hospitality you have extended to the Religious of the Society who dwell in your kingdom, and the favour and assistance you have bestowed on them, as to things concerning Christianity; for which I deemed that it was my duty to thank you, as I do by this letter of mine, and to inform you of the good will with which I shall be pleased, for the sake of all this, to oblige you in all your things.

" And thus I command my Viceroy to carry it out in whatsoever way you may want from him. And I expect from your nobility that you will keep up this your excellent treatment of the said Religious, so that I may ever feel more and more indebted to you, the Very Noble King of Bisnaga.

" May Our Lord enlighten you with the light of His grace, and with the same keep you under His protection.

" Written in Madrid, January 27th, 1607 " [1].

This letter from such a powerful sovereign deeply affected the old Emperor of Vijayanagara. From the latter's answer we deduce that the Viceroy of Goa also wrote proposing to him on behalf of his sovereign an alliance against the Muhammadans, with special reference to the Mughal Emperor. This was precisely Venkata's desire. Witness his answer to Philip III as follows :—

" Letter of the King of the Kings, Great Lord, Great Knight, King Vencatapati, very great King, to the most powerful Lord of sea and land, Dom Phelipe, King of Portugal, etc.

" I received Your Majesty's letter and I enjoyed its reading very much. Your Majesty spoke of two things in it: the first was about the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who are

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1. Ap. B, No. X. In a letter of King Phelippe to his Viceroy dated December 10th, of the same year, the Spanish sovereign refers to this letter to Venkata II: " Pelo que me escrevestes do bom procedimento del-rey de Bisnaga e favores que faz em suas terras aos padres da companhia, mandei escrever as gracas d'isso nas naus que este anno foram ". Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 146.

living at my court, and Your Majesty's joy on hearing how I was myself honouring and entertaining them. The second was about Your Majesty's Viceroy at Goa, *viz.* that Your Majesty had already written to him, ordering him to help me when the welfare of my kingdom should require it. I was very glad to know both things, because, as far as the Fathers are cencerned, they, in these eleven years they have spent at my court, have always been good, religious, very chaste, prudent, learned people and preachers of their own faith; and I shall treat them in the way Your Majesty desires and they are worthy of. As regards the Viceroy, I am always ready to help him with the whole of my army and power, when necessary, against our old common enemies the Moors (Muhammadans).

"I learned how the Dutch, rebel subjects of Your Majesty came to Girola (Jinji), to talk with the Nayque (Nayak), and they requested from him the harbour of Tauana Patan (Devanapatnam), where they were already building a fortress. I sent at once a messenger of mine with some letters for the Nayque; and later on Fr. Nicolas Levanto, Rector of the College of St. Thome of the Society of Jesus, at my request went there taking with him letters of mine on the same object. And I saw that the Nayque forbade the building of a fortress by them, and expelled them from my possessions, since they, being rebels against Your Majesty, so they are also to my person.

"The old friendship which existed between the Kings my ancestors, and the Kings of Portugal, from the time of Narsinga (Narasimha), must continue at present between Your Majesty and myself, and I beg Your Majesty to write me at once whenever necessary.

"From my Kingdom,

"Venkataja, King"[1].

The Spanish monarch was naturally extremely glad to receive Venkata's letter, and to know his attitude towards the Dutch traders at Devanapatnam. Simultaneously he addressed a number of letters to several Princes of the East against his

1. Figueroa, *Historia y Anal Relacion.....Los anos passados de 607 y 608*, p. 113-4.

rebel subjects of the Netherlands, copies of which are to be found in the Government Archives at Pangim [1]. King Phelippe was made aware of the conduct of Venkata II towards the Dutch by a letter of Archbishop Menezes, as one of the former's letters to his Viceroy testifies. Even before he had received this letter of Venkata, he had again written to the old Emperor thanking him for his loyal friendship [2].

13. This friendship between Venkata and the Portuguese seems to have come to an abrupt end in 1611, when the former besieged the city of St. Thome. The Viceroy, Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, in a letter to his sovereign dated 1613, (month not given), says that the origin of this war 'was due to the absence of the Jesuits ' from Venkata's court [3]. They had been removed from it shortly before [4]. A Jesuit letter of 1611 gives a full account of this unfortunate affair.

" Its cause ", says the letter, " was greed of money ; for the old King dotes sometimes, and on such occasions those who

1. See one of these letters to the king of Cananor in Ap. B, No. IX. In 1613, the Spanish monarch ordered his Viceroy to thank the Kings of Calicut and Cananor for the expulsion of the Dutch from their ports. Ap. B, No. XVI. In the same year he gave a detailed account of the Dutch and British ships, which had left Europe for the East. Ap. B, No. XVI. In the volume *Moncoes do Reino, No. 6, (Ia. pte.)* in the *Arquivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo*, Pangim, there are several documents on this subject. A letter to the King of Cochin, dated Madrid, January 17th, 1607 (fol. 117), another to the King of Melinde, Lisbon, December 22nd, 1606 (fol. 120), another to the Prince of Carnate (*sic*), Lisbon, December 23rd, 1606 (fol. 123), another to the King of Porqua, Lisbon, December 22nd, 1606. A letter of the same sovereign to his Viceroy dated January 16th, 1607, laying down their attitude towards the petty chiefs of Canara runs as follows " E porque o estado das cosas mostram ser necessario conservar a estes reys em paz e amisade, vos encommendo trateis com que assi se faca lembrando-lhe a elles que nao tenham commercio nem amisade com os rebeldes de Hollanda, por serem aleuantados. " Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 73.

2. " E porque o dito arcebispo governadar me escreve na mesma conformidade e o bem que o dito rey se tem avido em nao consentir que os hollandezes sejam recebidos em nenhum porto seu, lhe mandei escreuer a carta que vae nestas vias. " Lisbon, December 10th, 1607, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 146.

3. Ap. B, No. XII.

4. Cf, Ch. XXII, No. 11.

govern the kingdom do as they please. Once they demanded from the citizens of St. Thome an enormous amount of money. They (the Portuguese) refused (to pay) such an extraordinary exaction; then they were attacked (by the King's soldiers), and defended themselves; both parties fought courageously; many of the enemies and some Portuguese were killed"[1]. In the city, which was not yet fortified[2], the besiegers resisted for several months, according to a letter of Fr. Laerzio[3]. Fr. Queyroz, who supposes that Venkata himself was commanding the beleaguering army, relates that in the course of the siege, his Queen brought forth a child whose legitimacy was doubtful[4]; this seems to indicate that the siege lasted about nine months. The same author records that the army of Venkata contained two hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, who were finally repulsed with heavy losses by the Portuguese under the command of Manoel de Frias, Captain of St. Thome[5]. From a letter of Philip III to his Viceroy, dated March 6th, 1613, it appears that the Bishop Fr. Sebastiao de Sao Pedro had a large share in the hardships of the siege, the success of which was partly due to him: "I highly appreciate the person and the services of the Bishop", says His Majesty, "and his conduct during the siege"[6]. And on February 20th, 1614, the King writes again to his Viceroy as follows: "The Bishop of Meliapor (Mylapore) wrote to me describing his action in my royal service during the siege of that city"[7]. The same letter speaks of the aid given to the Portuguese by Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore:

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXV.

2. From King Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, Lisbon, March 7th, 1613, Ap. B, No. XIII.

3. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 25th, 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXII.

4. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, p. 309.

5. Ibid.

6. Philip III's letter mentioned in note 2, Ap. B, No. XIII.

7. From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, Lisbon, February 20th, 1614, Ap. B, No. XI. Fr. Sebastiao de Sao Pedro is also said to have defended St. Thome and Sadras against the Dutch. Cf. *Noticia deste Bispado de Mailapur*, Ap. D, No. II.

"And since I have also been told of the good conduct of the Nayak of Tanjaor (Tanjore) in my service during the aforesaid siege, I am sending by this mail a letter thanking him, entrusting you with the charge of forwarding it to him" [1]. Unfortunately neither this letter nor a copy of it has hitherto reached our hands; we know only that it was sent to the Bishop of Mylapore, by whom it had to be dispatched to Tanjore: "The letter of Your Majesty to the Nayak of Tanjaor (Tanjore)", says the Viceroy in his answer to the King, "is being sent to the Bishop (of Mylapore), who will hand it over to him" [2].

Finally the Bishop and the Captain of St. Thome deputed Fr. Antonio Rubino, and two of the chief men of the city to propose terms of peace to Venkata. "But since they did not bring the sum demanded, they were seized and cast into prison. We are still ignorant of what will be the end of this affair" [3]. So does a Jesuit letter, written at the close of 1511, end its narrative of this war. At any rate we know that Fr. Rubino and his companions remained in prison for two months, and were eventually released on the Portuguese promising to pay 401 pagodas; half to be paid at once and the other half by instalments during the following six months. Rubino's return to St. Thome was a solemn triumph: he was received and acclaimed as the liberator of the country [4].

14. The siege of St. Thome by the army of Venkata II clearly showed the imperative necessity of fortifying the city. No walls had surrounded the settlement till then; it was really a *tour de force* to resist the attack of the imperial army for several months, without walls, bastions or ditches. In a letter of Philip III of March 7th, 1613, we read: "The same Viceroy wrote to me that the inhabitants of the city of St. Thome were demanding aid and permission, not only for fortifying themselves,

1. Ibid.

2. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to Philip III. January 21st, 1613, Ap. B, No. XIII.

3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXV.

4. Cf. Saroglia, *Vita del Venerabile P. Antonio Rubino*, p. 30.

but also for incorporating their city into the jurisdiction of that State (of Portuguese India), and establishing a custom-house and a tax-collector to gather the 'one fourth per cent', which is now paid to the King of Bisnaga (Vijayangara), for my treasury" [1]. The second item which the King speaks of shows the disaffection the inhabitants of St. Thome felt towards Venkata. It had been the natural result of his recent siege of their own city. This was the first indication of their desire to be independent of the sway of the Vijayanagara Sovereign. Great discussions ensued on this point after the death of Venkata, which will be narrated in the following volume. As to the first point of the King's letter, his decision to fortify St. Thome was not carried out until after Venkata had passed away; his letter did not reach India before that event. This may be seen from the answer of the Viceroy [2].

There was still another problem about St. Thome, which required prompt solution. The Viceroy, in a letter of 1613, after relating the differences and brawls between the citizens of St. Thome, adds: "For this reason I wish to appoint a *hidalgo* of authority as captain of that city, and at the head of a garrison able to wage war" [3]. Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, when writing these words, had no doubt in mind the recent war with Venkata. At the end of the same year he again urged his sovereign to nominate a respectable *hidalgo* for that task, "because, owing to the want of such a respectable person there, many riots take place and the citizens are divided and fighting among themselves; and specially (he is necessary) to be there ready to check the Dutch if they intend to settle again on that coast" [4]. The Bishop himself also wrote to the Viceroy requesting the appointment of a person

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1. From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronomo d' Azevedo, Lisbon, March 7th, 1613, Ap. B, No. XIII.

2. Ibid.

3. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to Philip III 1613, Ap. B, No. XVII.

4. From the same to the same, Goa, December 26th, 1613, Ap. B, No. XV.

for that post [1]. To put an end to such troubles, Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo wrote to the King on December 31st, 1614, that perhaps he would himself proceed to St. Thome [2]. But his project was not carried out.

In the meantime, he wished to appoint Dom Bernardo de Noronha, Captain of St. Thome; for he wrote to the King to this effect on December 26th, 1613. On the matter being proposed to his councillors, Dom Bernardo was elected and "thus I declared to him", says Dom Jeronymo, "that I would give him as much (money) as I could take from the State, with the same regulations as the Captain of Ormuz has, and the authority over that city and the whole of that coast, which is ordinarily given to the Captain-Generals of the fleet". But in spite of the earnest entreaties of the Viceroy, of the Archbishop and of other nobles such as Dom Luiz da Gama, Dom Bernardo de Noronha refused the appointment [3]. The Viceroy, however, still hoped to send Dom Bernardo to St. Thome; but at the end of the following year he received two letters from his sovereign, in which Philip III disapproved of such an appointment. "Hence" says the Viceroy, "I did not think of it any more" [4]. Nothing further touching this matter is found during the life of Venkata II.

15. The fear of the Portuguese that the Dutch, after their expulsion from Devanapatnam, would renew their attempt to establish a factory on the eastern coast, was not groundless. In 1605-6, one of their ships went to Pulicat, and after that the

1. From the same to the same, Ilhas, December 31st, 1614, Ap. B, No. XVIII.

2. Ibid.

3. From the same to the same, Goa, December 26th, 1613, Ibid., No. XV.

4. From the same to the same, as in note 1 of page 450. Dom Bernardo de Noronha was finally appointed Captain General of Malabar in the following year, according to a letter of the Viceroy to the King, dated December 18th, 1615. *Archivo da Secretaria Geral do, Governo*, Pangim, *Moncoes do Reino, No 12, Ano de 1614, fol. 191*). He seems to have died shortly after, according to another letter of the Viceroy (Ibid., fol. 254).

place was selected by them for their future settlement. "A Dutch ship," says Fr. Coutinho in a letter of 1606, "went there (Pulicat) twice; and they (the natives of the place) wanted to receive them and were inviting them to land, with the purpose of introducing them to the King; but they (the Dutch) suspected that we would object (to their landing) here; and we have obtained *olas* from the black King (Venkata), in Velur (Vellore), in which they are absolutely forbidden to allow them (the Dutch) to land in any case" [1].

The place selected by the Dutch traders in the Chingleput District, 25 miles North of Madras, was admirably suited to their commercial purposes [2]. Being situated on the southern extremity of an island which separates the sea from the Pulicat Lake, it had been a trading port before the Dutch knew the route to India and the eastern seas. Ludovico de Barthema, who travelled through India from 1505 to 1507, describes Paleachate as a "place of immence trade" [3], which, it seems, was conducted by the natives mainly with the Straits Settlements [4]. The Portuguese had been at Pulicat several times after their first settlement in India [5]. Pulicat was to become the chief settlement of the Dutch East India Company on the coast of Coromandel, and a continual thorn in the side of the Portuguese, who in the possession of that spot by the Dutch foresaw the ruin of their own trade.

The shrewd traders of the Netherlands were aware that their main enemies at the court of Venkata were the Jesuits. So when they heard shortly after that the Jesuits had left that place for good (as will be narrated in the following chapter) they took this opportunity to press their demands on the King; who

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIII.

2. In a letter of Jacques l'Hermite to the Chambers of XVII dated Bantam, November 10th, 1610, we read the following, words: "For the present, these places (Devanapatnam and Pulicat) remain in good hands and will be in the future the most important of the shore, especially Paleacata." De Jongue, *De Opkomst*, III. p. 541.

3. Gubernatis, *Storia*, p. 133.

4. Burgess, *South Indian Palaeography*, p. 193.

5. Correa, IV, p. 324.

being now old and weak and shorn of Jesuit support, finally consented. According to a letter of Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to Philip III, of 1613, this concession to the Dutch would never have been made, had the Jesuits been then at Venkata's court [1]. This event took place at the end of 1606. But the agreement was not signed until the month of April of the following year. This document, translated from the Dutch, runs as follows:

"Agreement made by the Captain Arent Maertsz, in the name and by the power of the Most Honourable States-General and of His Excellency the Prince Mauritius de Nassau on one side; and the celebrated high-born King Vinkata Pati Raya Alou King of the country Carnatica, Sinwasena, Pati and other districts on the other side, and that for ever, on the 24th of April of the year 1610.

"First, His Princelike Excellency will build for his subjects at Palleacatten a place, a stone house, to keep all kinds of war ammunitions, powder, lead, bullets, anchors, ropes, sais and all kinds of other merchandise to save it from fire, robbers and all kinds of accidents.

"Furthermore, we Dutchmen and men from Zeeland and those who traffic here in the name of the General Company shall be obliged to pay two in every hundred of goods and merchandise which shall be brought on land or taken away from there; it being well understood that what has been paid once has not to be paid a second time; moreover, rice and other necessities for the house have not to be paid for.

"The King may not allow the Portuguese to live and to trade in Paleacatte, but on the contrary has to prevent it.

"No one on either side will be allowed to introduce any question and argument or disputation about religion.

"If any one, on account of some mischief, is induced to run to the King or into the country, the King will be obliged to hand him over to our nation.

"Moreover, all persons (as) merchants can traffic with us,

1. From the Viceroy Don Jeronymo d' Azevedo to Philip III, 1613, Ap. B, No. XII.

sell or buy goods and merchandise, so that no one can prevent it.

"All painters and weavers who should make some agreement with our nation and make or paint cloth or sell linen here, will receive the payment according to the agreement. Moreover, the King will not be able to allow any European nation to trade here, other than those who have the permission of His Princelike Excellency.

"On our side, we on behalf of this General Company promise to the King that whatsoever goods, guns, war-ammunition or other such things of our countries he desires we shall be obliged to bring here on the first occasion; the King will pay for these things the price they cost in our countries.

"When we stop with our ships in the harbour of Palleacatta, we shall not be allowed to do any harm or to arrest any boat.

"All the boats that sail from here to other places with a passport of our captain will not receive harm from our nation.

"All these points of the contract I, Vinkata Pati Raya Alou, King over these countries of Carnatica, Sinvakena, Pati and more principaulities, promise to keep them now and for ever, and I swear it by my *God Peramal* (Perumal).

"I, contractor of the General East Indian Company, promise not to break the same, otherwise let God interfere.

"Under this there was printed in black the seal of the King, and near it written: That is the seal of the King, printed by His Majesty himself, for greater security; the King has moreover printed his hand on a piece of linen, which they call the hand of Sandal, and signed. "Arent Maertss (*sic*)." [1]

Fortune was proving adverse to the Portuguese. Some

1. De Jongue, *De Opkomst*, III, p. 348-9. This was the *caul* referred to by Peter Williamson Floris, when, one year later, he passed through Pulicat: "John Van Wersicke the Dutch President on the coast of Choromandel, showed us a *caul* from the King of Narsinga, Wencapati, Raja, wherein was granted that, it should not be lawful for any that came out of Europe to trade there, but such as brought Prince Maurice his Patent". Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, III, p. 320.

years after, in 1630, the Portuguese Viceroy wrote to his sovereign the following words, suggested most likely by this concession of Venkata to the Dutch: "From the time that our European enemies began to come to India, it seems that all the Indian Kings have broken their faith and allegiance which was due to this Government" [1].

16. The lucky adventurers started without any delay to build their factory at Pulicat. When two years later the English Captain Hippon sailed up the eastern Coast of India, looking for a place to establish a factory as well, the Dutch were firmly settled at Pulicat. It is worth while to quote Hippon's words to the East India Company. His ship had met a Portuguese boat of St. Thome with two Portuguese merchants from that town, who informed the Englishmen "that the Dutch had settled a factory in Pellacata (Pulicat), whereupon", continues the English account, "we resolved to make for that place, to see if anything might be done at the place aforesaid for the profit of the Company although neither of us had ever been at this place. In the evening, passing by St. Thome we did see 13 on 14 *aseletows*, or small barques, riding in the road; about some two leagues (further) we came unto an anchor because we would be sure not to pass by Pellacata. The next morning we setting sail, and in the afternoon we came into the road of Pellacata, and there then came 2 boats aboard, the one sent from the Hollanders with a Dutchman therein, from whom we did learn some particulars concerning the country there about, the other boat was sent from the Shabunder to bid us welcome, and then we gave them to understand that we were English and not Dutch. And for the first we desired to have a *cowl* of the Shabunder to send persons aland, for to make a contract with him, and to have further conference together, all which they promised us we should have, and so they departed from the ship. The next day in the morning being the 10th ditto so came again aboard us the people of Shabunder, bringing with them a cowl, according as we desired, whereupon we resolved to send our skiff aland, with Mr. Peter Floris and Mr. Robt. Brown for to speak with the Shabunder, and to learn

1. This letter will be published in Vol. II.

out what might be done there for the Company's behoof, and then on our first entrance, we were in present danger, and were not able, by any means, to avoid it, for being in the breach of the bar our skiff was turned upside down, and we (by the great mercy of God) were all preserved so that nothing was lost save only of some particular as some apparel and rapiers and such like.....and so having had this misfortune we came aland, where the Shabunder attended our coming upon the strand, who was very sorrowful for our mischance, showing unto us all the friendship that he could. And so we embarked and went up the river towards the town where he had provided us of a house, which was but a poor one, but yet it was so good as that place did afford. In the evening we sent a boat aboard with news of all that was passed by us, and withal that Mr. Lucas Antheunis and Thomas Essington should come aland for to consider together what was best to be done in this business, and further we found that the Hollanders did bear a hard hand against us, for to hinder us from trading in this place. The day following after that Mr. Lucas Atheunis and Thomas Essington were come aland, then we went unto the Shabunder for to speak with him and when we were set then came thither Jan Van Wesick (John Van Wersick), who is President of the Dutch Company upon the coast of Coromandel, and after some compliments used by both sides, he showed us a cowl of the king, wherein, under other articles there was one which made mention that he did forbid all nations which should come out of Europe without (permission) of the Dutch Company of East India [1] (unfortunately there are here some gaps which make the account unintelligible); whereupon we fell into some hard words one with the other. At last the Shabunder came between us and gave both parties contentment with words and referred us until the coming of Conda Ma who is governess of this place [2]. And this Conda Maa was gone into the country, and would

1. Cf. No. 15 and note 1 of p. 454.

2. Floris says: "We answered we had Commission from his Majestic of England and would therefore doe what we could. Hence (the Dutch Preside nt) arose high words, which the Shabunde calmed, telling of the Governesse her coming thither within three days". Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, III, p. 320.

return again within 3 or 4 days, and in the meantime we must have patience. The 15th ditto the aforesaid governess came into the town and also that Mr. Brown was fallen very sick again, so that we have expressly sent for Captain Hippon, that he should come aland, for to have his opinion upon all occasions that might happen, that nothing might be overslipped which might redound unto the benefit of the Company. After that the governess was come into the town we had prepared a very good present for to have presented her withal; then she refused to give us audience, and sent us word that she had nothing to say unto us, also that this place was given unto the Hollanders by the mere gift of the King, and if we would go unto the King, to desire some other place, she was thereunto very well contented. Which message made us much amazed, yet notwithstanding we did use our best endeavours to come to have speech with her, but could not be effected, whereupon we fell into counsel with ourselves whether it was best to go unto the King, who was but 50 leagues from thence and to see what with him might be procured in these affairs; and after that we had well debated the matter between us, and considering that we had not people sufficient to settle a Factory, and having not time enough, fearing lest we should lose our monsoon, and that we should be at great charges in going to visit the King, so that we have resolved to depart from hence,.....(here again there are several words torn away). If the Company are resolved to enlarge their trade, we cannot find that this place will be so available that it will be worth any extraordinary charges seeing that at Masulpatam (Masulipatam) and at Pettapoly (Petapoli) will be sufficient to bring us more cloths that your Worships shall possibly find vent for, and so far that your Worships will be desirous to have this place or any other place near about it, then it will be needful that your Worship should procure letters from his Majesty, and with a fair present unto the King of Narsinga, Vencapati Rajah (Venkatapati Raya), and then to see if you can procure any sea town for a place of residence, which will not be done without great trouble and extraordinary charges, your Worships may do herein as you shall think good. We do not think good with the ship called the Globeto proceed further

here in considering that Muselpatam and Pettapoly is more than sufficient for us to finish our pretended voyage, the which serve your Worships for advice" [1]. It is very interesting to see the difficulties the British merchants met with on their first attempt to establish factories in a country which was subdued by them after two centuries.

17. Needless to say, the idea of a settlement at Pulicat was not abandoned by the enterprising British traders. They returned to the newly established factory at Masulipatam, and shortly after they were glad to receive a quite unexpected visit. Venkata II had heard of the voyage of the English merchants to Pulicat, and had therefore sent an envoy to them at Masulipatam, with proposals for opening trade with them [2]. Floris's account gives many details about this Embassy of King Venkata to the English traders:—"I returned to Masulipatam", says he, "where I found three persons which said that they were sent with Letters from Objama Queene of Paleacatte, Jaga Raja Governour thereabout and of Saint Thomee, Apa Condaja (Kondaja) secretarie of the Great King Wencatadraia [3], wherein they sent me word that if I would come thither, they would grant me a place right over against the Fort of Paleacatte, with all such Priviledges as we should desire, and other great promises besides. But I considering how I and the James had beene entertayned there could beleeve but little: yet at last we agreed that one of them should stay with me, and the rest should depart with one of my folkes, who should carrie the letters to the aforesaid persons, as also to the king; wherein I repeated the bad entertainment which we had at Paleacatte. And if now it pleased him that we should come into his Country, then to send us his Caul or safe Conduct, to which we might trust.

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1. From Captain Hippon and the merchants of the seventh voyage to the E.I.C., August, 1611 (?), *Letters received by the E.I.C.*, I, p. 133-5.

2. Rea, *Monumental Remains*, p. 6.

3. Floris says that there were three persons in this Embassy and then speaks of two only. The third perhaps was one Tima (Tirumala) Raja mentioned with the other two a little later.

"The nine and twentieth of July, arrived foure persons as Embassadors, with my man Wengali, from the great king of Narsinga of Velur, bringing me a Caul with his *Abestiam* (which is a white Cloth where his owne hand is printed in Sandall or Saffron) as also one from the Queene of Paleacatte, and divers Letters from Jaga Raja, Tima Raja, Apocondaia and others. The Kings Letter was written upon a leafe of gold, wherein he excused the former fault done to us in Paleacatte, desiring that now we would come into his Country, and chuse a place to our best liking, and that there we should build a house or Castle according to our owne liking, with other priviledges. He gave me a Towne of about foure hundred pound of yearely revenue, with promise to doe more at my coming thither. The Hollanders had wrought much against it, but their words were not now in such force; the Inhabitants grieving to see every yeare English ships passe by without any profit to them, and therefore filling the king with complaints, and procuring these friendly offers. I kept them with mee, allowing their daily charges till the ship be come into the Road, then to consider further. My man Wengali had beene in person before the King, and spoken with him, the King laying his hand on his head, and presenting him with a Tesseriffe"[1]. Floris seems to have been inclined to proceed to Venkata's court. But when on the 25th of October he heard of the King's death, he was somewhat disheartened on account of the expected troubles. "I dispatched likewise the Embassadors of Velur," says he, "in respect of the troubles there, and my short stay denying fit opportunity: yet I left Letters with them for the first English ships, with my best advice"[2].

Independently of this attempt another English expedition called at Pulicat in the beginning of 1614, to start trading with the natives there. Two boats, '*The Globe*' and '*James*', went there, but for the second time met with an unwilling reception: "Arriving at the road of Pollicat (Pulicat)", says the commander John Gourney to the East India Company, "we had soon after two several troops of messengers from the Shabunder to welcome us, and to show us that if we came to trade we should not

1. Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, III, p. 336-7.
2. Ibid., p. 341.

want any favours needful and that his desire was to seen us ashore; this agreeing with our own desire, I went ashore taking Thomas Brokedon with me and being entered into the town understood that the Shabunder was gone forth to the town. So we turning directly towards a large castle the Dutch have there built were at our coming into it entertained with kind shows by Warner Van Berghen, alias Captain Drinkwater, Captain there and Rector of all the factories upon that coast, being then accompanied with Captain Samuel King, English born, and there we also found with them sundry of the principals of the town prepared to declare unto us (as they presently did) that their king had given by his cowl or firman the privilege of the whole trade of that town to the Hollanders, without whose leave we English nor other strangers might intermeddle, and the said Van Berghen added that it was not in his power to give leave. These speeches having heard and knowing that Mr. Floris had been in the like manner put off, conceive that the King of Velour (Vellore, i.e. Venkata II) must be dealt withal with the King's Majesty's letters, which no doubt at any time will prevail. But the king being within the land at war, few factors of us and our two principal ports to be furnished being Musulpatam (Masulipatam) and Pettapoly (Petapoli), we having that night following received very kind entertainment of the Dutch, we prepared in the morning to embark, at which time the parties aforesaid returned to parley again and, making the same conclusion as before, they added that we ought to pay anchorage. Our answer was that we knew it to be their hearty desire that we should stay and trade with them, if we could have sufferance from the Hollander, but now we could neither accept of liberty nor stay to trade, neither would we give them anchorage. Whereat without more ado they gave us betel to chew, as their manner of courtesy is, and bade us farewell, desiring us to be good to Gentiles, if we met them at sea." [1]. We do not know of other attempts of the first English traders to establish a commercial settlement at Pulicat. At this time the Portuguese had already started their campaign against the Dutch settlement.

1. From John Gourney to the E. I. C., Patani, July 28th, 1614, *Letters Received by the E.I.C.*, II, p. 83-4.

18. The most intrepid adventurer who carried into execution the capture of Pulicat from the Dutch was the Bishop of Sao Thome de Meliapor, Frey Sebastiao de Sao Pedro. His Majesty the King of Spain addressed the Viceroy regarding the intrepid Bishop's adventure in the following terms: "They wrote to me about the efforts of the Bishop of Meliapore to destroy the factory of the Dutch at Paleacate" [1]. The erection of a fort in the neighbourhood of Pulicat whence the Portuguese could batter the walls of the Dutch fortification was a premeditated plan of the Bishop, which had already been proposed to the Viceroy [2]. We have not come across any further details about this scheme. The fact is that the Dutch factory was actually captured by the Portuguese. We are made aware of this by the King of Spain in a letter dated January 31st, 1614. The King himself was informed of it by the Viceroy in a previous mail [3]. Considering the length of time occupied in a journey from India to the metropolis in those days of difficult navigation, we can place this event in the beginning of 1613, or perhaps at the end of 1612. The King's message records the valiant deeds done by the Captain and inhabitants of St. Thome [4]; but to the Bishop of Mylapore was supposed to be the hero of the day on account of his intrepidity and boldness. In a letter from the Spanish monarch dated 1614, mention is made of the Bishop of Meliapor "in capturing the fort the Dutch had at Paleacate" [5]. In another letter of 1615, the King of Spain mentions again the capture of the Dutch fortress at Pulicat by this Prelate [6]. He commanded a force of 130 Portuguese who took the fort by surprise setting on fire the buildings of the Dutch traders. The latter defended their properties very

1. From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, Lisbon, February 28th, 1613, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 314.

2. Ibid.

3. From the same to the same, Lisbon, January 31st, 1614, Bulhao Pato, o. c., III, p. 31.

4. Ibid.

5. From the same to the same, Lisbon, February 20th, 1614, Ap. B, No. XI.

6. From the same to the same, Lisbon, March 5th, 1615, Bulhao Pato, o. c., III, p. 302.

valiantly, till many of them were slain by the invaders. The booty captured by the Portuguese seems to have been considerable [1].

With the expulsion of the Dutch from Pulicat the fortress was razed to the ground [2]. The Portuguese however were not destined to enjoy their success for long. For in the beginning of 1614 Pulicat had again fallen into the hands of the Dutch. In his letter dated February 6th, 1615, the King of Spain tells us that after the Dutch fortress was levelled to the ground, two Dutch ships weighed anchor at Pulicat harbour to negotiate with King Venkata to re-establish themselves there, and for this purpose had made munificent gifts to the monarch. Through the influence of the latter's brother-in-law, who openly favoured them, they obtained permission from the monarch to build a new fortress. They lost no time. They set about work at once. The new fortress was erected on a different spot which commanded greater facility for defence than the former. "It was further fortified", says Philip III, "by the erection of several bastions round the walls and the picketing of artillery and soldiers" [3]. This was the fort which was called later on Castel Geldria" [4].

This dealt a death blow to Portuguese commercial enterprise. Dutch commerce got the ascendancy again; it flourished now just as it did prior to the expulsion of the Dutch from Pulicat. The Dutch made a roaring trade with the famous Pulicat cloth and amassed enormous profits [5]. This excited the jealousy of the Spanish sovereign who ordered his Viceroy to try the re-capture of Pulicat, a thing which at this time appeared easy and would not brook delay—for delay meant that the Portuguese would have to encounter a formidable enemy after the lapse of even a few years. "By all means", says the King, "cause this second fortress built by the Dutch at Paleacate to be

1. *Ragvagli d' Alcvne Missioni*, p. 151.

2. From the same to the same, Lisbon, February 6th, 1615, Ibid., p. 190.

3. Ibid., p. 189.

4. Mandelslo, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 94.

5. From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeromymo d'Azevedo, Lisbon, February 6th, 1615, Bulhao Pato, o. c., p. 190.

destroyed, for attaining which you may accept the overtures made by Bishop Frey Sebastiao de Sao Pedro" [1]. The Bishop's desire was none other than to sieze again the Dutch factory as he had done previously. All he needed to give effect to his plan was some money and a number of soldiers, "Let this be done as soon as possible", adds the King. "Do not allow the Dutch to fortify it (the fortress) more, for if they do so, their expulsion from there will be extremely difficult" [2]. In fact the Bishop himself had also urged the Viceroy to send a governor to St. Thome who could take charge, among other things, of the capture of "the fortress the Dutch have made at Paleacate" [3]. The Viceroy's purpose was obvious. One of the reasons why he had wished to send Dom Bernardo de Noronha as captain of St. Thome was that "he might be able to attack Paleacate" [4]. The re-capture of Pulicat was beyond doubt the fervent wish of Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo. In one of his letters he says: "I trust in God that the fortress of Paleacate will be soon captured by the fleet I have decided to send there" [5].

The re-capture of Pulicat was never effected. Nothing was heard of any second attempt being made by the warrior-like Bishop. To all intents the cause of this apparent stagnation was most likely due to the death of Venkata II. During the disturbances that followed this event, the Portuguese at St. Thome had to prepare themselves for further eventualities, the recounting of which shall be the scope of the second volume. When things had settled, circumstances had changed; and the Portuguese realised that to attempt alone the re-capture of Pulicat would be folly. Hence they could not carry out their adventurous plan: to do so they had first to gain the Vijayanagara Emperor to their cause.

1. Ibid.

1. From the same to the same, Lisbon, March 5th, 1616, Ibid., p. 302.

2. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo to Phllip III, Goa, December 31st, 1614, Ap. B, No. XVIII.

3. From the same to the same, Goa December 26th, 1613, Ibid., No. XV.

4. From the same to the same, 1613, Ibid., No. XII. See Ap. B, No. XVII.

CHAPTER XXII

THE JESUITS AT THE COURT OF VENKATA II

SUMMARY—1. First idea of establishing a mission at Chandragiri. Frs. de Sa and Ricio proceed to the Court.—2. Their relations with Venkata and his father-in-law.—3. Frs. Veiga and Ricio settle at Chandragiri. Their house.—4. The income given them by the Emperor, and its withdrawal in 1603.—5. Venkata's good-will towards the Fathers. His letter to Fr. Pimenta.—6. Fr. Veiga leaves the court. New missionaries. Their interviews with Venkata.—7. Fr. Laerzio, Provincial of the Province of Malabar, pays a visit to Venkata at Vellore. His impressions.—8. Venkata's opposition to the Jesuits. They leave the court. Their further settlement at Vellore.—9. The Jesuits build a church next to Venkata's palace. The King defends them against Tatacharya.—10. Sundry events from 1608 to 1611.—11. Withdrawal of the Jesuits from Venkata's court. The end of the mission.—12. Practical fruits of the Jesuit mission at Chandragiri and Vellore.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Jesuit Letters.—2. *Moncoes do Reino* (Pangim Archives).—3. Du Jarric, Guerreiro.

WE have hitherto made frequent mention of the Jesuits at Venkata's court, while narrating events of which they had been eye-witnesses and in which they had at times even actively participated. We shall now collect all the available information about their influence at Venkata's court, and the way they acquired it; it will help us to appreciate the character of this monarch, and the whole history of the South of India.

In 1597, Fr. Nicolas Pimenta, as Visitor on behalf of the General of the Society of Jesus, visited all the Jesuit houses and missions in the South of India. While he was at St. Thome, he recommended the Fathers of that College to try all possible means to establish a mission at the capital of the Emperor of Vijayanagara, then at Chandragiri. It was suggested by Fr. Pimenta that a Father should go there to present his respect to the sovereign, from whom he might

obtain sanction to establish a house in his capital. All the Fathers approved of the idea. Accordingly "I appointed Fr. Simon (de) Sa, Rector of the Colledge of Saint Thomas," says Fr. Pimenta himself, "to begin a Mission thither as soone as hee could" [1]. Fr. de Sa at once got in touch with a Christian merchant, a native of Chandragiri, who was then living at St. Thome; this person wrote about the matter to one of his relations, a servent of Oba Raya, the Emperor's father-in-law, to whom he praised the wisdom and holiness of the Jesuits of St. Thome so highly that Oba Raya became anxious to make their acquaintance. Accordingly the latter wrote to the Fathers, inviting them to proceed to Chativerum (Kanchivaram), where he used to reside in a fortress of some importance [2]. Fr. de Sa replied that he would go after the monsoon was over. In the meantime Oba Raya, having been called to Chandragiri by the Emperor invited the Rector of St. Thome to proceed to that court, where he expected to be for a long period. Accordingly on October 10th, 1598, Fr. de Sa together with Fr. Francesco Ricio left St. Thome for the capital of the Empire. A nephew of Oba Raya, a boy aged 13, came forward to meet and salute the Fathers with a considerable retinue of elephants and horses. When a league away from Chandragiri they sent a message to Oba Raya, who next morning despatched a general accompanied by many nobles and soldiers riding either elephants or horses to receive and usher them into the city. A great reception was given them in Oba Raya's palace; they handed over their presents to that chief, who offered them in their first interview any town they desired to stay in and build a church; moreover, he promised to defray the expenses of the missionaries who stayed in the town. He also presented them with rich silk cloths and inquired eagerly about the King of Portugal and his Viceroy in India; and after some days he personally introduced the Fathers into the presence of Venkata II.

1. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, December, 1597, Purchas, X, p. 210; Du Jarric, I, p. 638 and 654. Cf. Ap. C, No. I.

2. Fr. Ricio says that 'Hoburaja wrote two *ollas* to the Fathers'. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1610, Ap. C, No. I.

2. On the day appointed they were kindly received by the Emperor. "The sovereign", says du Jarric, "was sitting in a narrow vestibule, built for himself alone, that was to be reached by several stairs. He was seated on a mat and leaning against a pillow. Next to the King, just at the edge of the mat, the crown prince was also seated; he was a young man of white complexion and handsome face. On the other side of the King, opposite the Prince, Obo (Oba Raya) and his brother were seated too. The King was dressed in yellow...After the usual salutations the Fathers stood before him, as the other nobles did, excepting those mentioned; they were so near the throne that some times they touched the border of the King's dress. 'The Monarch said that he had enjoyed our coming (here du Jarric probably quotes a letter of de Sa) as much as the world enjoys the rising of the sun; hence he will send us away full of honours and gifts; he knew of us from the things related by Obo (Oba Raya)'. They, having thanked him, offered him some presents which were kindly accepted: there was among these presents a golden glass heart-shaped jewel brought over from Portugal; the King asked what it was for; was it perhaps something eatable. They answered that it was nothing else but a symbol of the human heart made with silver and gold, which they offered him as a sign of their sincere love, their loyalty and thankfulness towards His Majesty. Then he thanked them in his mother tongue saying:—

"*Maha Santo Seam,*" that is, I am extremely glad.

"Then he also gave some gifts to the Fathers: four pieces of silk cloth to Fr. Rector and two to Fr. Francis Ricio." After this a long talk ensued in which Venkata asked about the life they led; and after having heard their account, addressing his nobles he said:—

"They are like our *sannyasis*; but these moreover are Gurupi (*i. e.* learned Priests)".

The audience had been long enough; at the end, after a detailed explanation of the Sacraments of Baptism and Penance, that washed away the sins from our soul very much better than the Brahmanical ablutions, which clean only the body but not the soul, Venkata asked the Brahmans, who were present:—

"What do you think of it ?"

And they, struck with admiration, exclaimed:

"*Suami, Suami*" (Lord, Lord).

Finally Oba Raya told the Fathers that the King had determined to give them two villages, for their expenses and for the construction of the temple; and then a golden palankin, which is only permitted to the grandees and gurupis. Finally he allowed them to build as many temples as they wished throughout his dominions. Before their departure the King granted another audience to them; in which, at his request, they declared many of the tenets of the Christian faith, and were granted permission to build a church in Chandragiri itself. After this they returned to St. Thome [1]. It was at this time that Venkata's friendship with the Jesuits began. [2].

3, On reaching St. Thome, Fr. de Sa wrote to Fr. Pimenta, then at Goa, about the success of the expedition, and demanded more priests for opening the new mission. Many Fathers and Brothers offered themselves to the Visitor who was desirous of commencing that holy enterprise. Pimenta however selected, from amongst those who were either in Goa or in St. Thome, six Fathers, namely Manoel de Veiga who was to be the Superior, Gaspar Estevao, Francesco Ricio, Joao da Costa, Petro Euticio and Belchior Coutinho [3]. No mention is found in further documents of three of the above mentioned Fathers, *viz.* Estevao, Costa and Euticio; perhaps they never reached St. Thome.

The first to arrive at this town was Fr. Veiga who, accompanied by Fr. Ricio, left for Chandragiri on August 12th, 1599, reaching the capital four days later. "Thus", says Fr. Ricio, "we went to Oburaja (Oba Raya), who after having paid us the highest respects, introduced us to the King. He welcomed our arrival. Oburaja, on behalf of the King, gave us a very good place for building a little church and house; we also constructed a wall around; we put up in the church two images:

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 654-77; Orme, *Historical Fragments*, p. 61. Cf. Ap. C, No. I.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIII.

3. Du Jarric, I, p. 677-8.

one of our Saviour and one of our Lady. Very many heathens go continuously to this church, and they make bows, and prostrate themselves before the images, and ask for some temporal rewards; many have already come to thank (God) for those they have received. We preach to them about the mysteries of our faith, and convince them of their error; since the things they believe in are nothing else but evident lies and sins; nobody knows what to answer and all remain in great confusion, though reverencing the tenets of our faith. We have often declared the tenets of our faith to the King himself, showing him several pictures he liked very much to see; and he, though possessing such a clear intellect, does the same", *viz.* does not know what to answer [1]. Another letter of Ricio's states that they were allowed by the King "to build a Church, erect Crosses, and convert men; insomuch that fifty families were to give place and depart from the ground thereto assigned us" [2]. Fr. Coutinho, who arrived at Chandragiri some months after, describes their house and compound as follows: "Our little house has large premises exposed to a healthy breeze; they are good enough for building up a church and residence, and far from the crowded streets of the town. In the meantime, we have constructed a small church on the spot, large enough for the present, until we shall have money enough for building a larger one" [3].

4. The income of the villages which Venkata had promised to the Jesuits at his court, was, according to a Jesuit letter of 1602, "never settled, because of the chief governor and some grandees of that court, who claimed that the revenue of the villages belonged to them. Hence the King," continues the MS., "gave them yearly a thousand *pagodas* out of the tribute paid by one of the Naiques (Nayaks) who are his subjects,

1. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 685-90. Du Jarric, I, p. 689, says that the spot where the Fathers built the church was given them by the Queen, daughter of Oba Raya.

2. Purchas, X, p. 221.

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

until some lands should be vacant, from which the maintenance of the Fathers could be taken without objection. For this purpose he issued the necessary *ollas*; and one of our Fathers went to Cangeuaram (Kanchivaram) to see the *Polle* (an officer of the imperial treasury), through whom such a rent had to be received. He was entertained and honoured by this *Polle*, who gave him as great proofs of his love as any of those princes who are friends of the Society would have done in Europe. When he was aware of the coming of the Father, he used to send him every day a messenger with congratulatory letters, that were, he said, like daily salvoes to cheer him. He promised to pay diligently the first part of the rent in the following January, that is one fourth of the whole; and, as a matter of fact, he has already given us five hundred pardaos" [1].

In connection with this story of their revenue the Jesuit sources narrate a case not known hitherto, and one which undoubtedly reflects on the integrity of the nobles of Venkata's court. "The case was striking in this", says Guerreiro, "that it should happen to the chief Governor of the Empire, who so earnestly opposed the grant ordered by the King from the revenue of those villages for the ministers of the Church. It was just he who was accused before the King of having robbed the royal rents and treasure; he was disgracefully deprived of his functions and dignity. And when asked by the King for one of his rings that had cost fifty thousand *pagodas*, he denied the charge and swore on his parents he had never taken the ring. By many witnesses he was declared guilty of the theft of the ring and of three hundred thousand *pagodas*; so he is now imprisoned. The new Governor, his successor, is a very good friend of the Fathers" [2].

Thus the Fathers enjoyed from that time an annual income of one thousand gold pieces [3]. This constituted the main source of the revenue of the College at St. Thome, and on it

1. *Litterae Annuae* of Eastern India, 1601, Ap. C, No. VI.

2. Guerrero (*sic*), *Relacion Anual...en los anos de 600 y 601*, p. 137.

3. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603, Ap. C, No. VII.

the Chandragiri mission depended [1]. The rest of the College revenue was paid by the *adigar* of Mylapore, who was himself a very good friend of the Jesuits : he gave them annually three hundred gold pieces out of the tribute the inhabitants of St. Thome paid to the Nayak of Tanjore [2]. But from the year 1603 this yearly income, so kindly made over to the Fathers by order of Venkata, ceased, as we gather from a letter of Fr. M. Roiz written in 1606 [3], and from another of Fr. A. Rubino, of 1609 [4]. The reason of this change may be gathered from a letter of the Viceroy of Goa, Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo ; who, writing to Philip III said that the lands that had yielded the income had been destroyed [5]. And it seems that no other source of revenue was assigned by Venkata for the maintenance of the Fathers in the following years.

5. We learn from a Jesuit letter of 1600 that "in the mission of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara) there are three priests and one Lay Brother" [6]. These four Jesuits were Frs. Veiga and Ricio, who had arrived at Chandragiri in the previous year, and Fr. Belchior Coutinho and the English Lay Brother, Alexander Frey, a painter, who reached the court in 1600. Another letter says that the three Fathers and Bro. Alexander, did excellent pioneer work, " a great deal for the improvement of the Bisnagara (Vijayanagara) mission. The King", adds the letter, " is very well disposed towards them" [7].

This good will of Venkata towards the Fathers is recorded in

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1. From Fr. M. de Veiga to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, December 10th, 1601, Ap. C, No. III.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No XXII.

3. From Fr. M. Roiz to Fr. J. Alvarez, St. Thome, November 1st, 1606, Ap. C, No XII.

4. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquviva, Vellore, September 30th, 1609, Ibid., No. XXVII.

5. From Philip III to his Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, Lisbon, February 20th, 1614, Ap. B, No. XI.

6. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, 1600, Ap. C, No. II.

7. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, written by Fr. N. Pimenta, December 21st, 1602, Ibid., No. V.

all the letters in our possession, dated the same year. "The King is kind to the priests", we read in one, "and granted them many favours" [1]. "He received us with special kindness and love", says another [2]. Venkata's regard for the Fathers grew when he learned from the Mughal ambassador in what high esteem they were held by Akbar. [3]. On one occasion, Coutinho relates, "as the King was taking a walk in this neighbourhood a few days ago, he asked his attendants where our house was. When we knew that the King was coming, we proceeded to the door to receive him respectfully. The attendants of the King were exclaiming:—

"*Pareco Parangolu*", that is, let His Highness see the Portuguese Priests.

"He (the King) talked to us affably and cheerfully" [4].

Another testimony of his esteem for the Fathers was the letter he wrote to Fr. Pimenta that year. Purchas published only the first part of it [5]. But we were fortunate enough to unearth its original kept in the Jesuit Archives. It runs as follows :—

"The King of kings, the great Lord, the Knight of knights, Vencapati (*sic*), King after God, sends the following letter to Fr. Nicolao Pimenta who is at Goa. I was filled with joy on receipt of your letter during a personal interview with Fr. Manoel de Veiga, Superior of the Fathers who reside here. I gave them permission to erect a church and house in my own town of Chandegri. I have allotted the revenue of the village called Elamur, which is in the vicinity of St. Thome, for the expenses of the Fathers, and I shall confer not only on these but also on their successors extraordinary privileges and endowments. Moreover I have allowed them complete freedom to preach the

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1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, 1600, Ibid., No. II.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, 1600, Ap. C, No. II. Cf. Ibid., No. V.

4. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600 Ap. C, No. V.

5. Purchas, X, p. 221.

law of God, so that anyone who wishes may become a Christian, without being deprived of his previous position. My old love for the Portuguese is by now well known in Goa. The fathers themselves will write to you about the honours they have received from my hands. I have resolved to send the Viceroy a ring and some other presents, which I shall charge my interpreter Condoquor to deliver. I wish Your Paternity to inform the Viceroy of this, so that our old friendly relations may be renewed. Fr. Manoel de Veiga will inform you about the new occurrences. I have myself nothing else to say." [1].

6. The year 1600 witnessed a great loss to the recently founded mission of Chandragiri. Fr. Manoel de Veiga, who is justly called its founder [2], was called to St. Thome and appointed Visitor of the Jesuit houses of the South [3], with a view to separating them from the Province of Goa. We find him accordingly in 1601 visiting the Jesuit stations on the Fishery Coast [4], and after a while, in the month of December, at Cochin [5]. It seems that Fr. Veiga's opinion was not favourable to the separation of the Vice-Province of Malabar [6]. Nevertheless, without his concurrence, it was effected shortly after; and Fr. Veiga was then appointed Provincial of the Province of Goa [7].

After his departure three Jesuits remained at Chandragiri: Fr. B. Coutinho, who was appointed Superior, Fr. F. Ricio and the Lay Brother Alexander Frey [8]. Fr. Ricio, writing in the year 1603, gives the following information regarding their relations with Venkata: " When we converse with him he not only shows us marks of great friendship, but also lends a very willing ear

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, written by Fr. N. Pimenta, Goa, December 21st, 1602, Ap. C, No. V.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, 1601, written by Fr. N. Pimenta, January, 1602, Ap. C. No. IV.

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

4. Guerrero (*sic*) *Relacion Anual...en los anos de 600 y 601*, p. 108.

5. See Ap. C, No. III.

6. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, January 12th, 1605, Ap. C, No. XI.

7. Ibid.

8. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I.

to the exposition of our doctrine, especially when the topic under discussion is Jesus Our Saviour, and the Blessed Virgin. And after he has heard us, he approves of, and repeats our sayings to others. The same willingness is shown to us by very many others, distinguished both by birth and learning. On hearing our exposition they are filled with joy, and acknowledge that there is only one faith and one God (a point we lay stress on in all our arguments.) But though in every doctrine which we propound they show great joy, their happiness when we enumerate and explain the ten commandments of the divine law is so great, that it is easier for one to imagine it than for me to describe it to you in a letter. They confess that this law is divine and very sound, and that theirs is teeming with error; and for this very reason they very often come to us and attend our church and willingly hear the divine precepts and all that pertains to the salvation of our souls with great reverence and devotion. And not only those who dwell in this imperial city flock to our church, but also a large number from many different towns of this kingdom; and on reaching it they prostrate themselves on the bare floor, and with sincerest humility beg assistance from God in their needs" [1].

7. Such was the life of the Jesuits at the court of Venkata II while he ruled at Chandragiri. After his conquest of Vellore in the beginning of 1604, and during his short stay at that place, Fr. Ricio went there to pay him his respects [2]; and shortly after Fr. Alberto Laerzio, the Superior of the Vice-Province of Malabar, who had visited him at Chandragiri in the preceding year, [3] also went to Vellore to do homage to him. Venkata, on hearing of his coming, gave orders to prepare and adorn a house next to the palace for him and his companion. "As soon as they arrived", says a Jesuit letter, "several nobles paid a visit to them, and congratulated them on their arrival

1. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603, Ap. C, No. VII.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

3. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, January 15th, 1604, Ap. C, No. IX.

on behalf of the king. Then Ramana, the son of the King's sister, a very good friend of ours, also sent to the Fathers some nobles of his household, through whom he presented to the Fathers some good dishes of his own table, as he had previously done to Fathers Nicolao Levanto and Francesco Ricio. Father Provincial answered that he and his companions would like to cook their food themselves at home; then the prince sent them a large number of wethers and hens, besides butter, rice, and other uncooked eatables; moreover, a while after, he again sent them a wild boar brought by his brother from a hunting expedition; finally he came himself, and gave the Fathers many proofs of his sincere friendship and esteem".

"On the same day", continues the same letter, "the King sent a message to Fr. Provincial, to know when he would like to visit him. The Father replied he was expecting an elephant he had left resting a little at Kanchivaram. When the beast reached Vellore the Provincial sent word to the sovereign. The latter despatched his private secretary, who is also a very good friend of the Fathers, with a large retinue to fetch the Fathers. They reached the entrance of the palace in a coach. The King came down to the entrance-lobby to receive Fr. Provincial, as well as to see the elephant, the hound and the other presents. Then he took the Father to the audience-hall and ordered him to sit down next to the royal throne, the grandees of the kingdom standing round. When the Provincial asked for permission to leave, he did not grant it; for to dismiss him on the first meeting would be offensive to the dignity of both." As a matter of fact, Fr. Laerzio prolonged his stay at Vellore some days and was finally dismissed with great honours and tokens of sincere attachment [1].

Shortly after this visit Venkata wrote to the General of the Society of Jesus, then Fr. Claudio Aquaviva. Two years later, in 1607, Fr. Coutinho points out that the King was awaiting the answer [2]. We suppose it came in due course, but no further

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, November 5th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XV.

mention of this letter has been found. In the meantime the nobles of the court and kingdom still showed respect and admiration for the Fathers. "All of them are very good friends of the Fathers", says Laerzio, "very polite and kind...and many request us to build churches and houses in their towns, and also offer rent for the Father's maintenance" [1].

In the month of July, 1606, Fr. Francesco Ricio passed away [2]; he was the first missionary to die in the Vijayanagara mission. Fortunately his successor came out in the same year. This was another Italian, Fr. Antonio Rubino. Fr. Ricio himself had, when writing to Fr. General in 1603, asked for Fr. Rubino for this mission [3]. He was a great mathematician and a profound theologian; moreover he was a very good preacher and a virtuous priest [4]. He reached Chandragiri in the beginning of 1606; and from there he wrote to Fr. Genneral of the Society of Jesus in the following year as follows: "Last year I wrote to Your Paternity an account of this mission in the kingdom of Bisnaga, in which I am now by Your Paternity's command with great consolation on my part. I hope in our Lord that I shall end the rest of my life, which will not last very long, in this mission" [5].

8. But shortly after his arrival a great storm burst over the heads of the missionaries. It was then that the conflict between the inhabitants of St. Thome and the soldiers of the *adigar* took place, ending with the partial destruction of Madras and Mylapore, as we have related in one of the preceding chapters [6]. When news of the disaster reached Venkata's

1. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, January 8th, 1604, Ap C, No. X.

2. Fr. Ricio's death is announced in a letter of Fr. Coutinho, dated November 4th, 1606, preserved in the Archives of the Society.

3. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603, Ap. C, No. VII.

4. From Fr. B. Countinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIII; From the same to the same, same date, Ibid., No. XIV.

5. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, November 8th, 1607, Ibid., No. XVII.

6. Cf. Ch. XXI, No. 9.

ears, inflamed with anger he exclaimed among other things that 'he did not want the Fathers in his kingdom any more' [1]. For this reason, the Provincial did not proceed to Venkata's court on his annual visit, and the Fathers were recalled to St. Thome to see their Superior there; Laerzio ordered them not to go back to Venkata's court till peace had been restored [2].

Towards the close of 1606, as related above, peace was finally made, and in the first days of January, 1607, the missionaries were back at their posts in the mission of Vijayanagara: Fr. Rubino at Chandragiri, and Fr. Coutinho with the Lay Brother, Bartolomeo Fontebona, at the new residence of Vellore [3] where the capital of the Empire had just been transferred. "In the month of January", says Fr. Coutinho, "we came over here, Bro. Bartolomeo Fonteboffa and myself. Among other things that we offered to the King was a pot full of cakes, one out of a dozen pots we had received in the college on the feast of Jesus (January 1st). This pot was a work of fine art, showing a pelican with its young ones around. I told him at the time (when presenting this pot) that the people of St. Thome were like dead because His Highness had been unfavourable to them; but in the course of time, when he had showed from the bottom of his heart his love towards them, they, as his children, had returned to life, as it had happened to that bird, etc. He was very glad to hear this, for they are men who like comparisons". In the same letter, Coutinho relates that Fr. Rubino also went to Vellore to pay a visit to the King. He brought him as a present a nice map of the world with Telugu inscriptions; the principal kingdoms and the four elements and the twelve skies were described there; the King enjoyed very much seeing and reading all these things; he questioned Rubino about some difficult problems of mathematics, and the missionary showed himself to

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIV.

2. From Fr. M. Roiz to Fr. J. Alvarez, St. Thome, November 1st, 1606 Ap. C, No. XII.

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, November 7th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XV. Cf. Ibid., No. XIII.

be an excellent mathematician [1]. Rubino himself adds that on this occasion he also gave the King a treatise on astronomy, "and the King caused it to be read before him and in the presence of all the learned men of his court. These people were greatly astonished at the difference that lies between our science and theirs" [2].

9. Venkata gave the Jesuits at Vellore a site next to his own palace to build a house and church. "The King", says Coutinho, "gave us a house and church within the first enclosure of the fortress; and I put up the Holy Cross over the gate. It is situated in a beautiful street running from North to South and leaning against the walls of the palace. The Church is visited by many of the King's relations, who are our friends and neighbours; they enjoy our conversations about God" [3]. This proves that, after that temporary storm of hatred against the Portuguese, the love of Venkata for the Jesuits was renewed once more "He (Venkata)" says Fontebona, "shows us as much love as we can desire" [4]. And in another letter he says: "It is surprising to see how he loves us" [5]. Fr. Antonio

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XVIII.

2. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, November 8th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XVII.

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIII; From the same to the same, same date, Ibid., No. XIV. When I visited the place in January, 1924, as soon as I entered the fort, I noticed through the green trees a small white cross over the facade of a church towering above all the other edifices. I remembered at once the above quoted passage of Coutinho. Then I realized that the aforesaid church was built next to the walls of the Mahal still standing and in the street running from North to South. The coincidence was amazing. I could not however get more information about that church, as there was no priest then at the parish house. I wrote lately to a Catholic Priest of Vellore, Rev. J. Trideau, and I was informed by him that, according to local tradition, there is no recollection of a Catholic Church inside the fort I realized then that the church I had seen must be the Anglican Church, but nevertheless the spot where it is built seems to be the same as that of the ancient church of the Jesuits at Venkata's court. Cf. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, I, p. 624-9.

4. From Bro. B. Fontebona to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, November 7th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XVI.

5. From the same to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XIX.

Vico, writing from Cochin at about the same time, informs us that "the King of Bisnaga is daily growing fonder of the things of God" [1], while Fontebona says elsewhere that Venkata "likes to talk about our things, and specially about our holy faith" [2].

One of these talks with Venkata about the Christian tenets is related in a letter of Fr. Coutinho: "The other day", he says, "we were talking about the things of God; and His Majesty heard at length the explanation of the ten commandments. When in explaining the first we said that there was only one God and that the others were false gods, idols (Devils), the King did not say anything. The Brahmans, however, asked him what was the use of hearing such things; to which the King replied that it was a very good thing and so worthy of notice. He was also pleased to see the album of holy pictures which the Brother showed him, drawing his attention especially to the ones by Fr. Nadal [3]. He saw them one by one and at the same time inquired minutely about their meaning; in so doing he was very glad to know of these high mysteries. But the King's religious preceptor (*viz.* Tatacharya) wished to convince us of the falsehood of the passion (of Jesus Christ). He was one of those whom St. Paul represents to us as saying that our doctrine was folly; he tried to convince him of the stories of their false gods, who are so unworthy of divinity; but we declared to him how perfect was the love of Jesus Christ, who came to the world for our salvation. The King heard everything in silence, and was by no means angry when at what we said against his idols and temples" [4]. The same letter records that once, when the King was praising the Fathers for 'being

1. From Fr. A. Vico to Fr. P. A. Spinelli, Cochin, December 9th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XXI.

2. From Bro. B. Fontebona to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XIX.

3. For the history of these pictures, see Heras, *La Dinastia Manchu en China*, I, p. 412–4, and *The Jesuit Influence in the Court of Vijayanagara*, *Q. J. M. S.*, XIV, p. 136, n. 26.

4 From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XVIII.

Saniaces (*sannyasis*), and religious and chaste people', "Tatacharya happened to be present, and being an enemy of the Fathers, replied to the King's remark:—

If they are religious, why do they eat meat?"

"Although they eat meat" the king answered, "they are chaste and have no wives" [1].

10. Venkata's affection for the Fathers continued during the following year, 1608 [2]. This year Fr. Laerzio again paid a visit to the Fathers of both the residences of Vijayanagara: Coutinho and Fontebona were residing at Vellore, where they built a fine crib in the Church for Christmas; while there was Fr. Rubino alone at Chandragiri, 'where he works a great deal for the service of God', says Coutinho [3].

In 1609 we find Fr. Coutinho no longer at Vellore, and Fr. Rubino has taken his place, though also in charge of the Christians of Chandragiri [4]. We suspect that Coutinho was recalled to St. Thomas, as his health had broken down. He died in 1610, and then Rubino was appointed Superior of the mission. Fr. Antonio Diaz was then sent there and the Provincial expected to appoint two additional Fathers for this mission [5]. Fr. Coutinho's death was a great loss to it: he was a man "of great virtue and of excellent intellect", Fr. Ricio wrote in 1601 [6]. He was a bosom friend of Venkata. As a matter of fact after the death of Coutinho the King became colder and colder in his relations with the Fathers. At the end of 1609, Fr. Rubino wrote to Fr. General: "The King is not as good a

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1. Ibid.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXII; From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1601, Ap. C, No. XXV.

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXII.

4. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, September 30th, Ap. C, No, XXVII.

5. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 25th, 1611, Ap. C. No. XXXI.

6. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I.

friend of ours as he was before. The cause of it are those accursed Brahmans, who are the chief foes of our Holy Faith; the King is more than a slave before them" [1]. Another Jesuit letter of 1600 shows what kind of slavery the King was subjected to: "The King is not allowed to talk to anybody", we read there, "before he has seen the face of two Brahmans" [2].

In the month of June, 1611, we find Rubino in Colombo. He had preached on Fridays in Lent; his preaching pleased everybody and was fruitful. The reason for his going there was that Venkata had requested him to accompany the ambassadors whom he was sending to the Portuguese Governor of Ceylon, and whom he had deputed to sell several elephants to the Portuguese [3].

11. By the end of the same year, 1611, no Jesuit houses were found any more either at Vellore or at Chandragiri. What was the cause of their withdrawal from Venkata's court?

Some years before, a document full of slanders against all the Jesuits of the South, but especially against those who where at Venkata's court, had been presented to Philip III. The accusations may be reduced to the following four heads: 1. The Jesuits residing at Venkata's court have no interest at all in the conversion of infidels, and only preach according to the will of the Brahmans and other Hindu ascetics. 2. All their efforts are reduced to making money and to accumulating enormous amounts of money in order to increase their income; and to attain this purpose they always do whatever the King likes. 3. Bro. Fontebona is busy painting indecent pictures to please the sovereign; and 4. They

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1. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, September 30th, 1609, Ap. C, No. XXVII.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

3. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 25th, 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXI. This is the last time we hear of Rubino in connection with Vijayanagara. In 1613 he became Rector of the College at St. Thome, as recorded in a letter of 1615, which will be published in Vol. II. Rubino died martyr in Japan on March 17th, 1643.

forged letters of the King of Spain to Venkata and of Venkata to the King of Spain, and bribed the ministers of the former to obtain the royal seal [1].

No doubt, these charges created great resentment in the suspicious character of Philip III. On March 9th, 1610, he wrote about them to his Viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora to this effect: "From the note I am sending you herewith, you may see the things which were communicated to me about the conduct of the Jesuits who reside in the Empire of Bisnaga; hence I recommend to you, first, to request from their Superior the immediate withdrawal of these Religious (from that Empire) to any other house of their Order; they may be, if necessary, replaced by others of good conduct, whose efforts must be only devoted to the conversion of the gentiles. Then you will secretly inquire from impartial persons about the accusations as contained in the said note" [2]. No persón can defend this strange and imprudent order of the Spanish King. He ought first to have ordered an inquiry, and then to proceeded to the expulsion of the guilty, if any. The Provincial of the Malabar Province, to avoid any suspicion of covetousness on their part, on receiving the Viceroys's order promptly withdrew his subordinates from Venkata's court: "As soon as their Superiors were aware of what Your Majesty wrote about them, they caused them to be removed at once to their own province", wrote Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo to his sovereign, in 1613 [3]. No other Fathers were sent there.

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1. Memorial against the Jesuits, Ap. C, No. XXXVIII.

1. "Por hum papel que ira com esta vereis o que se diz do procedimento dos religiosos da companhia que residem no reino de Bis aga, e parecemme remettervolo e encomendarvos, como faco, que trateis com o superior daquella religiao que recolha logo estes religiosos a algua outra casa da sua ordem. e sendo necessario enviar alli outros, o faca, escolhendo para isso pessoas de satisfaccao e que attendam somente a conversao dos gentios d'aquelle reino; e que do mais que contem o dito papel tomeis informacao em todo o segredo por pessoas sem suspeita". From Philip III to the Viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora, Lisbon, March 9th, 1610, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 372. Cf. another letter from the same King to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, Lisbon, February 28th, 1610, Ibid., II, p. 184.

3. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo to Philip III, 1613, Ap. B, No. XII.

This removal of the Jesuits from the court of Vijayanagara caused a great deal of harm to the Portuguese influence in India. According to the Viceroy, the settlement of the Dutch at Pulicat as well as Venkata's war against St. Thome were due to this fact [1]. "Consequently", the Viceroy adds, "I have to say that it is not only absolutely necessary to have them (the Jesuits) at Chandegri (Chandragiri) close to the King, who loves them, but even in Paleacate (Pulicat), after the capture of this fortress from the Dutch...and in other places of that coast" [2]. The Viceroy's wishes were never fulfilled. Venkata died soon after; the turbulent period that followed was not conducive to the re-establishment of the suspended mission; but Fr. Rubino in a letter dated from St. Thome, November 29th, 1617, says that there were hopes that the mission of Vellore would be renewed after the end of the civil war [3]. Nevertheless, as far as we know, there were no more Jesuits permanently residing either at Vellore or at Chandragiri during the supremacy of the Emperors of Vijayanagara.

12. What was the real character of the Jesuit mission at the court of Venkata? Their stay first at Chandragiri and then at Vellore was not prompted by a desire for temporal advantages. Though they sometimes inclined Venkata in favour of the Portuguese, this was not the main purpose of their mission. Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, in the above quoted letter, spoke of them only from this political point of view. But Fr. Pimenta had ordered the establishment of this mission "in order to preach here the doctrine of Jesus Christ", as Ricio says in one of his letters [4]; du Jarric says likewise that Pimenta's purpose was

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1. Cf. Ch. XXI, Nos. 13 and 15.

2. From the same letter of the Viceroy to Philip III. These extracts of the Viceroy's letter to his sovereign do not agree at all with the accusations of Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, II, p. XXXII, and of Rangachari, *History of the Nayak Kingdom*, *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 181.

3. This letter will be published in Vol. II.

4. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 638.

" to make known the Christian faith in the kingdom of Bisnagar (Vijayanagara)" [1].

The importance of this enterprise is frequently emphasised in the Jesuit letters of those days: " There are in this kingdom such extensive regions and populous cities ", Ricio again wrote in 1603, " that if God calls them to the faith (as we hope), numberless labourers will be needed for working in this vineyard" [2]. Again, in January, 1604, the Provincial Laerzio informed Fr. General that " the Residence of Chandragiri in the kingdom of Bisnagar (Vijayanagara) was an enterprise of great importance. We expect many conversions there. If but one of those chiefs wishes to be baptised, the rest, it seems, will follow his example" [3]. Laerzio repeats the same in 1605 [4]. Such were the hopes of the Jesuits of those days that the King of Spain, Philip III, evinced much interest in the affairs of this mission, not precisely for political motives, but on account of his zeal for the propagation of the faith. Accordingly on December 23rd, 1604, he wrote to his Viceroy: " I expect you will inform me about the results obtained by those (Jesuits) who reside next to the King of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara)" [5].

The first conversion is recorded by Ricio in a letter of 1601; not perhaps a real conversion, since Ricio says that the person baptised was a child (*menino*), [6], who might have died soon after. As a matter of fact Laerzio says in 1604 that " no conversions were made till now" [7]. In 1606, Fr. Roiz wrote from

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1. Du Jarric, I, p. 654.

2. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603, Ap. C, No. VII.

3. From Fr. A. Laercio to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, January 18th, 1604, Ap. C, No. X.

4. From the same to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, January 12th, 1605, Ap. C, No. XI.

5. From Philip III to his Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, Valladolid, December 23rd, 1604, Ap. B, No. VII.

6. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 29th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I.

7. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, January 18th, 1604, Ap. C, No. X.

St. Thome that in Chandragiri the Fathers had baptised six persons who were their servants; at the same time he says that "there is no hope of more conversions, because these negroes (*sic*) are very obstinate in their diabolic doctrines, about which I have before written to Your Reverence; they certainly acknowledge that our doctrine is good, but they say that theirs is also good and that they can obtain salvation by professing it. Hence they want to keep it, since it is according to their own customs and received from their ancestors" [1]. At the end of the same year, 1606, Coutinho announces that besides the six Christians of Chandragiri, there are five more in Vellore [2]. In 1607, Laerzio informs Fr. General that Fr. Rubino has made some Christians in Chandragiri [3]. But Fr. Rubino himself writes that the persons converted were only four; there were besides eight others who were then being instructed. "We are working as much as possible to propagate our holy faith", he says, "but *janua clausa est* (the gate is shut), and great grace of God is required to open it; we must incessantly knock at it again till it be opened. Our knocking however from outside will be nothing, if God does not from the inside knock with his divine inspirations, as we hope He will do" [4]. In the following year, 1608, the few Christians of Chandragiri were persecuted by the governor of the town [5], while Coutinho baptised an old man at Vellore [6].

No more conversions are mentioned in the letters of those missionaries. "It is a matter of great sorrow to see the door

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1. From Fr. M. Roiz to Fr. J. Alvarez, St. Thome, November 1st, 1606, Ap. C, No. XII.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIII.

3. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 20th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XX.

4. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, November 8th, 1607. Ap. C, No. XVII.

5. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXV.

6. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXII.

so closed to the Gospel", writes Rubino in 1609 [1]. And Laerzio himself says in 1611: We shall try every possible means to get the expected harvest from this mission; this (fruit) was very much diminished this year" [2]. With this good hope the Vijayanagara mission met with its end; that very year, as has been related, the Jesuits were withdrawn from their posts [3].

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1. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, September 30th, 1609, Ap. C, No. XXVII.

2. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 25th, 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXI.

3. It has been supposed that the Jesuits were also established in the very city of Vijayanagara during the time of its splendour, or perhaps during Sadasiva's reign. Cf. Slater, *Where Religions Meet*, *Q. J. M. S.*, VIII, p 307-8. We are sure that no Jesuit was ever established in the city near the Tunghabadra; nor do we even know of any other missionary settled there. The only information we have is that in the year 1542 Fr. Antonio Patrao or Petronio, a Franciscan Friar, converted 1300 Hindus in the kingdom of Vijayanagara (not in the City) and built a church dedicated to St. Anthony, which was afterwards converted into a monastery. The place where this missionary obtained this harvest is not given. Cf. *Historia Chronologica, O Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas*, I, p. 86.

CHAPTER XXIII

VENKATA II AND THE ART OF PAINTING

SUMMARY.—1. Indian painters at Venkata's court.—2. Venkata's interest in the art of painting shown in his first audience to the Jesuits.—3. Bro. Alexander Frey, painter to the Emperor.—4. Bro. Bartolomeo Fontebona called for the mission of Vijayanagara.—5. His introduction to Venkata. His paintings.—6. Venkata's kindness to Fontebona.—7. The Provincial of Malabar wishes to promote Fontebona to the Priesthood.—8. Fontebona's removal from the Court. His death in Bengal.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Jesuit letters.—2. Du Jarric.

VENKATA II'S predilection for the art of painting deserves a special chapter on his relations with the painters at his court.

Unfortunately we know nothing about the Indian painters employed in his capital; their very existence is only known to us through a European source. Fr. du Jarric states that there were several native painters at Chandragiri; but these artists could not have approached the standard of the European paintings presented to the King by the Jesuits [1].

About the two European painters who resided for some years at Chandragiri and at Vellore, our store of information is considerable. Hence we are able to trace the course of Venkata's relations with them. Incidentally the subject will serve to give to our readers a hitherto unknown aspect of the character of that monarch.

2. In the course of the first audience given by Venkata to Frs. de Sa and Ricio, the sovereign asked them about the King of Portugal. They happened to have with them several small portraits of Dom Sebastiao and his predecessors and showed them to the King. Venkata was amazed at seeing them. He scrutinised them carefully and passed them on for examination to the attendant nobles. They too were astonished at the per-

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 669.

fection of these European paintings. Then Venkata inquired of his visitors whether there was at St. Thome a good painter. The Fathers replied that there was indeed one; and as a proof of their statement, offered to the sovereign another painting recently done at St. Thome. It represented the Gospel parable of the rich Epulon and the beggar Lazarus. Venkata asked for the explanation of this subject, which was courteously given in Telugu by Fr. Ricio. His explanation, according to du Jarric, resolved itself into a sermon on hell; Ricio was prepared with the subject-matter before leaving St. Thome; but now he was so carried away with his declamation that his pronunciation was often faulty, and occasionally made the nobles laugh [1].

At the farewell audience some days later, Venkata questioned the Fathers once more about the painter they had at St. Thome [2]. From these facts de Sa and Ricio reasonably inferred that it would be of great importance for the future mission to have such a painter in the residence which was to be established at Chandragiri, and the idea was most likely communicated to Fr. Pimenta.

3. This painter was the Jesuit Lay Brother Alexander Frey. We know nothing more about him except that he was an Englishman, as the letters of those days often record [3].

In spite of the King's wishes, Bro. Alexander, as he is commonly called, was not among the Jesuits who reached Chandragiri in 1599. But in the following year we find him installed at Venkata's court. A Jesuit letter of 1600 gives some interesting information about his work at the imperial palace. It runs as follows: "Bro. Alexander showed to the King one of his paintings that represents the three Magi adoring our Saviour recently born and put in the manger. He offered besides to the sovereign another painting, showing the Blessed Virgin with Her Child in her arms. The King bowed before it and placed it in one of the rooms of his palace. The Brother is now painting another one of Christ's descent into hell. He

1. Ibid., p. 665.

2. Ibid., p. 670.

3. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I.

(the King) is eagerly waiting for it, because out of many pictures previously shown he selected this and the preceding one to be reproduced. He talks quite unreservedly with the Brother. It happened once that the King was looking on while the Brother was painting; the latter happened to say that some of the colours required for his work were some times lacking; then the sovereign returned to his apartment, and came out bringing in his own hands a hundred gold pieces, which he gave to the Brother, in order to get all the necessary things " [1].

Fr. Ricio informs us that at the end of 1601, Bro. Alexander was still working at Chandragiri, and was a great favourite with the King. In the same letter, he asks the General of the Society permission to give a beautiful painting to Venkata on the General's behalf [2].

No further mention of Bro. Alexander Frey is discoverable in the Jesuit letters from Chandragiri. He probably left the court in 1602. We cannot assign any reason for his departure, though some years later we find his name among the missionaries of Malabar.

4. No doubt Frey's departure from Chandragiri was a blow to the recently founded mission. This enterprise required the support of the powerful sovereign; and the presence of a painter among the missionaries was conducive to this support. Hence the Provincial Fr. Laerzio, who, probably before leaving Italy, had made the acquaintance of an Italian Lay Brother, also a good painter, wrote to Fr. General in 1603, requesting a man of his type for the mission of Vijayanagara [3]; and repeated his petition in the following year [4].

This Lay Brother's name was Bartolomeo Fontebona or Fontebuone. Owing to his artistic talent he became one of the most intimate friends of Venkata. It would seem that Fr.

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

2. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1611, Ap. C, No. I.

3. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, January 18th, 1604, Ap. C, No. X.

4. Ibid.

General sent him to India immediately upon the first petition of Laerzio; for Laerzio himself, in January of the year 1605, wrote to Aquaviva that Fontebona had already been in Goa for two years [1]; but that the Provincial of Goa, Fr. Manoel de Veiga, had retained him in that city, in order to paint the new church of the Professed House [2]. Five years later, in 1607, Fontebona wrote from Vellore: "I have been told that a Flemish Lay Brother, himself a very good painter, was coming (to India); I was very glad, indeed, for he will be able to finish the painting of the new church of the Professed House, started by me" [3].

The Provincial of Malabar wrote again to the General in 1605, pressing for the services of Fontebona in the Vijayanagara mission: "We are very much in need of Bro. Bartolomeo, the painter, for this Christendom", he said; "but Fr. Provincial (of Goa) will not allow him to leave Goa, if Your Paternity do not order him to do so. When in Rome I asked Your Paternity for this Brother for this Christendom; he has already been at Goa for two years; I should think that they must be quite satisfied" [4].

Most likely the General sent his order to the Provincial of Goa, in accordance with Laerzio's wishes; because at the end of 1606, Fontebona was already at St. Thome waiting for an opportunity to go to Venkata's court. He happened to arrive there when the Jesuits had retired from the capital of the Empire, owing to the sudden storm occasioned by the fight of the inhabitants of St. Thome with the soldiers of the *adigar*. Hence Fr. Coutinho, in November, 1606, wrote from St. Thome that "Bro. Bartolomeo Fontebuone is here painting while waiting for a chance to proceed to the court with us; for we hope the

1. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, January 12th, 1605, Ap. C, No. XI.

2. This was the house and the church of the Bom Jesus, which had been started in 1589. Cf. Fonseca, *Sketch of the City of Goa*, p.279-80.

3. From Bro. B. Fontebona to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, November 7th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XVI; From the same to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ibid., No. XIX.

4. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, January 12th, 1605, Ap. C, No. XI.

King will renew our previous relations ; for this purpose he was sent to us by our Father (General)" [1].

5. Finally, in January, 1607, the Fathers were allowed to return to Chandragiri, and even to establish a new residence at Vellore, the recently created capital. Fontebona was naturally sent there to be in readiness for the King's orders [2]. He was introduced to Venkata by Fr. Coutinho, who thus describes the audience held on this occasion : " I introduced the Brother (to the King), saying that he had come from far away, by order of our Fr. General, in order to paint before His Highness. He praised this highly, and asked the Brother at once whether he had at that time a good painting to show to him. The Brother had nothing else but the two portraits of our Blessed Fathers (Ignatius and Francis Xavier). The King on seeing them was astonished and could not persuade himself that the Brother had painted them. I told him I had witnessed his work. Hence he (the King) asked him (Fontebona) to paint others like them in his presence. He replied that he would, and began at once by his order to sketch them on a big panel. The King was surprised to see how quickly the Brother worked. In fact the painting was finished in an hour and a half. He retouched the face of Bl. Father Ignatius. The King on seeing that was greatly astonished ; and going back to his lodging, sent him according to his custom a rich golden cloth. He went on with his painting, while we took the opportunity to relate to him the main facts and the miracles and virtues of Bl. Father Ignatius and of Bl. Father Francis (Xavier). The King was much pleased on hearing those things. He (Fontebona) painted also his (the King's) own portrait. He (the King) is a very grave man: on this occasion however he changed the place where he was sitting and moved to another which was selected by the Brother. He remained there until the portrait was completed. Furthermore, to please the King he painted a panel of the Bl. Virgin, Our Lady,

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIII.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ap. C, No. XXVI.

with the child Jesus in her arms and the holy child, the Baptist, at her side, and St. Joseph in the rear, copying it from a small picture. The panel was finished to perfection; and the King ordered it to be hung in a prominent place in the room of the assembly, opposite his royal throne, where he reads with his learned Brahmans. These asked the King why that painting made by the Christians was there, and so on. The King replied:—

'This carpet on which I am sitting, and you also, came from their country. If we are nevertheless sitting on it, why cannot that painting be there? Did not this velvet cap you have on your head come from their country too?' Such discussions were repeated several times" [1].

By the same letter of Fr. Coutinho we are made aware that Fontebona showed to the King several books and albums of pictures, one of them being that of Fr. Nadal. This especially was liked very much by the King [2]. Then Venkata told the Brother that he was greatly pleased to see him painting those small pictures. Accordingly Fontebona spent a good length of time in this work, and 'has been praised very highly by the King' [3]. The Provincial Laerzio confirms this news, while stating that 'Fontebona is loved by the King and by all' [4]. Fontebona himself at the same time reports: "I am at Vellore at present...My daily occupation consists in painting several things in the palace and in the King's presence. His Majesty is as much pleased by watching me paint painting, as I am pleased by gratifying him" [5].

6. As a result of this continual work, Fontebona fell sick at the end of the same year, 1607. On the occasion of this sickness, Venkata's love towards the Brother was openly shown.

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1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XVIII.

2. Cf. Ch. XXII, No. 9.

3. Letter mentioned in note 1.

4. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 20th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XX.

5. From Bro. B. Fontebona to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XIX.

Fontebona himself gives an interesting account of his relations with the monarch at this time. His letter runs as follows: "I once heard, while sick, that the King was going to leave the palace (for a walk). I went to the palace gate in order to greet him while passing. When he went out I presented myself to him and offered him a crystal cup full of rose water. He stopped and received the cup with his own hands, saying at the same time how sorry he was to see me so lean and pale from my sickness. On the following day my sickness grew worse; it was necessary to go to St. Thome to recover. I have been there for almost two months. The King on learning that I could not get rid of my disease sent a message through the Queen, instructing me in the way I could be cured. I came back to Vellore after my recovery, and began to paint a panel of Our Lady.

"He (the King) offered me many gifts, but since the Provincial forbade us to receive money, we declined his offerings; this made a great impression on him, so much so that he said to his courtiers that we had never asked for anything. I have also painted several small pictures, specially one of Our Saviour. I once showed to him a painting of Our Lady which I had made presentation to one of our Fathers. He was greatly surprised at the sight of it and took it to his apartments to show it to the Queen; the picture never came back to my hands. Later on we were given to understand that the King had preserved it in a box where he keeps the jewellery, very well covered; we were told moreover that he used to open this box and look at the picture every day" [1].

Fontebona continued his work in the presence of Venkata, who was every day more pleased with the skill of the Italian Jesuit. Fr. Rubino wrote of the latter in the year 1609, that 'he was still often busy painting before the King', and later on the same writer adds that Venkata 'had given the Brother two hundred gold coins (scudi) for buying colours' [2].

1. From Bro. B. Fontebona to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XIX; From the same to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, November 7th, 1607, Ibid., No. XVI.

2. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, September 30th, 1609, Ap. C, No. XXVII.

7. So great was the help given to the mission by the humble painter, who knew how to keep alive the good-will of Venkata towards the Fathers, that the Provincial Fr. Laerzio, contrary to the custom of the Society of Jesus, thought seriously of promoting him to the sacred priesthood. This would have given Fontebona a better opportunity to work for the propagation of the faith.

Laerzio in a letter to Fr. General dated November 20th, 1607, after paying tribute to Fontebona's virtue, example and goodness, adds: "It seems to me that he would help us still more in that kingdom if he were a priest; he knows Latin pretty well. It is true that he never manifested to me any wish in any way, nor did other persons speak to me about this. Probably he never thought of this; it is only an idea growing upon me for some years past, that as a priest, he would be of more profit to the service of God. In case my idea is approved of by Your Paternity, kindly send me your permission. I feel sure it will be for the glory of God and for the greater profit of the souls of that kingdom" [1].

8. Apparently the General's permission never came. Fontebona was removed from Venkata's court with the rest of the missionaries at the end of 1611, when the missions of Chandragiri and Vellore were definitely abandoned.

The Superior of Malabar, Fr. Laerzio, after realizing that Bro. Fontebona's work would not be required any more at the court of Vijayanagara, as hopes of re-establishing the mission were groundless, sent him in the company of Frs. Stefano Cacella and Joao Cabral on an expedition to Tibet, that was to start from Bengal. They left Cochin on April 30th, 1626. Having set out on their journey from Hugli, on one of the branches of the Ganges, Fontebona (who was then fifty) was sent back to Hugli from Siripur on account of the difficulties of the enterprise. He fell ill shortly after his arrival, and died there on December 26th, 1626. [2].

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1. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 20th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XX.

2. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers*, p. 121-2.

CHAPTER XXIV

FAMILY AFFAIRS. DEATH OF VENKATA II

SUMMARY.—1. The wives of Venkata II.—2. The King gives a garden party to his wives.—3. Oba Raya's influence at Venkata's court.—4. Great power of Queen Pedobamamba.—5. Story of the putative son of Venkata.—6. Relations between the King and his two nephews Tirumala and Ranga.—7. Venkata's last illness. Appointment of Ranga as his successor.—8. Death of Venkata II.—9. Venkata judged by his contemporaries.—10. Final criticism of this sovereign.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Jesuit letters.—3. Letters to the E. I. C.—4. Du Jarric, Guerreiro, Queyroz.—5. Anquetil du Perron, Floris.—6. *Ramarajiyamu.*

VENKATA II's family life was far from pleasant, and the private affairs of his relations hastened the downfall of the Empire itself. This chapter is a narrative of those unfortunate events which precipitated the civil war related in the following volume.

Considerable discussion has arisen concerning the wives of Venkata II, because the contemporary sources agree neither as to their number or their names. Our own opinion is that such differences spring from the obvious fact that these contemporary sources give the number of Venkata's wives at the time of their composition, and could by no means give the names of all the wives of this monarch. In the light of this fact there is really no discrepancy among the different documents; and indeed there is a perfect agreement between the indigenous and the foreign sources.

According to one of Venkata's grants of 1586 he had four wives: Venkatamba, Raghavamba, Pedobamamba and Pinavobamamba [1]. But in the Dalavay Agraharam plates, which were issued the same year, the name of Pinavobamamba is replaced by that of Krishnamba [2]. This would mean that

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 231, note 7.
2. Ibid., XII, p. 186, vv. 27-39.

Pinavobamamba had died the same year, and that a new wife called Krishnamba filled her place [1]. These four names, *viz.* Venkatamba, Raghavamba, Pedobamamba and Krishnamba are again mentioned both in the Vellangudi plates [2] and in the Padmaneri grant of the same Venkata II [3], both issued in 1598. But in 1601 the Vilapaka grant mentions five wives: the four just spoken of, plus Kondambika [4], thus showing that between 1598 and 1601 Venkata married another wife named Kondambika. Raghavamba however did not live long. The *Ramarajiyamu*, which seems to have been written towards the close of Venkata's reign, gives only four names: Venkatamma, (Venkatamba), Obamma (Pedobamamba), Krishnamma (Krishnamba), and Kondamma (Kondambika) [5]. The same four names are repeated in a grant of 1633 [6]. One of them however must have died early; for when the death of Venkata occurred at the end of the following year, 1614, only three wives committed *sati*, according to both Fr. Barradas and Floris, who will be quoted later on. We cannot ascertain which of these four consorts of Venkata died previous to his death; but we may affirm that the question lies between Krishnamba and Kondambika. This we shall discuss while narrating Venkata's demise.

According to this explanation Venkata had altogether six wives. Of them Obamma or Pedobamamba was the daughter of Jillella Ranga Raja; Krishnamma or Krishnamba was the daughter of Jillella Krishna Raju; and Kondamma or Kondam-

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1. There are, however, two grants of Venkata inconsistent with this opinion: one is of 1587, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sh, 83; the other of 1589, Ibid., XII, Ck, 39. In both documents the names of Venkata's Queens are the following: Venkatamba, Raghavamba. Ped-Obamamba, and Pin-Obamamba. Is this simply a mistake on the part of the engraver, or perhaps Krishnamba and Pin-Obamamba (Pinavobamamba) are two different names of the same person? In the latter supposition Venkata's wives would have been in all only five in number.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 31-35.
3. Ibid., p. 297, v. 30.
4. Ibid., IV, p. 270.
5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 243.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 231.

mbika was the daughter of Gobburi Oba [1]. This Gobburi Oba or Oba Raya had, moreover, another daughter who was married to Venkata. We are inclined to believe that she was Raghavamba. This information comes from the Jesuit sources of 1598–9, when the first Jesuits visited Venkata's court: "The King", says du Jarric, "had married two of his (Oba Raya's) daughters" [2]; and the same author says later on that Oba Raya had "two daughters married to the King" [3]. Now we know the names of the fathers of the other three of Venkata's wives at that time. Raghavamba's father is unknown to us. It is true that the first mention of Kondambika is found in 1601; but she might have been married to Venkata a little earlier. Thus the explanation holds good that when the Jesuits first visited Venkta's court two of Venkata's wives were daughters of Oba Raya.

The *Ramarajiyamu* makes no reference to the family of Venkatamba. She is the only one whose father is not mentioned. Hence she must be the one spoken of by Fr. Barradas as the daughter of Jaga Raya, by the name of Bayamma, [4] 'as any lady could be called Bayamma in Telugu', to quote Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar [5]. She appears to have been the first Queen, as she is always mentioned first, and may be identified with the one said by Barradas to be 'of the same age as the King' [6].

2. Fr. du Jarric, relying invariably on the contemporary Jesuit letters, gives interesting details of a feast prepared by Venkata for his Queens in 1698.

"One of those days (during the Jesuits' first stay at Chandragiri) the King invited the Queens to a garden outside the city to enjoy themselves there...The retinue which accompanied them proceeded as follows: in the van there was a good cavalry detachment headed by a captain, who was a Muhammadan, surrounded by four or five knights; there were several silk

1. *Ramarajiyamu*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 243.
2. Du Jarric, I, p. 654.
3. Ibid., p. 674.
4. Sewell, p. 223.
5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 20.
6. Sewell, p. 224.

standards in this company; after this there came a flute and a vinaband; the players rode several camels; many foot soldiers were also to be seen. Then the Delenais (Dalavays), or chief captains followed; they proceeded on foot and were fully armed; in their rear walked one of the royal elephants, over which the imperial standard was carried: there were several court nobles around. Next, a huge iron gong was carried by four porters, and four soldiers were continuously striking it [1]; the King himself then advanced on a gold sedan-chair, with many courtiers and servants around, who carried four very handsome umbrellas; then the royal insignia were to be seen on the top of picks; the hairy tail of a white wild cow, which is very much appreciated in the East; a big representation of a fish and another of a lion and finally another standard. After this there came the chief Delevay (Dalavay) of the kingdom, and at last the Prince (Ranga) with the King's wives, accompanied by very many women carried in silver and gold sedan-chairs, with great pomp; the Queens were carried in shinning gold litters, covered with rich golden drapery adorned with precious stones; next to every litter two umbrelas were carried to keep off the glare of the sun; there were besides many handmaids, moving their fans to and fro on each side of their mistresses. Such was the order of his state procession when the King went to the garden in the suburbs of the city to spend a holiday. He came back on the same day after sunset; so many torches illuminated his way that it seemed day in spite of the hour" [2].

3. Up to the year 1606 the influence exerted by Oba Raya and his family at the court of Venkata may be seen both from the Hindu inscriptions and from the Jesuit sources. An inscription of Venkata at Narasingapuram mentions Gobburi Oba Raya and the gifts of sixty-five gold pieces called Venkatarayavarahans. Oba Raya seems to have regulated the festivals

1. This gong was '*longitudine duorum doliorum*', according to du Jarric. I cannot estimate its size, since the name *doliorum* means quite a different thing in Latin. It is possibly a mistake.

2. Du Jarric, I, p. 673–4.

and daily services in the temple of Alagiyasingar at Kuvam Tyagasamudranallur [1]. In another inscription at Kuvam, Chingleput, he is styled Mahamandalesvara Gobburi Obarajayyadeva Maharaja, and is said to have provided for special worship in the Margaly month, in the temple of Tiruvirkolesvara [2]. Another inscription of 1547 mentions the gift of 120 varahas by Narasammangaru, 'wife of the Mahamandalesvara Gobburi Obayadeva Maharaja of the Kasyapa *gotra*, for providing offerings to the god Ahobalesvara during his installation ceremonies in the *vasantamandapa* which he had constructed on the North side of the temple at Diguva Tirupati [3].

That this chief was the father-in-law of Venkata II is recorded in the *Ramarajiyamu* [4], in the Jesuit letters [5] and in du Jarric [6]. Now Fr. Barradas speaks of one Obo Raya (*sic*) brother-in-law of Venkata [7]. Is this statement inconsistent with the above mentioned sources ? Not necessarily. Oba Raya had at least two sons, as we shall soon see ; one of them might easily have been called Oba Raya after his father. The custom of a son being named after his father was not unsual in those days. An inscription of 1557 at Lower Ahobalam, mentions one Obalraju, son of another Obalraju of the Pochiraju family [8].

As to the sons of Oba Raya, Fr. du Jarric informs us that two of them paid a visit to the Jesuits shortly after the latter's first arrival at Chandragiri; they went there accompained by much cavalry. "The Fathers received them with great kindness and showed them several paintings. They liked them so much that they asked to be allowed to take them home to show

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1. 243 of 1910.
2. 332 of 1909.
3. 63 of 1915.
4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 243.
5. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I ; *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, Ap. C, No. XXII.
6. Du Jarric, I, p. 654 and 674.
7. Sewell, p. 223.
8. 69 of 1915. Cf. No. 5, infra.

them to their wives. They also saw a hydrographical map showing the great Oceans and their gulfs and bays and the innumerable islands all over the world. It was for them a matter of pleasure and instruction as well" [1]. At about the same time one of Oba Raya's sons, different apparently from the two just mentioned, was received among the *gurupus*. The same author relates the ceremony as follows: "The boy was brought over to the temple and placed over the capital of a pillar. His father with his hands clasped before his chest bowed before him; the same ceremony was performed by the rest of those present. Then the boy was invested as *gurupu*, seated on a golden sedan-chair and carried around the city surrounded by numberless people" [2].

Oba Raya's influence at Venkata's court is thus recorded by du Jarric: "He (Oba Raya) was one of the highest nobles in the whole kingdom and his authority before the King was very great" [3]. While journeying from St. Thome to Chandragiri, Frs. de Sa and Ricio were given a free passport over any road and river merely by showing the letters patent of this Oba Raya. "A refusal of any officer would have been equivalent to signing his death sentence; such was Oba Raya's power," says du Jarric [4]. When the same Fathers were received by Venkata they found Oba Raya seated on the same mat as the King and Prince Ranga [5]. This favour at Venkata's court was resented in some quarters. Naturally Oba's power was envied by the Dalavay or chief minister; du Jarric describes them as enemies [6]. Now as both enjoyed such great power, they were no doubt the central figures round whom all the courtiers assembled. Thus they became the heads of the parties at Venkata's court.

4. For many years Oba Raya's favour and party remained

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 689.
2. Ibid., p. 673.
3. "Ille e maximis regni proceribus erat, et permagnae apud regem autoritatis". Ibid., p. 654.
4. Ibid., p. 658.
5. Cf. Ch. XXII, No. 2.
6. Du Jarric, I, p. 680.

triumphant; but after the first two years of the Jesuit's stay at Chandragiri, Oba Raya's name is no longer mentioned in Jesuit sources. The cause of this change of fortune was perhaps the death of Raghavamba, which must have taken place at this time: she was probably the favourite wife of the sovereign, and for that reason Oba Raya, her father, had acquired such great power in the Empire and such considerable influence at the court.

Kondambika, however, did not replace her sister Raghavamba in Venkata's affection. The new favourite Queen, who is sometimes simply called 'the Queen', is often mentioned in the Jesuit letters from 1606 onwards. In November of this year Fr. Coutinho wrote that 'the Queen,' owing to our sins, has the supreme power in this country', and describes Venkata's total subservience to this consort of his as follows: "He (Venkata) shows such great subjection to the black Queen that she governs every thing. He would rather break the bonds of friendship with everbody than thwart her wishes. She was the cause of our estrangement from the King and will continue hostile till she receives from St. Thome the money and presents she expects, as a satisfaction for their deeds" [1]. In another letter of Fr. Coutinho of the same date it is recorded that the complaints of the inhabitants of Mylapore against the Portuguese of St. Thome were sent to Venkata through the Queen [2]. In November of the following year, Fontebona received, during his illness at St. Thome [3], a prescription from the same sovereign, but it did not reach his own hands before passing through those of the Queen [4]. In January 1608, after the serious defeat suffered by Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji, terms of peace between Venkata and this chief were arranged through the influence of the Queen, who received on

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIV.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIII.

3. From Bro. B. Fontebona to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XX.

4. Cf. Ch. XXIII, No. 6.

this occasion the fortress of Canaripatan [1]. In 1611, a letter of Fr. Laerzio sheds more light on the power of this Queen at court: "The King", says he, "has handed over the government to one of his wives and a brother of hers. These two are by no means friendly towards the Fathers, and even less friendly to the Portuguese" [2]. This shows that the favour of this Queen was shared by her brother. The influence of this man, indeed, makes itself felt at the court of Venkata at the same time as that of his sister. Fr. Coutinho, in the letter quoted above of November, 1606, relates that when the Archbishop-Governor of Goa, Fr. Alexio de Menezes, sent a horse to Venkata, the Queen's brother had obtained it from the King even before it had reached the capital [3]. Philip III, writing to Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, on January 31st, 1614, recommends to him "to be on good terms with the brother-in-law of the King of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara)" [4]. Another letter of Fr. Coutinho, of 1608, shows that several other relatives of this Queen were elevated to power by her; when speaking of her favour at the court, he says that 'everybody is complaining of her relatives' [5].

The Jesuits never mentioned the name of this woman; but fortunately two other European sources give us a clue to it. For in August, 1611, the English Captain, Anthony Hippon, writing to the East India Company on the result of his expedition to Pulicat [6], simply said: Pellacata (Pulicat) do belong unto the Queen and is given unto her for a dowry by the King, and so she at her own pleasure sets a governor or

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore. October, 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIII. Cf. Ch. XVIII, No. 11.

2. From Fr. Laerzio to Fr. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 25th, 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXII.

3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIV.

4. From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, Lisbon, January 31st, 1614, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, III, p. 31.

5. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXII.

6. Cf. Ch. XXI, No. 16.

governess as she pleaseth" [1]. The Queen referred to by Captain Hippon seems no doubt the same as that spoken of by the Jesuits in their letters: she is called 'the Queen' who 'at her own pleasure' manages the Government affairs. But the Dutch traveller Floris, the other European authority, gives us the name of this Queen to whom Pulicat belonged. He says that the Queen of Pulicat was Obiama [2]. She must then be the same as the person called Obamma by the *Ramarajiyamu* and Pedobamamba in Venkata's grants. Consequently the daughter of Jillella Ranga Raja obtained supreme power in the government of Vijayanagara after the death of Raghavamba, Oba Raya's daughter.

5. None of these six wives gave a successor to Venkata. Naturally the first wife, Venkatamba, was the most assiduous in trying to secure the succession. Hence when she saw that there were no hopes of a legitimate heir, she managed to deceive the King by passing off on him a son, who was neither hers nor his. The story of this event is narrated in detail by Barradas: "A Brahman woman of the household of the Queen's father", says he, "knowing how strong was the Queen's desire to have a son, and seeing that God had not granted her one, told her that she herself was pregnant for a month; and she advised her to tell the King, and to publish it abroad, that she (the Queen) had been pregnant for a month, and to feign to be in that state, and said that after she (the Brahman woman) had been delivered she would secretly send the child to the palace by some confidant, upon which the Queen could announce that this boy was her own son. The advice seemed good to the Queen, and she pretended that she was pregnant; and no sooner was the Brahman woman delivered of a son than she sent it to the palace, and the news was spread abroad that Queen Bayama (Venkatamba) had brought forth a son. The King, knowing

1. From Captain Anthony Hippon to the E. I. C., August, 1611, *Letters Received by the E. I. C*, I, p. 134. As a matter of fact when Hippon was at Pulicat the governorship was in the hands of a woman.

2. Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, III, p. 336. Floris gives two different spellings: Objama and Obyama.

all this, yet for the love he bore the Queen, and so that the matter should not come to light, dissembled and made feasts, giving the name 'Chica Raya' to the boy, which is the name always given to the heir to the throne" [1].

Barradas does not give the date of this boy's birth. According to Queyroz it took place in 1611, during the siege of St. Thome by Venkata [2]; but this date is not consistent with the fact that the boy was married at fourteen years of age, during Venkata's life-time, as Barradas narrates [3]. This should take us back to 1600 at the least, when we remember that Venkata died in 1614. But we have reason to believe that his birth actually took place some years earlier than 1600, since the Jesuit letters (excepting this one of Barradas, written during the civil war after Venkata's death), never mentioned such a boy. This silence may mean that the memory of this boy's birth was not fresh when the Jesuits reached Venkata's court in 1599. Consequently, we have sufficient reason to locate this event in the first years of Venkata's reign, most likely when the capital was still at Penukonda.

Venkata's conduct towards this putative son of his was most strange. Though he bestowed upon him after his birth the title of Chikka Raya, "yet", says Barradas, "he (Venkata) never treated him as a son, but on the contrary kept him always shut up in the palace of Chandigri (Chandragiri); nor ever allowed him to go out of it without his especial permission, which indeed he never granted except when in company of the Queen. Withal", continues Barradas, "the boy arriving at the age of fourteen years, he married him to a niece of his, doing him much honour so as to satisfy Obo Raya, his brother-in-law" [4].

This suspicious conduct of Venkata towards this boy naturally roused, no doubt, many suspicions among the nobles and the royal relatives. This explains Fr. Coutinho's information that Venkata had 'many nephews who claimed the

1. Sewell, p. 223.
2. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, p. 309.
3. Sewell, l. c.
4. Ibid.

right of succession'[1]. And King Philip III of Spain was informed before 1610 that there were three candidates to the crown of Venkata[2]. Hence even the supposed mother of the boy, Queen Venkatamba, "realized that her son would not be acknowledged as a king (by the nobles)", to quote Fr. Queyroz, "and persuaded him (Venkata) to resign the kingdom in favour of his nephew Chica Raj, son of Rama Raju"[3].

6. We know of the existence of three nephews of Venkata. One was called Ramana. He was the son of one of the sisters of the King, and was living at court, at least in 1604-1606[4]. The other two were the sons of Rama, the Viceroy of Seringapatam, of whom we have often spoken before. Queen Venkatamba ceased to champion the cause of the boy, apparently in 1599. In this year, according to Anquetil du Perron, "Venkata's nephew, Chima Ragion (Ranga,) was the heir-apparent to the crown", in spite of the more grounded rights of his elder brother Tirumala[5]. Ranga therefore was the Prince who, in the same year, was sitting on the same mat as Venkata, when the Jesuit Fathers were received at his court[6]. And du Jarric relates that after this audience with the King, the Jesuits received several visits of the grandees; and among these visitors one was "a nephew of the king, called Chimaragu (Ranga), who is the first after the King and his heir"[7]. "He was a very handsome and prudent man", says Queyroz[8].

Nevertheless at this time Ranga was not yet appointed Chikka Raya or crown prince. Anquetil du Perron tells us

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1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XVIII.

2. From Philip III to the Viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora, Lisbon, February 21st, 1610, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 359.

3. Queyroz, o.c., p. 309.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No XXII.

5. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 167.

6. Du Jarric, I, p. 688. Cf. Ch. XXII, No. 2.

7. Ibid., p. 689.

8. Queyroz, l. c.

that the trouble about the succession began in 1600, and was caused by the two brothers Tirumala and Ranga[1]. Most likely both had partisans at court. But the chief cause of this trouble was the King himself. Fr. Coutinho, in his letter of the 17th July of same year, 1600, says: "Although the King prefers the younger brother (Ranga) who is being brought up in his very palace, nevertheless people say the elder one (Tirumala) will be the King, because he is liked by more numerous and powerful chiefs"[2]. Ranga then had only the King's predilection in his favour; while the right of birth and the esteem of the subjects were on the side of Tirumala.

As a mater of fact, Fr. Countinho in the same letter calls Tirumala 'the heir of this kingdom'[3]. Again Tirumala is called 'the crown prince' by Fr. Guerreiro in 1604[4]; and Fr. Coutinho once more calls him 'the Prince', in a letter of 1608[5], although in the same letter he states that Venkata 'does not want either to name or to hear anybody talk of Tirumala'[6]. Such was the hatred of the sovereign for the elder of his two nephews. Thereupon prince Tirumala retired from Seringapatam, as already narrated, according to the wishes of Venkata himself.

Tirumala, being thus disgraced in the eyes of the nobles on account of his shameful retreat from Seringapatam, was no longer supported by the nobility against the designs of Venkata. It was most probably then that Ranga was publicly adopted by his uncle, and became consequently the heir-apparent, according to the *Ramarajiyamu*[7].

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1. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 170.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.

3. Ibid.

4. Guerrero (*sic*), *Relacion Anual...en los anos de 600 y 601*, p. 137

5. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIII.

6. Ibid.

7. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 213-4. It is very strange that Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 122, calls Rama Deva the grandson of Venkata, naturally supposing that Ranga II was his son.

7. In the meantime Venkata II was getting too old to rule over turbulent feudatory chiefs such as the Nayak of Vellore; especially when family intrigues were contributing to the work of subverting the kingdom. In a letter of 1607 Fr. Coutinho tells us that 'the King is very old and is apparently at the end of his life'[1]. Laerzio in 1608 also says that Venkata is very old[2], and again makes the same statement in 1611[3]. Another Jesuit letter of 1611 states that "the King is too old and dotes at times; hence those who govern the kingdom do always what they like"[4]. In 1610 Philip III of Spain wrote to Ruy Lourenco de Tavora: "I have been informed that the King of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara) is very old"[5]. Three years later, the same Viceroy, Ruy Lourenco de Tavora, wrote to Philip III that Venkata "is so old that every body expects his death at any moment, and naturally dissensions will ensue"[6].

His death however did not occur till the end of the following year. Venkata, when his end drew near, renewed the appointment of prince Ranga as his successor. This scene is marvellously described by Fr. Barradas, as follows:—

"Three days before his death, the King, putting aside, as

Perhaps this pedigree is founded on the adoption of Ranga by his uncle. We think however that this mistake of Rice is based on a grant of Venkata III, 1639, according to which Rama Deva is the grandson of Venkata II. Cf. *Ep. Carn.*, III, Nj, 198. Mr. S. V. Visvanatha also seems to believe that Tirumala and Ranga, the sons of Rama of Seringapatam, were sons of Venkata II. Viswanatha, *The Jambukesvaram Grant*, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 91.

1. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XVIII.

2. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXV.

3. From the same to the same, Cochin, November 25th, 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXII.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of Province of Malabar, 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXV.

5. From Philip III to the Viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora, Lisbon, February 21st, 1610, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p. 359.

6. From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, Lisbon, March 7th, 1613, Ap. B, No. XIII.

I say, this putative son, called for his nephew Chica Raya (Ranga), in presence of several of the nobles of the kingdom, and extended towards him his right hand on which was the ring of state, and put it close to him, so that he should take it and should become his successor in the kingdom. With this the nephew, bursting into tears, begged the King to give it to whom he would, and that for himself he did not desire to be king, and he bent low, weeping at the feet of the old man. The King made a sign to those around him that they should raise the prince up, and they did so; and they then placed him on the King's right hand, and the King extended his own hand so that he might take the ring. But the prince lifted his hands above his head, as if he already had divined how much ill fortune the ring would bring him, and begged the King to pardon him if he wished not to take it. The old man then took the ring and held it on the point of his finger, offering it the second time to Chica Raya, who by the advice of the captains present took it, and placed it on his head and then on his finger, shedding many tears. Then the King sent for his robe, valued at 200,000 cruzados, the great diamond which was in his ear, and was worth more than 600,000 cruzados, his earrings, valued at more than 200,000, and his great pearls, which are of the highest price. All these royal insignia he gave to his nephew Chica Raya as being his successor, and as such he was at once proclaimed" [1].

8. Barradas says that Venkata died six days after the proclamation of Ranga. But there is nothing in his narrative to show the exact date of his death. We may however aproximately calculate it with the aid of other sources referring to this event.

The Viceroy of Goa, Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, first announced the death of Venkata II to his sovereign on December 31st, 1614 [2]; but the traveller Floris heard of it whilst at

1. Sewell, p. 223-4.

2. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to Philip III, Ilhas, December 31st, 1614, Ap. B, No. XVII. Again on January 21st, 1615, the same news is communicated to the King by Dom Jeronymo. Cf. Ap. B, No. XIII.

Masulipatam on October 25th, 1614: "On the five and twentieth (of October)," says he, "came newes of the death of Wencatadrapa" [1]. Anquetil du Perron says that news of Venkata's end was received on October 28th, but he does not say where such information was received [2]. Consequently we may safely affirm that Venkata II died about the middle of October, 1614. He died most likely in his palace of Vellore, where he resided. John Gourney, a servant of the East India Company, in a letter of July 18th, 1614, calls him 'the King of Vellour' [3]. Floris also, while speaking of his death, refers to him as 'King of Velur' [4]. According to Barradas he was then sixty-seven years old [5].

"His body", continues Barradas, "was burned in his own garden with sweet-scented woods, sandal, aloes, and such like; and immediately afterwards three Queens burned themselves, one of whom was of the same age as the King, and the other two aged thirty-five years. They showed great courage. They went forth richly dressed with many jewels and gold ornaments and precious stones, and arriving at the funeral pyre they divided these, giving some to their relatives, some to the Brahmans to offer prayers for them, and throwing some to be scrambled for by the people. Then they took leave of all, mounted on to a lofty place, and threw themselves into the middle of the fire, which was very great. Thus they passed into eternity" [6]. Floris confirms the whole of this account, and adds that one of the three wives burned with Venkata's corpse was 'Obyama, (Pedobamamba), Queene of Paleacatte (Pulicat)' [7].

9. Venkata II's character was exceedingly attractive, if we are to believe his contemporaries. Du Jarric says that he

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1. Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, III, p. 338.
2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 168.
3. From John Gourney to the E. I. C., Patania, July 28th, 1614, *Letters Received by the E. I. C.*, II, p. 83.
4. Purchas, l. c.
5. Sewell p. 224.
6. Ibid.
7. Purchas, l.c.

was a 'most affectionate King' [1]. Coutinho testifies that 'his character was sweet and meek' [2]. Laerzio mentions 'his natural goodness and great qualities' [3]; Fontebona states that he was 'a lord of great authority, prudence and understanding, as much as any European' [4]. Finally his Mangalampad grant records that he was 'indifferent to other men's wives' [5].

These great personal qualities made him an exceptionally great monarch. All the Hindu sources of his time or posterior to his death unanimously praise him as one of the greatest sovereigns of the Vijaynagara Empire, 'a great and pious sovereign', as recorded in the *Prapannamrtam* [6]. According to the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III 'the wise glorious Venkatapatidevaraya ruled the earth, illumining the ten regions by (his) fame' [7]. The Utsur grant of Ranga III calls him 'brilliant in polity' [8]. Another grant of Venkata III styles Venkata a King 'of brilliant policy, his fame illumining the ten cardinal points' [9]. A grant of Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura records that Venkata ruled 'in wisdom' [10], and the Vellangudi plates of Venkata himself state that 'he ruled the earth with justice', and that, 'as Rama governed the world, he ruled the earth' [11]. The Dalavay Agraharam plates (of the same Venkata) describe him as a good ruler both in peace and in war: "He was a wishing tree to the poor", they say, "he was like the

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 665.
2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap. C, No. V.
3. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXV.
4. From Br. B. Fontebona to Fr. J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap. C, No. XIX.
5. Butterworth, I, p. 33, v. 37.
6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 251.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 20.
8. Butterworth, I, p. 46, v. 23.
9. *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60.
10. Ibid., VI, Cm, 79.
11. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, vv. 31-35.

central gem of the necklace (which is) the city of Aravidu...; he was the best of (the) kings, the foremost of the kings of the race of Atri,...a munificent giver like Kubera....was broad-armed like Kubera,.. a Ramabhadra in battle"[1]. The Mangalampad grant describes the liberality of this monarch even more poetically. It runs: "Behaving like a grand-father to friends and foes, intent on giving refuge to enemies who bowed to him, his splendour was eulogized by all men"[2]. Venkata's generosity was one of his outstanding features; as Fr. Coutinho remarks, 'he was very liberal'[3].

As regards the territory ruled over by Venkata exaggerations too obviously poetic to be misleading are found in these and similar sources. According to the Vellangudi plates 'he ruled the earth from the Himalayas to Setu'[4]; or 'he defeated his enemies from the bridge (Rameswaram) to the Himalayas', according to the Mangalampad grant[5]. If we are to believe the Vilapaka grant, the whole of India was under him[6]; and consequently, he boasts of having had as vassals the Rattas, the Magadas, the Kambojas, the Bhojas, the Kalingas; and the Kings of these countries 'were his doorkeepars' and 'used to praise him'. Such are the extravagant expressions of the contemporary grants[7]; these boastful phrases are copied from the old grants of Venkata's predecessors. Truth is stated once in the Vilapaka grant, where Venkata is said to have 'ruled over the country of Karnata'[8].

10. Impartial history however must admit that Venkatapati Raya II was by far the most illustrious, and beyond doubt

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1. Ibid., XII, p. 186-7., vv. 27-39.
2. Butterworth, I, p. 32, v. 27.
3. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXII.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 300.
5. Butterworth, I, p. 34, v. 40.
6. *Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 371.
7. Vilapaka grant, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270; Vellangudi plates, Ibid., XVI, p. 319, v. 31; Mangalampad grant, Butterworth, I, p. 34, v. 39; Kondyata grant of Venkata III, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 125.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270.

the most powerful King of the Aravidu dynasty. He checked with an iron hand the adventurous expeditions of the Golkonda Sultan, and recovered extensive territories which had been lost in the reigns of both his father and his brother Ranga. Bijapur, agitated with internal dissensions, and the Portuguese Viceroy, mistrusting the friendship with Akbar, formed an alliance with Venkata against the imperialistic plans of that Mughal sovereign. Both events imply great success in foreign policy.

As to the internal welfare of the country, the twenty-nine years of Venkata's reign [1] were years of prosperity and comparative peace. Certainly he had to subdue many chiefs, not only in the beginning of his reign but even in his last years, but it was necessary to proceed in this matter without hesitation : had he done otherwise, the Empire would have come to an end fifty years earlier. Venkata's action in these sad affairs was always crowned with the greatest success. The country immediately subject to him is described by the Jesuits passing through or living at his court, as prosperous and well administered, except during the last years of his reign, when he took very little direct part in the government. His broadmindedness is evident both in his admission of the Jesuits to his court, and in his friendly diplomatic relations with foreign nations. The privileges enjoyed by the citizens of St. Thome and Negapatam and the concession made to the Dutch of the port of Pulicat were the best measures for fostering industry and commerce in the country. They may be considered as the preliminary steps towards the concession of a spot near the city of Madarasa to the English traders by one of his successors, Ranga III.

Moreover Venkata was a great patron of literature, as we shall see in the following chapter. Fine arts were likewise fostered by him, a fact which gives an aesthetic side-light on his interesting character.

Three flaws however stand out conspicuously in the long and glorious life of Venkata. The first is the part he took in the extinction of the Tuluva dynasty. There is now little doubt, that the murder of Sadasiva was committed by him. The

1. The Pandyan Chronicle erroneously assigns 39 years to the reign of Venkata II. See Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I, p. 32.

imprisonment of this unfortunate sovereign by Rama Raya might be in some way justified, but his assassination cannot be vindicated by either private rivalry or public policy.

The second blot in his public character is his retirement from government during the last years of his life. The rule of his favourite wife and her relatives was fatal to the Empire, if we are to believe the Jesuit letters. The discontent of the nobles sprang from this uxorious helplessness, as is recorded by these same witnesses; it most likely prepared the ground for the outbreak of the civil war that followed the death of the sovereign.

But the greatest defect of Venkata as ruler of the Empire of Vijayanagara was his predilection for his second nephew Ranga. The love which actuated the Emperor when he appointed Ranga his successor in spite of the latter's protestations, was no doubt the immediate cause of the subsequent civil war. Its purpose was indeed to place the putative son of Venkata on the throne; but most likely Jaga Raya would not then have found supporters among the nobles for his enterprise in favour of his so-called grandson. Venkata alienated the good will of many grandees and feudatory chiefs of the Empire by the repudiation of Tirumala. This prince was loved by more and stronger chieftains, as stated in the Jesuit letters; and when they saw Tirumala displaced by his younger brother, they naturally showed their disgust of the appointment made by Venkata by joining the rival party. Barradas himself, after recounting Venkata's death-bed appointment of Ranga, adds: "While some rejoiced, others were displeased" [1]. That was the first cry of rebellion against the newly appointed Emperor, Ranga II. It is for this reason that Floris says that, after receiving the news of the death of Venkata, "great troubles are feared; the Hollanders are afraid of their Castle now built in Palecatte" [2]. The subsequent civil war was evidently a foregone conclusion.

Venkata II ought no doubt to be credited with the temporary restoration of the old glory of Vijayanagara; but as the unconscious cause of the civil war that followed his demise, he must be said to have weakened the imperial authority and hastened the ruin of the Empire.

1 Sewell, p. 224.

2. According to Sewell, II, p. 251.

CHAPTER XXV

LITERARY ACTIVITY UNDER THE FIRST ARAVIDU SOVEREIGNS

SUMMARY.—1. General remarks on Southern Indian Literature during this period.—2. Sadasiva and Rama Raya, as patrons of literature.—3. Ramarajabushana Bhattu Murti and his works.—4. Learned people that gathered round Tirumala and Ranga I.—5. Venkata II the greatest patron of literature of the Aravidu Dynasty.—6. Philosophers patronized by Venkata II.—7. Poets and grammarians favoured by the same monarch.—8. Learned people at the court of Tanjore.—9. Other contemporary writers throughout the Empire.—10. The 'grant' poets of the Aravidu family.—11. The University of Madura.—12. Course of Philosophy at the Madura University: a criticism.—13. Minor schools founded by the Jesuits.—14. Progress of the Jesuits in the study of Southern Indian languages.—15. First printed works in Tamil.—16. Extinction of the Nandinagari alphabet.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. *Raghavendravijaya, Lakshmivilasam, Charuchandrodayam, Chandrabhanu Charitram.*—3. Jesuit letters.—4. Du Jarric.

IT is not our purpose here to write the history of the Literature in Southern India during the period covered by this volume. Our aim is merely to give an outline of the literary activity under the first monarchs of the Aravidu Dynasty, showing especially their relations with the poets, philosophers and other writers that flourished round the royal throne as well as under several of the feudatory chiefs of the Empire. Learning was liberally encouraged under the regime of the Aravidu Dynasty, and consequently was highly developed under the kindly shade of royal patronage. According to Prof. Julien Venson, this period is marked out from the others by the publication of the prolific Vaishnava literature. As Mr. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar calls the time extending from 1450 to 1850 the Modern Period of Literature, the different authors and works we propose to enumerate fall under this denomination. During this Modern Period, " the works produced were not confined to

any one subject or department of literature," says Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar. "They embraced Hindu theology, philosophy, ethics, traditions and grammar. Islamism and Christianity also added their contributions to the Tamil literature of this period" [1]. The majority of the works however were written in Telugu; another proof of the dominating power of the Telugu race and language.

2. Literary patronage did not belong exclusively to the Aravidu Dynasty. Several of the preceding sovereigns of Vijayanagara were declared patrons of the literary activity of their subjects; and Sadasiva, the last representative of the Tuluva family, favoured several learned people during the first stage of his Regent's rule. In 1545 the young Emperor granted two villages, one to Srimat Talapaka Tirumalayagaru, called 'the establisher of the two schools of the Vedanta' [2]; and another to Tiruvengalanatha, styled 'the establisher of the path of the Vedas' [3]. Again in 1549-50 Sadasiva granted the village of Mamidipundi to Acharayya, a learned Brahman, who is said to be 'a lion to the elephants, which are his controversialists' [4].

Sadasiva's Regent, the powerful Rama Raya, was also a patron of learned men, more especially of poets, and was, perphaps, even a poet himself. The British Museum plates of Sadasiva state that Rama Raya is 'a King Bhoja in exercising imperial sway over the sentiments of poetry' [5]. One of the protégés of Rama Raya was the great sage Ramanuja, to whom the grant recorded in the British Museum plates was made by Sadasiva at the request of Rama Raya [6]. His guru, Tatacharya, who lived with them for some time at Chandragiri [7], wrote a work entitled *Panchamatabhanjanam* [8]. The Madhva

1. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*, p. 224.
2. Rangacharya, II, p. 783, 337.
3. Ibid. p. 784, 343.
4. Butterworth, I, p. 100, vv. 45-49.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 4.
6. Ibid., p. 2.
7. Cf. Ch. III, No. 9.
8. Gopinatha Rao, *The Arivilimangalam Plates*, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 347.

teacher Vijayindra, the successor of Surendra, was also patronized by Sadasiva's Regent; he was well versed in several arts and wrote works on various religious subjects. Rama Raya honoured him with 'jewel baths' and presented him with several villages [1]. Shashta Parankusa of the Ahobala *matha*, was also prominent among Rama Raya's attendants; he wrote a number of works, such as the *Siddhantamanidipam*, *Panchakaladipika*, *Prapattiprayoga*, and *Nrisimhastava* [2]. This Vaishnava teacher was for a time the agent of Rama Raya [3]. But the highest literary authority of the court of Rama Raya was the poet Bhattu Murti, who received the title of Ramarajabushana, 'the ornament of the court of Rama Raya.'

3. There has been much controversy about the identity of this person. Some maintain that he is not actually one person, but that the name discloses two different poets, one called Bhattu Murti and the other Ramarajabushana. The *Vasucharitramu* is mentioned as the work of the former, and the *Narasabhupaliyamu* assigned to the latter. There can however be no doubt about their identity; the commentators of the *Vasucharitramu*, who flourished shortly after him, say that he wrote the *Narasabhupaliyamu* to illustrate the figures of speech used in his former work, the *Vasucharitramu*. He appears to have been born at Battupalli during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya, though he did not begin to write before 1560. He acquired such fame in the six years that Rama Raya's life was still to last, that in so short a period he earned the most flattering title of 'the ornament of his court'. His great works however were written after his patron's death. He continued to be the court-poet during the reign of Tirumala, to whom his great work, the *Vasucharitramu*, is dedicated. This poem reproduces the story of Vasu, King of Pratishtana, who fell in love with Girikanyaka, supposed to be the daughter of the mountain Kolahala. She had been found by Vasu in the forest while hunting. The work is full of poetical exaggerations; but it was

1. *Raghavendravijaya*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 252.

2. Rangacharya, II, p. 971.

3. 65 of 1915.

nevertheless much admired by its contemporaries, and even became a model for later poets. As a matter of fact, the descriptions of nature are excellent and the diction of the poem undeniably good.

His second work, the *Narasabhupaliyamu,* is dedicated to Narasaraya, a nephew of Rama Raya and Tirumala. This work is a Telugu translation of the Sanskrit *Prataparudriya.* The examples and the portion dealing with the drama were omitted, and substituted by other examples prepared by the poet himself. Another work of his, the *Harischandra-Nalopakhyana,* was composed in his ripe old age, probably during the reign of Venkata II [1].

4. We have already mentioned Tirumala as a patron of Battu Murti. He was indeed a lover of learning. It would seem he was a poet himself; this the title of Bhoja, given him in the Krishnapuram plates, would imply [2]. He enjoyed the company of poets; once Tirumala asked those who were assembled at his court to compose verses describing him, 'charging them at the same time to be true to nature and not to exaggerate'. It was then that Battu Murti compared the one-eyed King with Vishnu [3]. He flattered Tirumala, though at the same time he was true to nature [4].

Tirumala has been supposed to be the author of the commentary entitled *Srutiranjani* on the *Gita Govinda*; but one of the copies possessed by the Maharaja Sarfoji's Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore, professes to have been composed by Lakshmanasuri, a worshipper of Dakshinamurti and a younger brother of Kondubhatta of Cherukuru. Dr. Hultzsch seems to believe that this was the actual author of the commentary, and Tirumala his patron [5]. Lakshmanasuri, called also Ramanandasrama and Lakshmidhara, was a *sannyasi* pupil of

1. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection,* p. 295; S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources,* p. 221; Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks, Ind. Ant.,* XXVII, p. 332-5.

2. *Ep. Ind.,* IX, p. 338, v. 92.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources,* p. 221.

4. Cf. Ch. XI, No. 1.

5. Hultzsch, *Reports on Sanskrit MSS.,* III, p. VIII.

Krishnasrama, whose family came from Cherukuru on the Krishna river. He is the author of the *Anargharaghava* and the Prakrit grammar *Shadbashachandrika*, based on the grammars of Trivikrama, Hemachandra and Bhamaja [1].

Together with his two eldest brothers, Venkatadri is said in the Kallakursi grant to have been patron of poets like King Bhoja [2]. He patronized Tallapaka Tiruvengalanatha, the author of the *Paramayogivilasamu*. The *Svaramelakalanidhi* of Ramamatya was written by Rama Raya's order at the instance of Venkatadri [3].

Ranga I also was a patron of poets. His court poet was Rayasam Vénkatapati, an officer of his court, who wrote the Telugu poem *Lakshmivilasam* [4]. Another of his ministers, named Rayasa Ahobala, wrote a Sanskrit drama entitled *Kuvalaya Vilasa* [5]; while Bhattakalanka wrote the *Sara-traya* at the request of the same King [6].

5. But the great patron of literature among the first monarchs of the Aravidu family was Venkata II. He himself was considered one of the wisest men of his kingdom. We read in the Dalavay Agraharam plates that 'he was comparable to the ocean in the profundity of his learning' [7]; and in the Mangalampad grant he is said to be 'a very moon to the lotuses, which are scholars' [8]. Accordingly Fr. Ricio tells us in one of his letters that "the King has disputations on God, Philosophy, and Mathemetics with the teachers or philosophers almost every day". Sanskrit was the medium in these disputations. Hence Ricio says that though they were present several

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1. Ibid., p. VIII-IX.
2. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 157.
3. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l. c., p. 179.
4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 230.
5. Ibid., note.
6. R. Narasimachar, *The Karnataka Country*, *Q. J. M. S.*, X, p. 256.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 27-39.
8. Butterworth, I, p. 36, v. 59.

times they could not join in the debate, since they understood nothing [1].

Again the Mangalampad grant says that Venkata was 'devoted to the protection of the learned' [2]. An inscription of 1612 at Kommaddi, Cuddapah, records a grant of Venkata II to the learned people of Vuputur [3]. In 1602-3 the same King granted the village of Mangalampad to Sri Rangaraja, son of Jagganatharaya, 'the foremost of the students of the Yajus Sakha', a descendant of the cook of the great Ramanujacharya. This cook had himself been famous for his learning in all the scriptures [4]. The Vilapaka grant was also made to a learned man of Urputur, named Tiruvengalanatharaya; he is said to be 'conversant with the eighteen Puranas' [5].

6. Naturally a great number of scholars always crowded the outer halls of the imperial palace, first at Chandragri, and then at Vellore. One of the philosophers favoured by Venkata was the Madhava teacher Sudhindra. He had travelled over the country refuting the teachings of the other religious sects. He defeated all his opponents at the court of Venkata, and was presented by the sovereign with the conch and other emblems of victory. He lived at the town of Kumbhakonam, and was also honoured by Raghunatha of Tanjore with the ceremony of bathing in gold [6].

A contemporary of Venkata also was the great *guru* Ananda Namasivaya Pandaram, a disciple of the great Chidambaram *guru,* Guhainamasivaya. He was the author of *Paramarahasyamalai*, *Chidambara venba, Annamalai venba* and other works [7]. An inscription of 1592 at Virinjipuram, North Arcot, states that Periya Errama Naik of Punnarrur

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1. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603, Ap. C, No. VII.
2. Butterworth, I, p. 31, v. 23.
3. Rangacharya, I, p. 612, 448.
4. Buttterworth, I, p. 34-6.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270, vv. 47-8.
6. *Raghavendravijaya*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sourees*, p. 252.
7. Rangacharya, I, p. 105.

granted a house for the establishment of a *matha* to this Ananda Namasivaya Pandaram [1]. His work seems to have been to supervise the offerings to be distributed among the Saiva mendicants in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram [2].

But the great philospher of Venkata's court was his own *guru* Tatacharya, called, as previously noted, 'the ornament of the wise' [3]. The philosophical work he wrote was entitled *Sattvikabrahmavidyavilasa.* He composed also a legendary account of a shrine of Vishnu as Panduranga, who is supposed to have sanctified by his presence in this form the town of Pandharpur, on the left bank of the Bhima; this work is named *Pandurangamahatmya* [4]. We have previously spoken of this man and shall return to him in the following chapter, when reviewing the progress of Vaishnavism during the reign of Venkata II.

7. Among the poets of his court we must mention Chennamaraju, who was patronized by the genaral Pemmasani Timma. Once the poet carried from the Emperor to his patron the various insignia of his position. Out of these Pemmasani Timma presented the poet with the white turban, the white chauks, the palankin, and Talichankattu [5].

Another poet of fame was Tenali Ramalinga. He was first introduced to the court of Krishna Deva Raya, and was still one of the court poets during the reign of Venkata II. In order to please this sovereign he became a Vaishnava in his old days, and then changed his name to Tenali Ramakrishna. His *Lingapurana* was written in the early years of his life. He was born, it seems, in the village of Tenali in the Krishna district; and he studied Telugu so earnestly from his boyhood that he

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1. 61 of 1887.
2. 349 of 1913.
3. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, v. 27-39.
4. Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks, Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 327.
5. *Charuchandrodayam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 242.

became a perfect master of this language. His wit and humour are praised even today by students of Telugu literature [1].

1. Subramiah Pantulu, o. c., p. 324–6. This author relates the the following humorous anecdote of the life of this poet: "He was of a humorous character and loved to play practical jokes. The *guru* Tatacharya was a very orthodox man, and was in the habit of visiting a cow-stall every morning as soon as he rose from bed, being taken to the place blind-folded in order to view the cow's excrement as the first object seen during the day, thinking it to be a very meritorious act. His habit was to keep his eyes shut and laying hold of a cow's tail to wait till she evacuated when he opened his eyes to behold the excrement. One morning Ramakrishna got up early, and removing the cow from the stall, stood in its place stark naked. The guru came as usual, and instead of the cow's tail he found a man. His rage knew no bounds, and running up to the King, he laid a complaint against Ramakrishna. The King became exceedingly angry and ordered the poet to be forthwith executed. The executioners carried him to a plain and buried him in the earth as far as the neck leaving only his head above ground, agreeable to the sentence passed on him. They left him thus, intending to return with a certain number of elephants to trample him to death. It so chanced that a hump-backed washerman was passing by, and asked the poet how he came to be in such a predicament. 'My good friend', said he, 'I was born a hump-back like yourself, and having long suffered the scorn of ill-mannered individuals, I applied to a sage who had great knowledge of the occult sciences, and begged of him to relieve me from my misfortune. He informed me that if I should consent to be buried up to my neck in this identical spot, I should be entirely cured of my deformity. In pursuance of his directions, I got some of my friends to bury me here, and as I really believe that I am cured already, I shall be very thankful to you if you will verify my statement'. The washerman did as the poet requested and to his utter amazement found him a well-made man; and as he was a credulous fellow, he believed in all that the poet had said. 'As one good deed deserves another', said the washerman to the poet, 'I now ask you to bury me in this place that I may be cured of my bodily deformity as you have been'. Ramakrishna with a grave countenance buried the poor washerman up to the neck, and after the lapse of an hour went to the King to inform him that by the personal interposition of a god, he had been restored to life. The executioners in the interim had executed the washerman, and were making their report to the King that they had killed the poet according to the royal commands. The whole court were consequently astonished to see Ramakrishna, and as the King really believed that the poet had been killed and restored to life by some god, he promised to forgive him the first hundred crimes that he should commit in future '.

The famous general of Venkata Matla Ananta, was another of his favourite poets. The Sidhout inscription records that he is the author of the well-known Telugu poem *Kakusthavijayam.* He also composed several other works, which were highly praised by scholars [1].

Tarigoppula Dątta Mantri, another of Venkata's officers, was a patron of poets. His brother Tarigoppula Mallana was one of the court-poets ; he gives this information about Datta Mantri in the *Chandrabhanu Charitram* [2].

Ayalu Bhaseara was likewise another of his court poets. Once he was asked by the King to produce some poem. This request he complied with by translating from the Hala Kanada language into Telugu, the work of a man named Retta. This work, entitled *Retta Matam,* is a most heterogeneous medley of different topics, as much related to one author as the rain is to the science of divination, the devils to the sun, moon and planets and the rainbow to the familiar spirits [3].

We must not omit the names of two grammarians who lived at Venkata's court. One of them was Erramadhavarya, who wrote a grammatical work called *Tripadadyotini* and was one of the *pandits* of this sovereign [4]. The other was Battalanka, the author of a work entitled *Sabdanusasana* [5].

8. The example of the Emperors of Vijayanagara in protecting learned people was followed by many of their feudatory chiefs. From Sevvappa Nayaka, the founder of the dynasty, all the Nayaks of Tanjore were most prominent as patrons of philosophers and poets. Sevvappa's greatest protégé seems to have been the famous Madhva *acharya* Vijayaindra Tirtha. He was the disciple, first of Vyasaraya Tirtha of the Vyasaraya *matha*, and then of Surendra Tirtha of the Sumatindra *matha,* from whom he received the robes of *sannyasi,* and whom he succeeded as the thirteenth *guru* and *swami* of the *matha.* He

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources,* p. 248 ; *M.A.D. 1915-1916,* p. 42, No. 19. Cf. *M. E. R., 1916,* p. 148.
2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources,* p. 247.
3. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnée,* III, p. 169-70.
4. Hultzsch, *Reports on Sanskrit MSS.,* I, p. VIII.
5. Narasimachar, *The Karnataka Country, Q. J. M. S.,* X, p. 256.

spent the last days of his life at Kumbhakonam. He earnestly defended the Madhva philosophy against the accusations of Apaiya Dikshita. He also wrote many commentaries on all the important Madhva works. His main books are the following: The *Chakra-Mimansa*, the *Chandrikodahrita-Nyaya-Vivarana*, *Nyayamrita-Vyakhya*, and the *Appayyakapola-chepetika* [1]. In 1576 Sevvapa Nayaka of Tanjore requested and obtained from Ranga I the village of Arivilimangalam as a grant to Vijayindra Tirtha. In the grant Vijayindra is said to be 'like a peacock roaming about the garden called the school of Madhvacharya'; he is said moreover to be 'a bee delighting in the scent, the inner meaning, of the flowers called the Sastras' [2].

Vadiraja Tirtha was the co-student of Vijayindra Tirtha under Vyasaraya Tirtha. Vadiraja was also a great controversialist and commentator of the Madhva works. The account of his many pilgrimages is embodied in his *Tirtha-prabandha*. [3].

Sevvappa's son and successor, Achyutappa Nayaka, was likewise a patron of learning. In 1595 he made a gift of money for the merit of Appaiya Dikshita [4]. This was a good scholar of his court. But the most famous philosopher of his time was his minister Govinda Dikshita. He composed a long epic poem called *Harivamsasaracharitram*, in three cantos. There exists a commentary on it written by Appaiya Dikshita. Govinda Dikshita also wrote a musical work entitled *Sangithasuthanithi*. By order of Achyutappa Nayaka, at the instance of his minister, the *Tiruvaiyarru Puranam* was translated from Sanskrit into Tamil [5].

9. Surappa Nayaka of Jinji was the patron of the famous poet Srinivasa Dikshita, on whom was bestowed the title of Ratnakheta Dikshita, on account of his excellent poetry. He wrote 18 dramas, the most famous among them being the *Bhavanapurushottama*. Besides he composed 60 epics, such as

1. Gopinatha Rao, *The Arivilimangalam Plates*, *Ep Ind.*, XII, p. 344-6.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, vv. 27-44.
3. Gopinatha Rao, o. c., p. 346.
4. 710 of 1904.
5. Kuppuswami Sastri, *A Short History*, p. 7 and 10.

the *Sathakandavijayamu*, several works on rhetoric, and many commentaries [1].

We have already mentioned Appaiya Dikshita as a protégé of Sevvappa Nayaka Tanjore. He was a Tamil Brahman, who has left more than a hundred works [2]. He was also patronized by the Emperor Venkata II at whose instance he wrote a work on Alankata, called *Kuvalyananda* [3]. But this famous Saiva-Advaita philosopher enjoyed the special favour of Chinna Bomma Nayaka of Vellore. In the colophon of his *Sivadityamanidipika* he mentions Chinna Bomma as his patron [4]. This chief performed the ceremony of bathing in gold to honour the scholarship of Appaiya Dikshita. He is said to have with his own hands poured the gold coins out of the vessel [5]. An inscription of Chinna Bomma, of 1582, in North Arcot, records that this scholar constructed the Kalakantheswara temple at Adaipalam [6].

In the petty state of Gandikota we find another poet named Pingali Surana. He was one of the poets of Nandyala Krishnaraja, to whom the work *Kalapurnodayamu* is dedicated. Krishnaraja's successor, Nandyala Timmaya, who as an inscription of 1544 shows [7], was likewise a patron of learned men, also patronized this poet, the author of the *Raghavapandaviya*, the *Garudapurana* and several other works. Mr. Subramiah Pantulu thinks that Pingali Surana 'is by far the best of mediaeval poets' [8].

In the state of Ikeri we must mention Sankanna Nayaka, who composed several literary works [9]; and Vadiraja, a man

1. Ibid., p. 11-2.
2. Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks*, *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 326.
3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 250. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 271.
4. Hultzsch, *Reports on Sanskrit MSS.*, II, p. XII-XIII.
5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 251.
6. 395 of 1911.
7. Rangacharya, I, p. 580, 60.
8. Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks*, *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 328-32.
9. *Sivatattvaratnakara*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 339.

of great erudition and author of several works; one of his pupils is mentioned in a grant of Venkatappa Nayaka of Ikeri in the year 1614 [1].

The Viceroy Tirumala of Seringapatam was also a patron of learning. From an inscription of 1610 we may deduce that Ramanujayya, called 'the establisher of the path of the Vedas, follower of both Vedanta', was one of his officers [2]. In 1614 the same Tirumala made a grant of a village to Vengadeyya Bhatta, styled also an 'establisher of the path of the Vedas' [3].

Prince Chinna Timmayadeva, the brother of Rama Raya Vitthala, must also be mentioned among the patrons of literature during this period. In 1544 he granted twelve *puttis* of land in the village of Tirumalapuram to its learned Brahmans [4]. In the same year he gave the village of Annavaram to the poet Anantaraja [5]. He was also the patron of Dosuri Konerukavi, the author of the *Balabhagavatamu* [6].

10. Besides all the poets hitherto mentioned as living around the Emperors of Vijayanagara, there was a family of poets who always accompanied them, first from Vijayanagara to Penukonda, and later on from Punukonda to Chandragiri and Vellore. We refer to the composers of the imperial grants; which task seems to have been hereditary in a family. The British Museum plates of Sadasiva were composed by one Sabhapati [7], the same who had formerly composed the Unamanjeri grant of Achyuta Raya [8]. But another grant of the same sovereign, of the year 1558, is written by Sabhapati's son, Svayambhu [9]. The Penuguluru grant [10] and the Tumkur plates of Tirumala [11] were also written by

1. 110 of 1901.
2. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Gu, 40.
3. Ibid., 13.
4. Rangacharya, II, p. 915, 67.
5. Ibid., p. 915, 63.
6. Ibid., I, p. 402; II, p. 915.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 2.
8. Ibid., III, p. 151.
9. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 136.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 257, v. 177-178.
11. *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tm, 7,

Svayambhu, who is said to be the son of Sabhapati. The same Svayambhu was the composer of the Arivilimangalam plates [1] and the Naredapalli grant of Ranga I [2]. This Svayambhu had probably no sons, because almost all the grants of Venkata II were composed by a certain Krishnakavi, who seems to be a nephew of Svayambhu, for he professes to be the son of Kamakoti and grandson of Sabhapati. He is the author of the Dalavay Agraharam plates [3], of the Vellangudi plates [4], of the Padmaneri grant [5], and of two grants of 1586 [6] and of 1589 [7]. The Vilapaka grant of the same monarch is written by a brother of Krishnakavi, named Rama [8]. We know of only two grants of this sovereign composed by a person who seems not to belong to the family of Sabhapati; these are the Mangalampad grant [9] and a grant of 1613 [10]. The author of both is called Chidambarakavi, the nephew of Sivasuryakavi.

11. We have not spoken of the literary activity in the city of Madura, which was nevertheless a centre of learning in the South of India. The famous *Sangams* always attracted hundreds of students to the old city of the Pandyas. Fr. de Nobili, an impartial eye-witness, in a letter of 1610, says that there were then in Madura more than ten thousand students. There was not, it seems, a body of professors, corresponding to the staff of our Colleges and Universities; but the students selected the teacher they liked, and under him they were trained to pass their final examination before the *Sangam*. Fr. de Nobili only says that those ten thousand students 'go to different professors'. The same missionary informs us that Venkata II and the

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, v. 65.
2. Ibid., XI, p. 329.
3. Ibid., XII, p. 187, v. 200.
4. Ibid., XVI, p. 329.
5. Ibid., p. 297, vv. 152-153.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 225.
7. *M. A. D., 1921*, p. 31.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 272.
9. Butterworth, I, p. 36, v. 60.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 231.

Nayak of Madura, probably Muttu Krishnappa, had in order to foster study "royally endowed several Colleges for the maintainance of professors and students while they are studying; they are there supplied with victuals, clothes and every thing they are in need of".

The Madura teachers lectured on Philosophy and Theology. The philosophical lectures fell into four groups, corresponding to the four-fold division of this science: Argumentation, Knowledge, Evidence and Faith, In their Theological lectures the teachers explained the Vedanta, discussing the nature and attributes of God, starting from his unity. Fr. de Nobili gives the full programme of the philosophical studies followed in his days at Madura.

12. Part first is on evidence, and deals with invocation or adoration, i. e. whether there be any God to be invoked at the beginning of the work. It contains these three sections:—

1st. Certitude.
- a. Perfect certitude (*Karana*).
- b. Certitude of things which come into existence by generation or production.
- c. The formal aspect of certitude.

2nd. The various species of objective reality, or objects that cause certitude.
- a Local union or contiguity.
- b. Various kinds of union:—substantial, accidental and another which is not seen as not existing physically.
- c. Predicate and subject through negation (*Vipaksa*).
- d. The object of sight.

3rd. The unity and indivisibility of human will, as able to co-ordinate the various perceptions received from the senses.
- a. The brightness of gold (as an instance).
- b. Reflective act through which man knows and understands himself.

Part second is on knowledge, and deals with the following four sections:—

1st. Means of acquiring knowledge (*Pramanas*).

a. Terms of syllogism. (*Probans*).

b. The conclusion (*Paramarsa*).

c. Induction.

d. Fallacies (*Hetvabhasas: viz. Asiddha, Viruddha, Anaikantika, Prakaranasama* and *Kalatyayapadista*).

e. Causes of fallacy.

f. Its refutation.

2nd. Process of knowledge.

a. Subject (*Paksa*).

b. Discursive act.

c. Causative signs.

d. Every kind of sophism.

3rd. Relation (*Vyapti*).

a. On conjunction or relation subsisting between things that are separable or not intimate (*Samyoga*).

b. On privation.

c. On the effect as proceeding from its cause.

d. Conjunction in general (*Samyoga* and *Samavaya*).

e. Final certitude or consequence.

4th. Casuistry.

a. Cause. (*Karana*).

b. Proof by self-evidence.

c. Certitude from similarities (*Upamana*)

d. The multiplicity of causes (*Samavay,* material or constituent cause; *Asamavayi,* not constituent cause; *Nimitta,* efficient cause).

e. The natural power and strength of the cause.

f. The additional power of the cause by superaddition.

5th. Vicious states of mind (*Aprama*)

a. Error. (*Bhrama*)

b. Doubt (*Samsaya*)

c. The variation of supposition (*Tarka*).

d. False conclusion from true antecedents.

e. The god Ruden (Ruthru) (as an instance).

Part third is on authority, and speaks of the following subjects:—

1st. Oral testimony.

a. Adequation of words to thoughts (*Sakti*).

b. Common or universal consent.

2nd. Truth.
- *a.* The union of affections in relation to truth.
- *b.* Desire of truth.
- *c.* Corruption of the sounds.
- *d.* Corruption of the whole world, *viz.* can the whole world be deceived as to a truth?
- *e.* The excellency of the form of verifying truth.
- *f.* Whether what is not actually, could be affirmed.

3rd. Falsehood.
- *a.* Novelty of opinion.
- *b.* Annihilation.
- *c.* Personal imposture, *viz.* lie.
- *d.* How must the sign be.

Such was the programme of philosophy followed in Madura in the beginning of the 17th century according to Fr. de Nobili. It was according to him a profound philosophy, but very different from scholastic philosophy [1]. The course is properly a course of Logic, a kind of Tarkabhasa or science of reasoning, though much confused with psychological and metaphysical notions. This kind of Logic evidently belongs to the Syncretist school consequent upon the attempts of Sivaditya to amalgamate the earlier systems. The influence of the *Tarkabhasa* of Kesava Misra is quite evident, as well as that of the works of Annam Bhatta, who was at this time probably living [2].

13. There was moreover at Madura a small school commenced by Fr. Fernandes. It was supposed to be a primary school for Hindus. A Brahman, who finally became a Christian, was teaching the boys how to read and to write. Fr. Pimenta, when passing through Madura, distributed some prizes among the best pupils of the school [3]. Another similar school was erected in St. Thome at the same time by the same Fr. Pimenta. "A Seminarie was erected at Meliapor (Mylapor)", he says, "of the chiefe Children of the Badagades (Telugus), by the almes of Devout men, and a Schoole of the Malabars adjoyned, in which

1. From Fr. R. de Nobili to Fr. A. Laerzio, Madura, November 2nd, 1610, Ap. C, No. XXXI. Cf. Ganganatha Jha, *The Tarkabhasa.*

2. See Keith, *Indian Logic*, p. 36-41.

3. Du Jarric, I, p. 650.

is taught the Tongue of Tamul (or vulgar) and the Badagan (Telugu) used by the Courtiers" [1]. In 1567 Fr. H. Henriquez began a school of Tamil at Punnei Kayal for the young Goans who were sent there as catechists. Fr. Henriquez himself was teacher and a convert Brahman, named Luiz, was his assistant [2].

At the very court of Chandragiri the Jesuits started another school of this type. It was supposed to be a school for the sons of the Telugu nobles who were living at the court. There was in it a Hindu teacher under the direction of the missionaries, who besides defrayed the expenses of the institution [3]. This school and that of Madura are mentioned again in another Jesuit letter of the following year 1607 [4]; and we suppose they continued in the following years. The Chandragiri school was perhaps transferred to Vellore when the capital was established there, and finally closed at the time of the final departure of the Jesuits.

These were the first attempts of the Jesuits in the South of India to found the institutions of learning which were to have a marvellous development centuries after.

14. The Jesuits had, moreover, earnestly studied the languages of the country; and some of them, as we have already seen in the case of Fr. de Nobili at Madura, mastered them to the general admiration of scholars. Among those who were working at the court of Venkata there were also some who became very proficient in speaking the vernaculars. "In this country of (around) Sao Thome," wrote Fr. Ricio in 1601, "two languages are spoken; one is the language of the country, the same that is spoken on the Fishery Coast and which was the first I learned; the other is the language of the Badaguas (Telugu); and since they are alike, I made quick progress in it; so much so that I was soon able to write a grammar of the same language as well as a summary of the Christian doctrine together

1. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 210. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 638.

2. Besse, *La Mission du Madure*, p. 393.

3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap. C, No. XXII.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ibid., No. XXVII.

with many mysteries of the life of Christ, all written in their own language" [1]. This summary of the Christian Faith was a translation of the one used in Konkani for the neophytes of the peninsula of Salsette, South of Goa, as Fr. Coutinho writes in a letter of the previous year [2].

It seems, indeed, that Fr. Ricio spoke Telugu to perfection; a Jesuit letter of the year 1606 says that he was a good Telugu scholar [3]. Nevertheless he did not venture to learn Sanskrit because of his age, as Fr. Laerzio wrote in 1604 [4]. In the same letter we read that Fr. Coutinho had begun to learn Telugu. In another letter Fr. Ricio himself informs us that Coutinho is making progress in the study of Telugu [5]. He finally became master of it, as is evident from his protractedly sojourn at the court where he had to transact business for the King.

15. A special feature introduced by the Jesuit missionaries of the Empire of Vijayanagara in the literary activity of India, was the casting of Tamilian characters; and consequently the printing of the first books in Tamil. According to Fra Paolino de San Bartolomeo, the first to cast Tamilian characters was the Jesuit Lay Brother Giovanni (Joao) Gonsalves. The same traveller affirms that the first book was printed in the year 1577. It was a summary of the Christian doctrine [6]. Fra Paolino does not name the author of this book; but it seems quite probable to us that Fr. Henrique Henriquez, a zealous Jesuit on the Fishery Coast, and a contemporary of St. Francis Xavier, was

1. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ibid., No. V.

3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ibid., No. XXII.

4. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, January 18th, 1604, Ibid., No. X.

5. From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ibid., No. I.

6. Fra Paolino de San Bartolomeo, *Viaggio*, p. 44. Cf. C. E. K. *Notes on Early-Printed Tamil Books*, *Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 180. Cf. Houpert, *The Madura Mission Manual*, p. 171. Bro. Gorsalves was a Spaniard. Cf. Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, II, p. 67.

at least its translator. Fr. du Jarric states that Henriquez wrote many books in the language of Malabar, *in lingua Malabarica, viz.* in Tamil [1]. Now we know for certain that one of these books was a translation of a Christian Doctrine written in Portuguese by Fr. Marcos Jorge. Sartorius, while in Tranquebar, saw a copy of this book printed in 1679 [2]. This must be a later edition, for Fr. Henriquez had died by that time. Both editiors of this little book were printed at Cochin in the Jesuit College of the *Madre de Deus* [3]. Fra Paolino says, moreover, that a new Tamil book appeared in 1578. It was entitled *Flos Sanctorum*, from which title we may assume that it contained the lives of some Saints [4]. This work seems to have been printed at Punnei Kayal with Tamil type cast by Fr. Joao de Faria [5]. Fr. De Souza, speaking of these early printings adds :—" Those countries were marvelling at the new invention, and pagans as well as Christians tried to obtain these printed books and prized them highly " [6].

16. Finally we must mention that the old South Indian Nandinagari alphabet disappeared during this period. Its latest examples are dated 1600. It was the favourite alphabet of the Madhva sect from the 14th century onwards, especially for writing on palm-leaves. The disciples of this sect were numerous in the Tamil country : Kanchivaram, Kumbhakonam, Tanjore and their surroundings. The characters had been formerly employed exclusively for writing on paper, but were latterly also used for writing on palm-leaves. Later on, after the Maratha conquest of Tanjore, the modern Nagari character was also introduced in the South [7].

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 627.

2. *Notices of Madras and Cuddalore* p. 106. The title of this Christian Doctrine, as given by Sartorius, runs as follows: *Doctrina Christam, a maneira de Dialogo feita em Portugal pello P. Marcos Jorge, da Companhia de Jesu : Tresladada im lingua Malavar ou Tamul, pello P. Anrique Anriquez da mesma Companhia. Em Cochin, no Collegio da Madre de Deus, a os quartoze de Novembro, de Anno de MDLXXIX.*

3. Fra Paolino de San Bartolomeo, l. c.

4. Ibid.

5. Cf. Gomez Rodeles-Cardou, *Early Jesuit Printing in India, J. A. S. B.*, IX, p. 164.

6. Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, II, p. 67.

7. Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, p. 56.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN SRI VAISHNAVISM AND OTHER SECTS

SUMMARY.—1. Brahmanism, Saivism and Vaishnavism.—2. Early life of Ramanuja. Persecution of the Chola King.—3. Ramanuja in the Yadava kingdom and at Seringapatam.—4. Schism of Vaishnavism after the death of Ramanuja.—5. Bukkaraya I settles the differences between Jainas and Vaishnavas. Jain influence at the court of Vijayanagara.—6. Conversion of Emperor Virupaksha to Vaishnavism. Religious conduct of Krishna Deva Raya and Achyuta Raya.—7. Relations of Sadasiva Raya with Vaishnavism.—8. Devotion of Rama Raya and his ancestors to Vishnu.—9. Tirumala and Ranga I patrons of Vaishnavism.—10. Venkata II the greatest Vaishnava Emperor of Vijayanagara.—11. Vaishnavism professed by feudatory chiefs. Conversion of the royal house of Mysore.—12. Several manifestions of Saivism.—13. Influence of the Jains in Kanara.—14. Eclectic and tolerent religious character of Venkata and of some of his chiefs.—15. Religious controversies between Saivas and Vaishnavas.—16. Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji restores the temple of Govinda Raja at Chidambaram. Suicide of the Saiva priests.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Jain inscriptions in Mysore.—3. *Bhashyakara Charitra*, *Venkatesvara Mahatmya*, *Kulottunga Cholan Ula*, *Tiru Narayana Puram*, *Prapannamrtam*, *Varadambika Parinayam*.—4. Jesuit Letters.—5. Du Jarric —6. Della Valle.

THE supreme god worshipped in India for a time during the pre-Buddhist period seems to have been Brahma. Even the Buddhistic scriptures give Brahma preference over the other deities of the Hindu Parnassus [1]. But later on another god, Siva, unexpectedly usurped his place of supremacy. The Saiva system seems to have been introduced in the peninsula from

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1. Cf. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism*, p. 3. Hence the presiding deity of the pre-Buddhistic Hindu temple is Brahma. Cf. Praphullachandra Basu, *Art in Hindu Temple*, *The Holkar College Magazine*, XI, 22.

abroad. According to a legend, the first place in which it was practised was Benares. This was due to the efforts of King Divodasa[1]. Siva's cult was later on fostered through the preaching of Sankaracharya. Nevertheless the superiority of Siva was not to remain long undisputed. A new rival arose in the person of the god Vishnu. Vaishnavism was propagated early during the Scythian and Gupta periods [2] and finally with unusual vigour in the IIth century. The struggle that naturally ensued between the two deities and their respective adherents during this first peroid of the Aravidu dynasty will be the subject of this chapter. But we shall begin with a brief account of the Vaishnava movement, in order to make clear the position and the activity of the Aravidu Emperors in this religious conflict.

2. The founder and propagator of Sri Vaishnavism in the later period was Ramanujacharya [3]. According to tradition, he was born in Sri Permattur, near Madras [4], in 1016-7 [5] and studied at Kanchivaram. Thence he retired to Srirangam where he perfected his system and wrote his religious works [6].

1. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, II, p. III–IV. This author maintains that this system had its origin in Egypt; according to him Siva's bull is nothing but a replica of the bull Apis of the ancient Pharaohs. The worship of the bull passed afterwards from Egypt to Palestine, in the time of the great national schism of Jeroboam (1000 B. C.); from Palestine it migrated to Mesopotamia and finally found its way to Benares in 700 or 800.

2. Rayachaudhuri, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, p. 98–177.

3. Nevertheless in the works of Seven Pagodas (Mahavalipuram), executed by Pallava Princes, there are "mixtures of emblems, weapons and figures belonging to both the Saiva and Vaishnava phases of Hindu Faith". Cf. Branfill, *Descriptive Remarks on the Seven Pagodas*, *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1880, p. 126.

4. Perhaps, on account of this, the Sri Permattur temple is traditionally supposed to be the first Vaishnava temple in Southern India. Cf. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, I, p. LXVI.

5. Cf. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism*, p. 51.

6. According to the account of the aiyangars, the fact that marked the starting point of the religious career of the new teacher is narrated as follows: "One day, it is said, the

His chief work is his commentary on the *Bhagvat Gita*, entitled *Gita Bhasyam* [1]. The *Upanishada Vacya Vivaram*, by Sri Ranga Ramanuja, if it is not written by the same teacher, is an exposition of the same system. "The system of Ramanuja is shown to be consistent with the Vedas and their supplements. This book opposes the *advaita* notion of the non-reality of the visible world; it maintains that it is real" [2]. On account of his subtle doctrine and his holy life, Ramanuja was called later on in a decree of Bukka I of Vijayanagara, 'the king of the kings of ascetics' [3]. He is also termed Bhashyakara, from his explanations of the Vedas [4].

During his stay at Srirangam he made many disciples. One of the most prominent of them was Tiruvarangattamudanar, the hereditary trustee of the Ranganatha temple [5]. But Ramanuja could not live there long. The Chola ruler Karikala, probably the younger brother of Rejendra and father of Kalottunga, who was then Viceroy at Uraiyur [6], himself a

Sankaracharya wanted to take an oil bath. The pupils used to serve their master in turn, and that day it was Ramanuja's. He was rubbing the oil over the bald head of the Sankaracharya, and another student was taking lessons by his side. A stanza was read in which the face of Vishnu was represented to be as red as the lotus. The Sankaracharya at once exclaimed that it was a *luptopama*, or defective comparison, as there were objects surpassing the lotus in their redness, which might have been used for the simile. As an example, he indicated the buttocks of the monkey. Ramanuja, who was a firm believer in Vishnu, cried out. Tears from his eyes dropped on the thighs of the Sankaracharya, and pierced them like molten lead. At once he ordered Ramanujacharya to leave the *matha*, and he accordingly went. And now being a hater of Siva and a special worshipper of Vishnu he started the new religion". Natesa Sastri, *The Origin of the Srivaishnavas*, *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, p. 252. The author explodes this legend.

1. Taylor, *Catologue Raisonnee*, II, p. 45.
2. Ibid., p. 216.
3. *Ep. Carn.*, II, No. 344.
4. *Bhashyakara Cheritra*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 214.
5. See Gopinatha Rao, *Srirangam Plates*, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 85.
6. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 332–3.

staunch Saiva, could not tolerate any longer the spreading of the new sect. According to the Sri Vaishnava chronicles, "it was pointed out to this King that converting the common people by force was not in itself capable of augmenting the numbers to the Saiva faith; and if such a great leader as Ramanuja were to be made to subscribe to the Saiva faith, his followers would join that sect in a body. Ramanuja was summonded before the King; Kurattalvan (Ramanuja's first disciple), apprehending danger to his master, assumed the garb of a *sannyasi*, proceeded to the royal court and represented himself as the famous Vaishnava Acharya. The King then compelled him to sign a declaration that no god was superior to Siva. Kurattalvan boldly contradicted him by telling him that 'larger than Siva was Drona (words which also mean two different measures, of which the latter was the bigger) thus playing upon the double meaning of the words Siva and Drona. The King, enraged at the behaviour of Kurattalvan, ordered both his eyes to be put out immediately, and the order was forthwith carried out. So throughout the remaining part of his life he lived a blind man" [1].

3. Ramanuja himself had to fly from the Chola kingdom, and took shelter in Chandragiri, the stronghold of the Yadava Kings, whose capital was at Narayanvaram. Toya Yadava was then the ruling sovereign. He charitably entertained the exiled *guru* and declared himself the patron of his disciples and his doctrine [2]. Under his patronage Ramanuja visited different holy places, and took from the Saivas several temples and shrines which he dedicated to the worship of different forms of Vishnu. He also founded the temple of Terunarayaria at Terunarayanapur. One of the temples that he took from the Saivas was the famous one at Tirupati [3]. The *Venkatesvara Mahatmya* narrates that, to effect this, Ramanuja agreed with

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 85.

2. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 85.

3. *Bhashyakara Charitra*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 214-5. Naturally the Vaishnava literature claims that all these holy places had formerly been Vaishnava temples. Hence they say that Ramanuja recovered them from the Saivas.

the Saiva priests of the temple to leave in the temple at night a conch and a discus, which were the insignia of Vishnu, and beside them a trident and a small drum, which were the insignia of Siva. The temple was subsequently closed for the night; and on being re-opened next morning it was found that the image had assumed the conch and the discus. Since then Tirupati has been one of the most famous Vaishnava temples in the whole of India [1].

From there Ramanuja proceeded to Mysore. It seems that the prevailing religious faith in the old Karnataka country was Jainism. According to an inscription on the summit of Indragiri at Sravana-Belgola, the Jains came to Mysore in an immigration from Ujjayini (Ujjain), under the leader Bhadra Bahu, in order to escape a dreaful famine [2]. The colossal monolithic statue of the Jain Saint Bhujabalin, that crowns the rocky hill, is a dumb witness to the preaching of Ramanuja; for it was erected between 977 and 984 A. D. by Chamundaraja, the minister of the two Ganga Kings, Narasimha II and Rachamalla II [3]. Many conversions were also effected

1. Wilson, o. c., p. 254. Cf. Ch. XV, No. 9. The conversion of Tirupati from a Saiva to a Vaishnava temple by Ramanuja has lately aroused much controversy. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 215-8. The Vaishnava chronicles are not impartial authorities. We really believe that the fact took place, through a fraud most probably, though formerly only Siva had been worshipped there. Naturally Ramanuja declared that he had re-started the previous cult given there to Vishnu, in order to give solid ground to his desire of establishing the Vaishnava religion there. An enormous amount of literature has been written on Tirupati. See, for instance, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 254-5, 349; Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnée*, I, p. 587, 588, 589, etc.

2. *Ind Ant.*, III, p. 153-4 The inscription may also be seen in *Q. J. M. S.*, III, p. 27-8. Jain tradition avers that the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta, after resigning his crown, was one of those who accompanied Bhadra Bahu to the South. Cf. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 154; Tabard, *Sravana-Belgola*, *Q. J. M. S.*, III, p. 12; F. Deaville Walker, *Ancient Jain Shrines, Wonders of the Past*, III, p. 1034.

3. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions on the Three Jaina Colossi*, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 108. Tabard, o. c. p. 12-31. The statue is 57 feet high. Chamundaraja was not the founder of the present Jain religious settlement, as Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 461, says.

by his exhortations and disputes in the Karnataka country. One of the converts seems to have been King Vitthala Deva (1104-1141) [1]. The *Sri Rangha Mahatmya*, that seems to refer to this period, states that Ramanuja "with his disciples visited the 108 Tripetis (Tirupatis or temples to Tirumal), and disputed with opponents. He taught the Vaishnava creed with great success, visited many places, and at length returned to Seringapatam" [2].

Ramanuja returned from Mysore on the death of Kulottunga I, which seems to have occurred in 1118 [3]. The *Kulotunga Cholan Ula* relates that, during Ramanuja's second stay in the Chola country, Kulottunga II (1123-1146), 'a hater of the god Vishnu', removed the Govinda Raja temple at Chidambaram from the premises of the great Siva temple, and ordered the statue of Vishnu to be thrown into the ocean, 'his original shrine'. Then Ramanuja and his disciples either brought back the same idol or made a new one, and enshrined it in a new temple at Tirupati, with a formal and solemn consecration ceremony [4].

4. After the death of the reformer, his disciples continued his work. Besides the above mentioned Kurattalvan, the one who worked most for this cause was perhaps the famous Sri Vedanta Desika [5]. The *Tiru Narayana Puram* mentions a Vaishnava Aluvar, named Yempramanar, who also made many conversions to his sect in the kingdom of Mysore [6].

Things however were not going too well. Soon after the death of Ramanuja, there arose a schism in his sect. Were the Sanskirit or the vernacular works to be the chief object of study for the Sri Vaishnavas? This question naturally gave origin to

1. Bhandarkar o. c., p. 52.
2. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, I, p. 589.
3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 219.
4. Cf. Brahma Sri R. Raghava Aiyangar, *Chelli Kulotungal Anapayan, Sen Tamil* VIII, p. 301-2; Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 299.
5. Cf. Rangachari, *The Life and Times of Sri Vedanta Desika*, *B. B. R. A. S.*, XXIV, p. 277-312.
6. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, I, p. 510-1.

two different schools. For some time the Sanskrit school prevailed, during which period Vaishnavism was almost restricted to erudite people. But finally the vernacular school came out victorious in the contest. Those were the palmy days of Sri Vaishnavism, when its doctrines were easily spread among all classes of people [1].

5. Naturally the propagation of the new creed was the cause of differences between its adherents and the members of other religious denominations. One of these religious disputes, apparently in Mysore, was appeased by Bukka Raya I of Vijayanagara in 1368. "Dispute having arisen between the Jainas and the Bhaktas (Vaishnavas)", says the royal decree, "the blessed people (the Jainas) having made petition to Bukka Raya about the justice done by the Bhaktas, the King taking the hand of the Jainas and placing it in the hand of the Sri Vaishnavas (here 48 representatives of the Sri Vaishnavas are mentioned, who come from different places, even from Tirupati, Kanchivaram and Srirangam), and declaring at the same time that there was no difference between the Vaishnavas and the Jainas, decreed as follows :—

'This Jaina *darsana* is, as before, entitled to the five great musical instruments and the *kalasa* (or vase). If loss or advancement should be caused to the Jaina *darsana* through the bhaktas, the Vishnavas will kindly deem it as loss of advancement caused to their (own *darsana*). The Sri Vaishnavas will to this effect kindly set up a *sasana* in all the *bastis* of the kingdom. For as long as the sun and the moon endure, the Vaishnava creed will continue to protect the Jaina *darsana*. The Vaishnavas and the Jainas are one: they must not be viewed as different. Tatayya of Tirumula (Tirupati) by consent of the blessed people (the Jainas) of the whole kingdom, will, out of the money levied at the rate of one anna a year for every house according to the door from the Jainas throughout the whole kingdom for the bodyguard to be appointed by Vaishnavas at the holy place Belugula (Sravana-Belgola), appoint twenty ser-

1. Cf. Rangachari, *The Successors of Ramanuja, B. B. R. A. S.*, XXIV, p. 126-8.

vants as bodyguard for the god, and with the remainder of the money have the dilapidated Jinalayas (the Jaina temples) white-washed. In this manner, for as long as the sun and moon last, will they without failure pay every year and acquire fame and merit. He who transgresses this rule shall be a traitor to the kings, a traitor to the *sangha* and the *samudaya*. If an ascetic or chief of a village destroys this charity, he shall incur the sin of having slaughtered a tawny cow and a Brahman on the banks of the Ganges" [1].

In this document preference seems to be given to the Jainas, although Bukka was not a Jain himself. It shows, however, how the King was influenced by Jainism. We know indeed from other lithic records that one of the ministers of Bukka was a fervent Jain : his name was Baichappa. He is mentioned in an inscription at Sravana-Belgola [2]. According to an inscription of 1385 in Vijayanagara itself the same Baichappa and his son Irugappa, himself a Jain also, were ministers of Bukka's successor, Harihara II [3]. Another inscription of 1387-8, in a Jain temple near Kanchivaram, records some donations of this Irugappa, mentioned as son of Vaichaya (Tamil form for Baichappa), General of Vijayanagara and follower of the Jain religion [4]. Irugappa's two sons, named Baichappa and Irugappa, are also mentioned in another inscription of 1422, at Sravana-Belgola, as Jain Generals of Vijayanagara [5] during the reign of Vira Vijaya. His successor, Deva Raya II, was also much inclined to Jainism, as is shown in an inscription of this King, of the year 1426, in Vijayanagara itself [6]. Probably there was built during this period the Jain temple, the ruins of which, on the slopes of the rockey hill that protects the Pampapathi temple of Hampi, are one of the most interesting features of the glorious capital.

1. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Ma, 18. Cf. Ibid., II, No. 344.
2. *Ep. Carn.*, II, SB, 253. Cf. Luders, *Sravana-Belgola Inscription of Irugapa*, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 17.
3. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, p. 161.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 115-6.
5. Ibid., VIII, p. 22.
6. Hultzsch, o. c., p. 162.

6. In spite of this Jain influence, the Vijayynagara sovereigns remained faithful to the cult of Siva till they became disciples of Sri Vaishnavism towards the close of the 15th century.

Their family god was then Virupaksha, the name under which Siva was worshiped in the celebrated temple of their capital. But at that time it happened that two brothers from Ettur, named Nrsimhacharya and Srirangacharya arrived at Vijayanagara. They were learned Vaishnava gurus, and easily persuaded Virupaksha, the then Emperor of the great Hindu Empire, that there was no other god higher than Vishnu [1]. Accordingly the sovereign foreswore Saivism and became a

1. The *Prapannamrtam*, which affords this information, gives the following legendary account of Virupaksha's conversion to Sri Vaishnavism: "Nrsimhacharya and his younger brother, as they entered the city during night, mistook this haunted palace for the King's residence and entered it, Ramayana in hand. At their approach the ghosts remained quiet; and they were admitted into the palace. Entering the palace they found the ghosts holding court with king, council and attendants. On their approach all the ghosts bowed to them and showed them the respect due to scholarship; and the ghost-minister inquired who they were, and for what purpose they had come there. They narrated their whole story, on which the king directed them to come secretly every night and read to them the Ramayana; for which he promised to pay them at the rate of one *nishka* every day. This they did for some time. When they came to the end of the Ramayana, Nrsimhacharya and the brother directed them to make due preparation for the celebration of the coronation of Rama, as is usually the practice even now. On the day of the reading of the coronation portion of the Ramayana, the brothers were presented with many thousands of gold coins and precious stones. After the reading was over, the ghosts narrated to the brothers their story as follows: 'We are all related to Virupaksha, the present sovereign of the country, and have been foully murdered by him in our sleep. This horrible death has forced us to haunt the palace. It was on our account that Virupaksha left this palace and built another, seeking to get rid of us by vows and charities. But all that was of no avail. You two holy people by coming here every night and reading to us the Ramayana have ridded us of our sins, and we now go to the heaven of Santanika'. They took

fervent Vaishnava. On this occasion the majority of his subjects also became followers of Vaishnavism [1].

Virupaksha's successors were also faithful devotees of Vishnu, without however excluding the devotion to Siva, the old protector god of the Empire. Krishna Deva Raya worshipped Vishnu, Siva and also Vithoba (an incarnation of Vishnu known only in Maharashtra) to whom he erected a temple in Vijayanagara [2]. Achyuta Raya made in 1534 a gift of land with a house in the presence of Vitthalesvara and on the banks of the Tungabhadra river, to each of the two Vaishnava Brahmans who recited a *puranam* in the same temple [3]. Then the same sovereign is said to have had a son by the favour of the god of Tirupati; hence the child is called Venkatadri [4]. But the greatest achievement of Achyuta so far as the propagation of Vaishnavism is concerned, was

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leave of the two brothers thus, and went to heaven. The palace became rid of the ghosts and the whole neighbourhood, to its great relief, was rid of the nightly disturbance. They reported the matter to Virupaksha, and Virupaksha, on learning after inquiry what had taken place, summoned the two brothers before him. He inquired who they were and why had gone to the haunted palace. They told him that they belonged to the village Ettur, and were the descendants of the famous Srisailapurna whom the god Venkatesvara called 'grand father', and who explained the Ramayana in twenty-four different ways to Ramanuja. They then gave a full account of their going to the haunted palace and of what had transpired there. On hearing the whole story, King Virupaksha felt great reverence for the Ramayana, the god Rama and the preceptor Nrsimha. The King was soon admitted into the Vaishnava faith by him, for before that time he was a Vira Saiva". S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 71-3.

1. *Prapannamrtam*, l.c., p. 73. The poem says that all the subjects of Virupaksha became Vaishnavas. This is evidently a poetical exaggeration.

2. Cf. Krishnamacharlu, *The Religion of the Vijayanagara House*, *Ind. Ant.*, XLIV, p. 222.

3. 240 of 1910.

4. *Varadambika-Parinayam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 172. Cf. Ch. I, No. 2.

the foundation of the Nayakship of Madura. The Pandyas of those days had remained faithful Saivas, as the Tenkasi inscriptions of Arikesari Parakrama Pandya prove [1]. The Telugu chiefs sent from Vijayanagara to the South were almost always Vaishnavas. The final settlement of Vishvanatha and his successors as rulers of the Pandya kingdom naturally marked the commencement of a flourishing period of Vaishnavism in the southern dominions.

7. Sadasiva, the last representative of the Tuluva family, was also a fervent worshipper of Vishnu. In 1556, he granted 31 villages to the great sage, Ramanuja, *i. e.*, to the sect founded by him—as Dr. Kielhorn understands—to enable the devotees to carry on the regular worship of Vishnu with incense, lights, oblations of food, flowers, dancing, singing, music, etc. [2]. In 1568, at the request of Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura, he granted the villages of Krishnapuram to the temple of Tiruvenkatanatha, at the same place, to keep up the cult of the god Vishnu "who shone in this place under the name of Tiruvenkatanatha, by means of burning incense, by lights, and by the offering of good food, cakes, etc., by means of offerings of several kinds of flowers, by illumination with many lights, by means of dancing, singing and music, with umbrellas, *chauris* on days both ordinary and special, for the car festival at the beginning of each year for the floating festival during the hot season and for the *yatrotsava* [3]. For Sadasiva, to die is 'to attain the Vishnava seat', as may be seen in a grant of his of the year 1558 [4]. In his inscriptions several Vaishnava teachers are mentioned on different occasions: Vallabhacharya, whose eloquent panegyrics as a Vaishnave *guru* are described in an inscription of 1544 at Govada, Guntur [5]; the *sannyasi* Emberumanaru Jiyyangaru, mentioned in another inscription of 1559 at Markapur, Karnul [6]; and finally Parankusa Van-Sathagopa

1. *T. A. S.*, I, p. 93 and 98.
2. British Museum plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 5-10.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 341, vv. 67-69.
4. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186.
5. Rangacharya, I, p. 841, 825.
6. 158 of 1905.

Jiyyangaru, spoken of in three inscriptions of Lower Ahobalam, Karnul, of 1555 [1], 1560 [2] and 1564 [3]. Another inscription at the same place, of the year 1567, mentions a gift from a chief, consisting of some offerings to be distributed among twelve Sri Vaishnava mendicants [4].

Nevertheless, Sadasiva was not so staunch a devotee of Vishnu as to despise the other gods or to force people to join his own sect. He sometimes invokes Siva, Vishnu and Ganesa in the beginning of his grants [5]. Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura, his feudatory, built a temple to Siva in his new city of Krishnapuram [6]. The most characteristic feature of this tolerance is the fact that the Yelahanka Prabhu, Kempe Gowda I, on returning to his dominions from his captivity at Anegundi, adopted the worship of Siva, instead of the cult of Bhire Devar, his family god. He thought, in changing his devotion, that it made no difference, as Bhire Devar was the son of Siva; his offerings and prayers however remained in the same family. His broad and tolerant spirit is moreover shown in the fact that he built a temple to Vishnu at Bangalore [7].

8. Sadasiva's Regent, Rama Raya, was a no less fervent worshipper of Vishnu than his master. The Aravidu family appears to have worshipped Vishnu from ancient times. The names of the majority of its chiefs are names of Vishnu or of his *avataras*. Moreover several of those chiefs are mentioned as staunch Vaishnavas: such are Rajanarendra, called 'a devotee of Vishnu'; Vira Hemmaliraya, stated to be 'a devotee of Murari (Vishnu)', and Ramaraja (the grand father of the founders of the Aravidu dynasty) who 'was poisoned by his

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1. 65 of 1915.
2. 75 of 1915.
3. 73 of 1915.
4. 69 of 1915.
5. See for instance British Museum Plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 12.
6. Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 23. Cf. Ch. XIII, No. 2.
7. Puttaiya, *The Kempe Gowda Chiefs*, *Q. J. M. S.*, XIII, p. 728. Cf. Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 21.

relatives, but by the grace of Vishnu, whose devotee he was, suffered no harm "[1].

The most important act of Rama Raya in connection with Sri Vaishnavism is the restoration of the idol of Govindaraja to the temple of Chidambaram. The *Prapannamrtam*, relates that there was at that time a Vaishnava scholar named Mahacharya who lived in the sacred town of Ghatikachala (Sholighur). He had defeated all the Saiva scholars of Chitrakuta (Chidambaram) among whom was the celebrated Appaya Dikshita. After this victory he grew desirous of re-establishing the worship of Govindaraja in the temple of Chidambaram, abolished since the time of the Chola King, Krimikantha (Kulottunga II) [2]. Rama Raya seems to have been then at Chandragiri with his teacher Tatacharya. Mahacharya went there, and with the assistance of the Emperor and his *guru*, succeeded in restoring Govindaraja's idol to its old place at Chidambaram [3].

It has been said by modern Saivas that the tremendous defeat of Raksas-Tagdi was the punishment inflicted by Virupaksha on the house of Vijayanagara for going over from his cult to the cult of Vishnu. We already find this idea in an old work of the Mackenzie Collection entitled *Jangama Kalajnyana* in which the defeat and death of Rama Raya are given in a prophetic strain by Sarvajna, a Jangama priest, and his son Virupana, staunch devotees of Siva [4].

9. The immediate successors of Rama Raya, however, did not abjure the cult of Vishnu. On the other hand, it seems their devotion even increased. Tirumala is called in his Penuguluru grant 'a repository of nectar-like devotion to Hari (Vishnu)' [5]. According to the colophon of his supposed commentary on the

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1. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv, 5-6 and 9-12.

2. Cf. above No. 3.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 202. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 320.

4. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 272.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 245.

Gita Govinda his favourite deity was Rama [1]. In 1568 he made two grants to a Vaishnava temple at Khairuwalla, Karnul [2]. In the same year he made another grant to another Vaishnava temple in the village of Gundala [3]. The so-called '*three Swami pagoda*', introduced by Tirumala, displays three figures, the central one standing, and the other two seated; they are said to be either Lakshmana with Rama and Sita, or Venkatesvara with his two wives [4]. In either case this coin proves Tirumala's Vaishnava devotion. With Tirumala also a new Vaishnava feature appears in the royal grants. Till the battle of Raksas-Tagdi the grants of the Emperors of Vijayanagara, even after their converson to Sri Vaishnavism, were as a general rule made in the presence of Virupaksha; but after the establishment of Tirumala at Penukonda, his grants were made in the presence of Ramachandra in the temple of its fort [5].

His devotion to Vishnu, nevertheless, was not that of a fanatic who despises all other deities. His grants after the usual 'prostration to the blessed Ganadhipati' start with an invocation to Siva, Vishnu and Ganapati [6]. One *vritti* of the Penuguluru grant was by his order given to the local shrines of Vishnu and Hara (Siva) [7]. Tirumala moreover, in an inscription of 1571, mentions the Saiva teacher, Anantasivacharya, his pupil Ponnambala Dharmasivacharya, and the latter's pupil Immadi Dharmasivacharya [8]. Another Saiva teacher is mentioned in another of Tirumala's inscriptions dated 1577; this *guru* is named Santabhiksha *vritti* Ayyavaru, and seems to have been a man of great influence in Karnul [9].

During Tirumala's reign we hear of two Vaishnava temples

1. Ibid.
2. Sewell, I, p. 93.
3. Rangacharya, III, p. 909, 10.
4. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 64.
5. See for instance the Penuguluru grant, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 256, vv. 44-62.
6. See the same grant, Ibid., p. 254, vv. 1-3.
7. Ibid., p. 245.
8. 497 of 1905.
9. 43 of 1915.

which were improved through the munificence of the devotees. One was the temple of Bhaktapala Venugopala Krishna at Holalakere, which had passed through different vicisssitudes referred to in the inscription. The idol had been set up by one Janamejaya; but, owing perhaps to difficult circumstances, the god was buried in the earth by a certain Vishnuvardha Raya, till it was restored to its old shrine by Krishna Deva Raya. Rama Raya, it seems, enlarged or beautified the temple, which after the wars with the Muhammadans was dilapidated and ruined. Then in 1568 Kamageti Kasturi Medakeri Nayaka set up the ruined god, and repaired the temple with the aid of the Brahmans of the place [1]. Some years later Sri Van Sathagopa Swami established the idols of the Vaishnava *Alvars* at the temple of Purushtamam (Jaganath) [2].

Ranga I followed the example of his father in his devotion to Vishnu. He is said in the Maredapalli grant 'to have borne in his heart Sarngadhara, i. e., his god Vihnu' [3]; and in the Arivilimangalam plates he is called 'worshipper of Vishnu' [4]. Nevertheless Ranga, as much of an eclectic as Tirumala, invoked Siva, Vishnu and Ganesha at the beginning of his grants [5]. During his time the Hande chiefs of Anantapur, who were bigoted Saivites, co-operated with Ibrahim Shah of Golkonda in the sack of the temple of Ahobalam [6].

10. Ranga's successor, Venkata II, was the great Vaishnava Emperor of the dynasty. His fervent devotion to Vishnu was the cause of a great change introduced in the grants issued by him. During the third dynasty, and even during the reigns of Tirumala and Ranga of the Aravidu family, the Emperors had commenced the practice of invoking Vishnu together with Siva at the beginning of their grants,

1. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Ht, 7.

2. Ahobalam inscription, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 233.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 328, v. 35.

4. Ibid., XII, p. 357, v. 20.

5. See for instance the Maredapalli grant, *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 327, vv. 1-3, and the Arivilimangalam plates, Ibid., XII, p. 356, vv. 1-3.

6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 233-4.

but still they used to sign the same grants with the solitary word 'Sri Virupaksha', the name of the guardian god of the old Empire. "The Vijayanagara throne", says Mr. Krishnamacharlu in this connection, "was still believed to be under the blessed guardianship of the wings of Virupaksha" [1]. According to the *Prapannamrtam* the Emperor Virupaksha after his conversion "gave up the use of the old seal with the sign manual Virupaksha on it, and adopted a new one on which was inscribed the name 'Sri Rama'" [2]. But his successors had resumed the old seal of Virupaksha. Venkata II broke this tradition for ever: Virupaksha was no longer the protector of the Empire; Vishnu had taken his place. Accordingly all the grants of Venkata bear the following signature: 'Sri Venkatesa' [3], one of the forms of Vishnu worshipped at Tirupati. The very beginning of his grants, moreover, shows more signs of the Vaishnava faith than the former grants. The Padmaneri grant, for instance, starts with an invocation to Venkatesa, the feet of Rama Vishvaksena and the Moon [4]. In the Vellangudi plates the invocation is addressed to Rama's feet, Vishvaksena and Vishnu [5]. The beginning of the Mangalampad grant is as follows: "I seek refuge in that pair of substances (Rama's feet), by virtue of whose touch a stone became the gem of women and which is deserving of worship by the gods" [6]. Besides, almost all his grants are made in the presence of Venkatesa at Tirupati.

We have still several other instances of Venkata's devotion

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1. Krishnamacharlu, *The Religion of the Vijayanagara House, Ind. Ant.*, XLIV, p. 221.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 73. We have not seen any grant of Virupaksha with the colophon mentioning *Sri Rama*. His ordinary signature was, it seems, *Sri Harihara*. Cf. his Alampundi plate, *Ep. Ind.*, III p. 229, and Sornikavur plates, Ibid., VIII, p. 305.

3. See for instance the Vellangudi plates, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 329, and the Pandmaneri grant, Ibid., p. 297, v. 159.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 296.

5. Ibid., p. 318.

6. Butterworth, I, p. 26, v. 1.

to Vishnu. In 1590 he made a grant to a Vaishnava shrine under the management of one Krishna Das [1]. In 1597, at the request of Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura, he granted two villages in the Madura district to several Vaishnava Brahmans [2]. On another occasion the King made arrangements for celebrating a festival in the temple of Alagiyarama Perumal [3]. Venkata's gold coin, called *Venkatapati pagoda*, shows on the obverse Vishnu standing under an arch, while the reverse bears this Nagari legend: *Sri Venkatesvaraya Ñamah*, adoration to the blessed Venkatesvara [4]. Another coin of Venkata shows the figure of Hanuman advancing to the right, with the same legend on the reverse [5].

11. Vaishnavism was also openly professed outside the royal palace. Venkata's nephew Tirumala, the Seringapatam Viceroy, starts one of his decrees with the suggestive words: 'Obeisance to Ramanuja' [6]. The poet Matla Ananta in the prologue of his works invokes the blessings of the god of Tirupati, and in the colophon to the same work calls himself disciple of the Vaishnava teacher Tirumala Tolappa Acharya [7]. In 1609 a gift of seven gold-gilt pinnacles for the big *gopura* of the Vira Narasimha temple at Diguva Tirupati, and of two fly-whisks and an umbrella of white silk with a gilt *kalasa* over it, was made by some merchants of Aravidu [8].

But the most interesting event in connection with the propagation of Vaishnavism, is the conversion to this sect of the royal house of Mysore. We do not know for certain when this conversion took place; we are only aware that the early Rajas

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1. Ranghacharya, III, p. 1497, 457.
2. Ibid., II, p. 1002, 91.
3. 385 of 1905.
4. Hultzsch, *The Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara*, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 308. Cf. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 64.
5. Rangachari, *Some Inedite Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara*. *Ind. Ant.*, XXIII, p, 26.
6. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Gu, 40.
7. Cf. Krishnamacharlu, *The Penugulura Grant Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 246.
8. 67 of 1915.

of Mysore were devotees of Siva, and that shortly after this period they appear as worshippers of Vishnu [1]. "But many circumstances afford room to conjecture", says Wilks, "that it was about this time (after Raja Wodeyar took possession of Seringapatam) that they adopted the insignia and ceremonies of the sect of Vishnu" [2].

12. The whole Empire however was not Vaishnava. Several feudatory chiefs still adhered to their old family sect. One instance is that of the Nayaks of Vellore, who with their families remained faithful to Siva. Lingama Nayaka, the last known member of this dynasty, is said in the Vilapaka grant of Venkata II to 'be engaged in establishing lingas of Siva'; 'his prize", says the same grant, "was the works relating to Siva' [3]. Another family very faithful to Siva was that of the Nayaks of Ikeri. Among their titles there are two that refer to their devotion: they are called 'establishers of the pure Vaidika Advaita doctrine' and 'devoted to the faith in Siva and the *guru*' [4]. In their zeal they seem to have converted many of the Jains to the Saiva creed [5]. We know likewise of a grant of 1592 for the services of a *matha*, issued by Keladi Venkatappa Nayaka, son of Sadasiva Nayaka II and grandson of Sadasiva Raya Nayaka; the grantor is called in the grant 'feudatory of Venkatapatiraya, devoted to Siva and *gurus*' [6]. The chiefs of Ullal were likewise devotees of Siva; Pietro della Valle says that the family god of the Queen he met during his travels was Putia Somnata [7].

There exist moreover several other grants of petty chiefs announcing their liberality to the temples and to the mendi-

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1. Cf. Thompson, *Religion in the Mysore State, Q. J. M. S.*, I, p. 135.
2. Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p. 43. Cf. Krishna Row, *A Brief History of Mysore*, p. 10; Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 364.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 271.
4. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 157.
5. Cf. Burnell, *On the Colossal Jain Statue at Karkala, Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 353; Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 62.
6. *M.A.D., 1923*, p. 106–7.
7. Della Valle, II, p. 341.

cants of Siva. In 1612 Nanja Raja Odeyar made some offerings to Siva [1]. In 1593 Immadi Rama Raja Nayaka, son of the chief of Hadinand-sima, Devappa Gowda, made also a grant to Siva, recorded in a stone charter he gave to Channa Basavaraja Deva, disciple of Sivaratreya Deva [2]. In 1588 Vaiyappa Krishnappa Nayaka ordered 30 rice offerings to be distributed among Saiva mendicants [3].

13. Furthermore the Jains were still powerful in the Kanarese Viceroyalty. The gigantic statue of the Jain Saint, Bhujabalin, set up at Enura (Venur) in 1603-4 is a clear proof of this. It was erected by the chief Timmaraya of the family of Chamunda, the younger brother of Pandya, son of Queen Pandyaka and nephew and son-in-law of Rayakuvara. He is said to have made the image at the request of the Jain priest Charukirti, who was the pontiff of Belgula (Sravana-Belgola). On the opposite side of the colossus there is another inscription, according to which Timmaraya belonged to the lunar race and was ruling over the kingdom of Punjalike [4].

There are still other instances of the widespread influence of the Jains in the Kanarese country during the reign of Venkata II. In 1591 a Kanarese Prince named Kinniga Bhupala made a grant for the purpose of maintaining a Jain temple [5]. In 1586 the Karkala chief Bhairava II built a Jain temple on the Chikkabetta hill at Karkala, set up the images of the three Tirthankaras, Ara, Malli, and Munisuvrata on each of the four faces of the temple, and consecrated at the same time the images of the 24 Tirthankaras and those of the Jains together with those of Brahma and Padmavati. This temple, built at the advice of the Jaina teacher Lalitakirti, was called the temple ' of the three jewels ' [6]. Its *chaturmukhabasti* indeed shows down to this day three nude statues of the

1. Ibid., 30.
2. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ch, 135.
3. 339 of 1913.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 113-4. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 37.
5. Sewell, II, p. 14.
6. Karkala inscription of Bhairava II, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 124-5.

Tirthankaras strongly resembling each other, carved in black stone, and surrounded by many other idols also naked.

14. This variety of sects within the limits of the Empire shows the eclectic character of the Emperors of Vijayanagara, so inconsistent with the exclusive spirit of orthodox Vaishnavism [1]. The two most prominent representatives of this characteristic eclecticism of the Vijayanagara House are Krishna Deva Raya and Venkata II. The latter was really a fervent dovotee of Vishnu, but he also favoured the cult of Siva when occasion arose. In 1588, for instance, he gave 20 offerings to be distributed among the Saiva mendicants in the Bhisesvara temple at Chidambaram [2]. Similarly there is a plate of his of the year 1596 proceeding from Cuddalore, bearing a large number of mythological figures of both the Saiva and Vaishnava sects; such are for instance Ganesa, the lingam, Hanuman, Narasimha, etc. [3].

The most striking specimen of this eclecticism is given in an edict issued some years before the accession of Venkata in 1561, by Krishnappa Nayaka, the feudatory chief of the North Kanara, when speaking of some differences between Saivas and Vaishnavas. It runs as follows: "Obeisance to Ganadhipati. May it be fortunate. Praise of Sambhu. There being some who say that besides Hari (Vishnu) there is no god in the world and some who say that besides Hara (siva) there is no god in the world; to remove those doubts of mankind, they assumed with affection in Kudalur the glorious double form of Harihara: may he protect us.

"Be it so. To the chief lord of all worlds, the chief god and supreme lord of the gods, destroyer of the contradictory statements of Saivas, Vaishnavas and others, the bestower of a boon on Markkandeya, the single incarnation of Hari and Hara, tearer asunder of the pride of Guhasura, his two lotus feet placed on the chest of Guhasura, worshipped by the three worlds of heaven, earth and hell, bestower of their desires on the faithful, granting the gift of being without fear to the

1. Cf. Raychauduri, o. c., p. 116.
2. 349 of 1913.
3. Sewell, II, p. 9; Rangacharya, I, p. 154.

dwellers in the auspicious forest Guharanya, residing on the eastern bank of the Tungabhadra, boon-lord of Manigapura, the god Harihara" [1].

15. In spite of this eclecticism and toleration, we cannot doubt but that the reign of Venkata II marked a period of proselytism towards the spreading of Vaishnavism. The *Prapannamrtam* tells us that, "when Venkata became a disciple of Tatacharya, a large number of the subjects became Vaishnavas" [2]. Tatacharya indeed was an ardent Vaishnava missionary, and under the patronage of Venkata contributed largely to the progress of his creed.

This proselytism produced warm disputes at the court itself of this sovereign among the Saiva and Vaishnava teachers. One of these controversies took place between Tatacharya and the court poet Appaya Dikshita. This scholar was a very fervent Saiva. He chanted four verses in honour of Siva wherever he went, and by his zeal and preaching reconverted many Vaishnavas to their former faith in Siva. In the religious disputation with Tatacharya, Appaya Dikshita was victorious. Hence the royal *guru* cherished a mortal hatred against him and even, they say, actually plotted to put an end to his rival's life [3].

Another of these religious controversies took place in Kumbhakonam between the Vaishnava philosopher Vijayindra Tirtha and a famous Vira Saiva *guru* of that *matha*. The condition under which it was held was that if the Saiva *guru* succeeded Vijayindra Tirtha would join his *matha*; but if the latter triumphed, the Saiva *guru* would make over his *matha* with all its belongings to his opponents. The discussion lasted eleven days, at the end of which term the Saiva *guru* declared himself vanquished. Consequently Vijayindra Tirtha entered into possession of the *matha* at Kumbhakonam [4].

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1. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Dg, 18. The edict evidently speaks of the temple at Harihara 'on the eastern bank of the Tungabhadra'.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 251.

3. Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks*, *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 326.

4. Gopinatha Rao, *Arivilimangalam Plates*, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 346.

Vijayindra Tirtha had also several discussions with Appaya Dikshita. When the latter wrote some works condemning the Madhva philosophy, Vijayindra Tirtha wrote several works against him refuting the Saiva arguments [1].

This antagonism between the two sects which existed in some quarters of the Empire and specially in the Tamil country, finds expression in a poem existing in the old library of Fort St. George. This work deals with the marriage of a Brahman's daughter with the god Ranganathaswami of Srirangam, but incidentally refers to the sectarian disputes between Saivas and Vaishnavas in the South of the Empire [2].

16. A notable instance of this struggle between the two sects is the lamentable event that took place at Chidambaram in the year 1597, while Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji, himself a staunch Vaishnava, was there superintending the improvements which he had ordered at the temple of Govinda Raja within the great Saiva temple. Fr. N. Pimenta, who passed through Chidambaram at this time, narrates in one of his letters that on this occasion a great controversy arose as to "whether it were lawful to place the Signe of Perimal in the Temple at Cidambaran. Some refused, others by their Legats importunatly urged, and the Naichus of Gingi Decreed to erect it in the temple". These last words of Pimenta indicate that, after the restoration of the idol to the temple by Rama Raya, it had again been removed and its shrine probably destroyed. In order to re-instal it with due honour, Krishnappa Nayaka ordered the old shrine to be repaired, and even perhaps enlarged.

This was the cause of the whole trouble. "The Priests of the Temple which were the Treasurers", continues Pimenta, "(were) withstanding, and threatening if it were done, to cast down themselves from the top. The Brachmanes of the Temple, sware to doe the like after they buried the former, which yet after better advice they performed not". But Krishnappa Nayaka was unmoved by any such threat; the recon-

1. Ibid.
2. Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, I, p. 646.

struction of the shrine was carried on without hesitation. Whereupon the priests, climbing one of the high *gopurams* of the temple, started to cast themselves down while the Nayak was in the temple. "About twentie had perished in that precipitation on that day of our departure", says Pimenta; " whereat the Naichus angrie, caused his Gunners to shoot at the rest, which killed two of them, the rest wandring in uncertaine places. A Woman also was so hote in this zealous quarrel that shee cut her owne throat ". Naturally Krishnappa Nayaka accomplished his purpose in spite of this opposition [1].

This brings us to a point in the history of Vaishnavism and Saivism, where we see the opposition between them at fever-heat. But the struggle between the two sects was practically over at the end of Venkata II's reign. Although the sect of Siva still counted many adherents, Vaishnavism had won the victory.

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1. From Fr. N. Pimenta to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 208-9. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 637; Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 169.

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APPENDIX A

THREE CANTOS OF A PERSIAN POEM IN PRAISE OF HUSAIN NIZAM SHAH OF AHMADNAGAR

(P. P. P.)

لشکر آراستن حسین شاه بغرم غزای کافر و روان شدن بجانب بیجانگر

حسین شاه آن بادشاه دلیر . . که پیشش بود همچو روباه شیر ۱

سرافرازان و گردنکشان . . که بروی کنند آفرین انس و جان ۲

خداوند شمشیر و تخت و کلاه . . چو تابنده خورشید با فر و جاه ۳

بآن حشمت و جاه و فرزانگی . . بآن هیبت و زور و مردانگی ۴

نبود و نیامد کسی در جهان . . جهاندار و فیروز با غرو شان ۵

چنان داشت شمشیر و بازوی زور . . کزو در جهان بود غوغا و شور ۶

بدل غیر از این آرزوئی نداشت . . جز این میل خاطر سوئی نداشت ۷

که با کافر او بیجانگر . . کند جنگ و کوته کند شور و شر ۸

که از دست آن کافر نابکار . . مسلمان بگشته بودند زار ۹

همی خواست دایم ز لطف خدا . . که او را میسر شود این غزا ۱۰

زوان گشته القصه از بهر جنگ . . سوی ملک بیجانگر لید رنگ ۱۱

بیاراست لشکر بغرم نبرد . . بدان سان که کس جمع لشکر نکرد ۱۲

HUSAIN SHAH ORGANISES AN ARMY WITH THE INTENTION OF WAGING WAR AGAINST THE INFIDEL, AND HIS MARCH TOWARDS BIJANAGAR

1 & 2. Husain Shah, that brave king, before whom the lion is like the fox, is the chief of the exalted and mighty men; because on him men and genii bestow ' Afareen's (*i.e.* Bravo !)

3. Lord of the sword, the throne, and the crown; as resplendent as the sun; with honour and diginity.

4 & 5. With his pomp and grandeur and wisdom, with his awfulness and strength and bravery, none existed and never came into this world. World-possessor and victorious; with honour and respect.

6. He had such a sword and such a powerful arm, that on account of him there was a tumult and uproar in the world.

7 & 8. In heart he cherished no other desire, and his inclinations were bent towards no other direction, but to fight against the infidel Rao of Bijanagar and subdue sedition and wickedness.

9. Because many Moslems had suffered oppression at the hands of the wicked infidel.

10. He always asked of the kindness of God only to make him successful in the battle.

11. In short, without delay, he marched towards the kingdom of Bijanagar in order to fight.

12. He arrayed his army with the intention of fighting, in a manner that none had mustered army.

جنگ کردن حسین شاه با رامراج که پادشاه بیجانگر بود و فتح کردن

سحرگاه چون مرغ بگشود بال . . . قهی شد دماغ سپهر از خیال ۱

بغول سیه بانگ برزد خروس . . . درآمد بغریدن آواز کوس ۲

چو کافر خبر یافت که آمد سپاه . . . جهان گشت بر چشم کافر سیاه ۳

یکی لشکر انگیخت از تیر و تیغ . . . فروزنده برقش برآمد به میغ ۴

ز نعل ستوران پولاد میخ . . . بجنبش درآمد زمین هم ز بیخ ۵

ز بس نعره کامد برون از کمین . . . فرو اوفتاد آسمان بر زمین ۶

ز شوریدن بانگ چون رستخیز . . . بوحشی بیابان درآمد گریز ۷

چو بر جنگ شد ساخته سازشان . . . گریزان شده دیو از آوازشان ۸

دو ابر از دو سو در خروش آمدند . . . دو دریای آتش بجوش آمدند ۹

چنان آمد از هر دو لشکر غریو . . . کزان هول دیوانه شد مغز دیو ۱۰

چو لشکر بلشکر درآورد روی . . . میان زد برون آمد از هر دو سوی ۱۱

درآمد بغریدن ابر سیاه . . . ز ماهی تف تیغ برشد بماه ۱۲

ز پویه که پی بر زمین میفشرد . . . در اندام گاو استخوان گشت خرد ۱۳

چو خصمان گرفتار خواری شدند . . . دلیران کافر بزاری شدند ۲۹

بزخم سنان کافر را مراج . . . سرش بر زمین خورد افتاد تاج ۳۰

ز افتادن کافر از زخم تیز . . . تو گفتی برآمد یکی رستخیز ۳۱

بیک اشارت چو آن شاه کرد . . . سرش را بریدند و پرکاه کرد ۳۲

ز بس کشته بر کشته مردان مرد . . . شده راه کشته بر ره نورد ۳۳

ز بس غارت آوردن از بهر شاه . . . غنیمت نگنجید در عرصه گاه ۳۴

چو شاه آن متاع گران سنج دید . . . چو دریا یکی دشت پر گنج دید ۳۵

شد از فتح کفار و تاراج گنج . . . خوشان و برآسوده از راه و رنج ۳۶

بعبرت در آن کشتگان بنگریست . . . بخندید پیدا و پنهان گریست ۳۷

که چندین خلایق در این دار و گیر . . . چرا کشت باید بشمشیر و تیر ۳۸

گنه گر بر ایشان نهم ناروا است . . . ور از خود خطا بینم این هم خطاست ۳۹

فلک را سر انداختن شد سرشت . . . نشاید کشیدن سر از سرنوشت ۴۰

که داند که این خاک انگیخته . . . بخون چه دلها ست آمیخته ۴۱

بیا ساقی از می مرا مست کن . . . چو می در دهی نقل در دست کن ۴۲

از آن می که دل را بدان خوش کنم . . . بدوزخ درش طلق آتش کنم ۴۳

روارو زنان تیر فولادسای . . . در اندام شیران فولاد خای ۱۴

ترنگ کمانهای بازو شکن . . . بسی خلق را برده از خویشتن ۱۵

صف ژنده پیلان هیجا شکوه . . . میان سپاه آمده کوه کوه ۱۶

مژه چون سنان چشمها چون عقیق . . . ز خرطوم تا دم در آهن غریق ۱۷

ز بس ژنده پیلان بصف اندرون . . . شد از پای پیلان زمین نیلگون ۱۸

غریو دو لشکر گذشت از فلک . . . بدان سان که کر گشت گوش ملک ۱۹

ولی کشته کافران بیشتر . . . دل کفر ز اسلام دلریشتر ۲۰

حسین شاه آن بادشاه جهان . . . کزو در حذر بوده شیر ژیان ۲۱

بیاراست بازار ناورد را . . . برانگیخت آب روان گرد را ۲۲

حمایل یکی تیغ هندی چو آب . . . بگوهر تر از چشمهٔ آفتاب ۲۳

ز فولاد هندی کله بر سرش . . . که گوهر برشک آمد از گوهرش ۲۴

نشسته بر بارگی کوه وش . . . بخوشحالی و تندی و روی خوش ۲۵

بشمشیر کین چون در آورد دست . . . ببازار کافر در آمد شکست ۲۶

دل از جای شد کافر شوم را . . . چو از کورهٔ آتشین موم را ۲۷

حسین شاه را فتح شد رهنمون . . . بزنهار خواهی در آمد زبون ۲۸

HUSAIN SHAH'S WAR AGAINST RAM RAJ, THE KING OF BIJANAGAR, AND HIS VICTORY

1. Early morning when the bird stretched its wings, the brain of the sphere (*i. e.* sky) became void of pictures (*i. e.* stars).
2. The cock shouted to the black demon (*i. e.* the night) ; the clamour of the drums began roaring.
3. When the infidel came to know that the army had approached, the world appeared dark to the eyes of the infidel.
4. He gathered an army (equipped) with arrow and sword. Its burning flash reached the clouds.
5. On account of the tramplings of the steel-shod animals, even the earth shook to its foundation.
6. On account of the excessive shouts that came from the ambush, the sky dropped down to the earth.
7. From the resurrection-like clamouring of noise, the beasts of the desert took to flight.
8. When their musical instrument was tuned for war, (or when their weapons were ready for battle) the devil ran away on account of their shouts.
9. Two clouds from two sides began clamouring ; and two seas of fire came to ebullition.
10. From both the armies arose such a tumultuous noise that the horror of it made the brain of the devil mad.
11. When the armies stood facing each other, the hero came forward from both the sides.
12. The black cloud began to roar (the reference is to the army clad in iron). From the fish (in the sea) the flash of the sword reached the sky.
13. On account of the galloping which pressed the foot on the ground, the bones of the limbs of the

bullock got crushed. (The reference is to the belief that the earth stands on the back of the bullock that stands on the back of the fish which is in the sea).

14. The weapon-shattering arrow, coming and going successively, pierced through the limbs of steel-devouring lions (warriors).

15. The twangs of the arm-breaking bows made unconscious many a man.

16. The rows of bulky elephants as dreadful as war, entered the army like mountains.

17. Eye-lashes, like spear, eyes cornelian-like; from trunk to tail immersed in iron.

18. From the many rows of stout elephants, the earth became indigo coloured on account of their tramplings.

19. The clamour of the two armies passed through the sphere in such a way that the angel became deaf.

20. But the number of persons killed was greater on the side of the infidels; and the heart of Infidelity was more injured than Islam.

21 & 22. Husain Shah, that monarch of the world, whom the fierce lion feared, decorated the market of battle, (and) stirred the flowing water.

23. As a sword-belt, an Indian sword like water; in lustre greater than the fountain of the sun.

24. A helmet of Indian steel on his head, so lustrous that (even) jewel was envying it.

25. Seated on horseback, like a mountain; happy spiritual and cheerful.

26. When he caught hold of the sword of malice, there came about defeat in the market of the infidel.

27. The disgraceful infidel lost his heart as the heart of wax from the furnace.

28. Success became the guide of Husain Shah. The captives asked for refuge,
29. When the enemies were involved in comtempt, the brave infidels showed humility.
30. With the blow of the spear the head of the infidel Ram Raj fell to the ground, and (also) his crown.
31. On account of the falling of the infidel (struck) with a sharp below; you may say, appeared resurrection.
32. With a single sign that the king made, his head was cut and stuffed with straw.
33. From the slain over slain of valiant men, the road was blocked to the wayfarer.
34. On account of (the excessive) booty which they brought to the king; the wealth could not be lodged in the plain.
35. When the Shah saw that precious and weighty commodity, like the sea, (he saw) a desert full of treasure.
36. Because of the success over the infidels and the plunder of treasure, he became joyful, and remained at ease from travelling and distress.
37. For the sake of warning he glanced at those slain Apparently he laughed, (but) wept in-wardly.
38. "Saying:—Why is it necessary to kill so many creatures in this strife with sword and arrow?
39. "If I attribute the fault to them, it is unlawful. If I regard the crime on my part, that also is a mistake.
40. "It is in the nature of the sphere to cast down head; it is not possible to draw the head from destiny.
41. "Who knows with what blood of heart this heap of dust is mixed."

42. "Oh cupbearer! intoxicate me with wine; (and) when you have given me wine, place in my hand sweets."

43. (Give me) "From that wine with which I may gladden my heart; (and) in hell make it a tale (preventive) against fire."

بازآمدن حسین شاه از غزای کافر و فتح بیجانگر بشهر احمدنگر و رحلت کردن او از دار الفنا بدار البقا

گذارندهٔ داستان دری . . . چنین داد نظم گذارش گری ۱

که چون فرخی شاه را گشت جفت . . . چو گلنار خندید و چون گل شگفت ۲

در گنج بگشاد بر گنج خواه . . . توانگر شد از گنج و گوهر سپاه ۳

غنی کرد گردن کشان را به گنج . . . ز گوهر کشی لشکر آمد به رنج ۴

بفرمود تا کوس بنواختند . . . وز آنجا سوی ملک خود تاختند ۵

روارو زنان نای زرین زدند . . . سراپرده بر پشت پروین زدند ۶

شهنشه بزد کوس و لشکر براند . . . سر رایت خود بگردون رساند ۷

پس آنگه روان شد بفتح و ظفر . . . بریده سر راو بیجانگر ۸

سوی ملکت خویش و آرامگاه . . . که بد شهر احمدنگر تختگاه ۹

حسین شاه آن شاه فیروزمند . . . برافراخته سر بچرخ بلند ۱۰

نشسته بر مرکب خاص خویش . . . خرامنده بر اسپ رقاص خویش ۱۱

بموکب روان لشکر از مرکنار . . . نچندان که داند کس آنرا شمار ۱۲

HUSAIN SHAH'S RETURN FROM THE WAR AGAINST THE INFIDEL AND THE CONQUEST OF BIJANAGAR TO AHMADNAGAR, AND HIS DEPARTURE FROM THE ABODE OF DESTRUCTION TO THE ABODE OF ETERNITY

1. The relater of the Dari (language) story so versified the narration :—
2. " When fortune became the mate of the king, he laughed like pomegranate-flower, and blossomed like the rose."
3. " He opened the door of treasure to those desirous of wealth. The soldiers became rich on account of money and jewels."
4. " With treasure he rendered rich the brave and valiant, (so much so) that the army was distressed by carrying wealth."
5. " He ordered the drums to be beaten, and they marched to their native place."
6. " They (officers) played, Proceed! Proceed! (March) one the golden flute, (and) fixed the pavillion on the back of the Pleiades."
7. " The king struck the drum and drove the army, and caused the top of his banner to reach the sky."
8. " Successful and victorious, he departed, having cut the head of the Rao of Bijanagar."
9. "(He marched) towards his own country and place of rest which was the capital—Ahmadnagar."
10. " Husain Shah, that victorious Shah, elevated his head to the higher sphere."
11. " He sat on his special horse, galloping on his dancing steed."
12. " The army from every quarter moved in cavalcade, to an extent that no one knows its number."

APPENDIX B

DOCUMENTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT ARCHIVES OF PORTUGUESE INDIA

(*Arquivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo, Pangim*).

I

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP II TO THE VICEROY MATIAS DE ALBUQUERQUE

(Lisbon, January 12th, 1591).

E assi me escreue (Manoel de Souza) que no Canarà se fez a maior parte da pimenta que ueo nestas naos, e que entende que ao diante se fara cada vez maes que sera de muito effeito pera o auiamente da carga de cada anno, e que trabalhaua por ter contentes os Reis daquella costa por respeito da pimenta que dão de que a maior parte he das terras de São carnão botto o qual tratara auia poucos dias com o Idalxá pera lhe entreguar alguãs fortalezas suas o que não querião consentir os Reis uezinhos, e que seria Isto de muito dano asi pera a pimenta como pera as fortallezas que tenho naquella costa e que por esse respeito o mandara auisar per suas cartas que não tratasse de se sogeitar sendo liure e que posto que lhe não respondera hia temporisando com elle. E porque o comercio da pimenta daquella costa he de tanta Importancia como sabeis, e tella certa pera a cargua das naos volla encomendo muy encarecidamente. E sobre a materia de Sam Carnão botto que he de tanta consideração como se deixa bem entender pello discurso della vos encomendo tenhaes nella muita vigilançia e que em nenhu modo consintaes entreguarensse aquellas fortallezas ao Idalxá procurando de lho estrouar por todas vias que puder ser tendo nisso tal modo que com se fazer este effeito não se mouão nouos descontentamentos com o Idalxá

Monçoes do Reino, No. 3, Ano de 1585 atè 1598, fol. 406.

II

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP II TO THE VICEROY MATIAS DE ALBUQUERQUE

(Lisbon, January 12th, 1591)

Tambem me escreue o ditto g^{or} (Manoel de Souza) que pella entregua que o São carnão botto faz ao Idalxa de suas fortallezas fica a de Barcellor com maior sobroço por estar daneficada, e quasi de todo arruinada, pello que mandara Inuernar nella Joao de Valladares de Soutomayor com quarenta soldados e atenha mandadado uer por officiaes pera se repairar, posto que não detreminaua fazer muita obra nella por não estar em sittio pera isso. E porque assi como

não conuem fazerensse nouas fortallezas nesse estado he necessario acudirsse as que estão feitas, pello credito e reputação delle, e se preuenir o que poderia a contecer não estando deffensaueis vos encomendo q. com ésta de Barcellor tenhaes a contta que conuem e pede a vezinhanza que hora diz q. tem.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 3, Ano de 1585 atè 1598, fol. 408.

III

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP II TO THE VICEROY MATIAS DE ALBUQUERQUE

(*Lisbon, January 18th, 1595.*)

E tambem diz que El Rey de Canan(or) não he poderoso para impedir que não sayão olandeses de seus portos posto que entende que os consinte pella parte que tem das prezas que fazem, e que por esta causa e por dar pouca pimenta lhes pos por condição nos cartazes que lhes conçedeo q saindo alguns cassairos de seus portos lhe não ualherião e ficarião de preza os nauios que os leuassem, e que dom fernando de meneses Capitão daquella fortalleza trataua co Cunhi copra mouro principal naquelle Reino sobre da valgua pimenta o que tenho por de meu seruiço como sempre o sera todo o bom modo de se auer maes pimenta.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 3, Ano de 1585 atè 1598, fol. 408.

IV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP II TO THE VICEROY MATIAS DE ALBUQUER QUE

(*Lisbon, February 18th, 1595.*)

E tiue contentamimto de mi dizerdes qui por achardis as fortallezas do canarà faltas de muniçoes e fracas as mandaris prouer e fortificar. E Vos encomindo qui assy o façais sempre com elas.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 3, Ano de 1585 atè 1598, fol. 532.

V

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP II TO THE VICEROY MATIAS DE ALBUQUERQUE

(*Lisbon, February 8th, 1596.*)

Tambem me dis (Matias de Albuquerque) que mandou o Idalcão algus capitães seus sobre os Reis Esnores do Canará a jnstancia da Rainha de Baticalla, e que tomarão duas fort" no Gatty se o allevantamento de hirmão do dito

Idacão o não obrigara aos mandar chamar no que o dito Visorrey fez o q' lhe pareçeo q' Cumpria a meu seruiço, e Vos encomendo que com a informaçao deste caso procedais tambem nelle como conuem, e assy no q' toca a morte Del Rey da Serra a que diz q' sucedeo hu jrmão.

Monçoes de Reino, No. 4, Ano de 1595 te 1598, fol. 631.

VI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP II TO THE VICEROY MATIAS DE ALBUQUERQUE

(Lisbon, January 2nd, 1596.)

Indo de algus anos a esta p^te^ em muita deminuçao a rendados d^tos^* dos cauallos que uem de Ormuz mandei dar licença peraque se pudisem trazer ao Canara, Cochim e outras p^tes^, e que sea demandasem os direitos.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 4, Ano de 1595 te 1598, fol. 673.

VII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO THE VICEROY AYRES DE SALDANHA

(Valladolid, December 23rd, 1604).

Do fruto que tiuerem feito osque residem com el Rey de Bisnagá spero q'me auiseis e folge(y) d' auerem sido bem agasalhades e respondidos de Vos os Embaixadores deste Rey como m(e es)creueis q' fizestes.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 9, Ano de 1604, fol 1.

VIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO THE VICEROY MARTIM AFONSO DE CASTRO

(Lisbon, February 26th, 1605.)

Diz (Ayres de Saldanha) que os Christaos da costa da pescaria teueram o anno passado alguãs vexaçoes do Naique de Madure com tributos nouos. E dos cortisias que fez a hum religioso da companhia sobre que ficaua com algus Requerimentos nesa cidade Manoel da Cunha Paj dos Christas da costa da Pescaria, emcomendouos fauoreçaes

* "direytos," in another copy of the same letter, fol. 720.

a Christandade em tudo o que foi posiuel e procureis por todos os meos que o dito Naique cesse di fazer semelhantes extorcoes.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 6 (2a pte) 1, Ano de 1605 te 1607, fol. 19.

IX

A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO THE KING OF CANANOR

(*Lisbon, December 23rd, 1606.*)

Copia da carta q uay nestas uias p el Rey de Cananor. Muito nobre Rey de Cananor eu Dom felippe ettz Vos faco saber que por carta do meuViso Rey fuy informado que nessas partes andauão Roubando algus leuantados dos estados de flandes que sam sogeitos a minha coroa e indo ter ao porto de uossas terras offerecemdouos sua amisade e peurando uosso fauor e ajuda para poderem carregar suas naos não soo as não consentistes mas acodistes com gente a socorrer a minha fortalesa q'tudo he conforme a uossa nobreza e lealdade, nem fora comueny ente a ella dar entrada a Piratas e a leuantados da obediencia de seu Rey e snor natural, e nesta boa comRespondencia espero pcedais sempre de que terey disso comtentamento. e vos emcomendo q'mãodeis aduirtir em todos os portos de uossas terras os não consintão nelles mem lhe dem carga para suas naos e delles não sejão paros a Roubar de manr^a que por falta de aduirtencia nossa não suçeda o contr^o p que Receberey disso muito dispraser e ao meu Viso Rey escreuo ordene q minhas Armadas se emcontrem com os ditos Rebeldes para lhe darem o castigo que merecem, e o mesmo lhe mando faça aos que nessas p^ra lhe darem fauor e Recolherem em seus portos e ho auiso q' en tudo o que uos cumprir desse estado procure daruos satisfaçao comforme ha muita q'de uos tenho muito Nobre Rey de Cananor Nosso Snor uos alumie em sua graça e Com ella uos aja. semp^re em sua guarda, escrita em Lx^a a 23 de Dezb^ro de 606.

Mançoes do Reino, No. 6 (1a pte), Ano de 1600 te 1603, fol. 116.

X

A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO VENKATA II

(*Madrid, January 27th, 1607.*)

Copia da carta q' uay nestas uias p^a el Rey de Bisnagà.

Muite Nobre Rey de bisnagá.

Eu Dom Phelippe, etc^{a}. Vos faco saber q eu tenho entendido o bom acolhim^{to} q em uos achão os Religiosos da Comp^{a}. E o fauor e ajuda q'lhes dais nas cousas da Christandade de q me Pareçeo uos deuia dar (como faço por esta minha carta) as diuidas graças, e significaruos a boa Vontade com q por este Respeito folguarey de uos comprazer todo o Possiuel em uosas couzas, E assy m^{do} . ao meu Viso Rej desse estado q o faça no q'nos delle Cumprir E espero de Vossa nobreza q' continuareis este bom procedim^{to}. com os ditos Religiosos de Man^{ra}. cada vez me d(eu)ria Eu hauer por mais obriguado delle muito nobre Rey de bisnagà nosso S^{or}. uos alumie com Sua graça e com ella aja uossa pessoa em sua guarda.

Escrita em Madrid. a 27. de Jan^{ro} de 607.

Monçoes do Reino, (No. 6 1a pte), Ano de 1600 te 1603, fol. 124.

XI

A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO

(Lisbon, February, 20th, 1614.)

Dom Jeronimo dazeuedo Viso Rey da India amigo. Eu El Rey Vos inuio muito saudar. O Bispo de Meliapor me escreueo representando os seruiços que me tem feito no cerco que se pos aquella cidade E enfortificar e na tomada do forte que os olandeses tinhà em Paleacate, E em outras cousas, e que por se não pagar o q' tenho aplicado a fabrica daquela sei nã vi(o) ordenados (o)s Saçerdotes e ministros que nella serué e se destruiré as terras que o Rey de bisnagá daua para sua sustentação paga.....

Per ser informado q a cazada myá da mesma cidade de Meliapor e a muitos annos q' anda mal gouernada aplicancandose o dr^{o}. dos depozitos a os uzos pas pessoas que nella sirué.....

Escrita em Lis^{a} a xx de f^{ro} de 1614 O bispo Dom Pedro.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fol. 143.

XII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(1613)

Resposta da Carta que tratta dos P^{es}. da Comp^{a}. que residem no Reino de Bisnagá.

Primeyo. Estes Relligiosos que estauão em Bisnaga, e residião em Chandegri, onde o Rey assiste ; tanto que seus Supperiores souberão de q' V. Mag^e. sobre elles escreueo os fizerão logo recolher para a sua Prouincia, que foi perda pa. muitas couzas do seruiço de V. Mag^e. e disto em particular resultou teré oje os Holandeses fortz^a. em Paleacate, e a guerra q per ordem daq^le. Rey se fez a Meliapor com m^a. danno daquella cidade, e cada dia, e cada dia succederão outros incomuenientes. Pollo q ey q não so he necess^rio. residirem em Chandegri junto a pessoa do Rey, que faz delle cabedal, mas tambem em Paleacate tomandose aquella fortz^a. aos Holandeses (como eu confio em Deus, q hade ser breue m^te. co a armada, q ally dettremino enuiar) e em outros portos daquella costa, porq' em todos será sempre a sua assistencia, e bons officios, q co prudencia sabem fazer de muito effeito contra quaes quer intentos destes Rebeldes, e porq' toda aquella gente deppende de interesse pareçeme, q não so' conuem, q^e se lhes proueja a estos Relligiosos o necess^rio. p^a sua sustentação, mas alguã cousa maes, q^e possa dar, e q co isto se consequirão p seu meyo muitas q de outra man^a obrigarião a se faseré grandes gastos para as Remedear. E assy por isto, como porq' quando eu estaua em Ceilão lhes ficaua Vesinho, e sey q procedião exemplarm^te. Pollo q a informação q. foi dada a V. Mag^e. deuia proçeder de emulação (cousa muy ordin^a entre Ecclesiásticos) ou de outro algu particular resp^to. E principalm^te. por entender, q essa he atenção de V. Mag . ando trattando co o seu Prouincial, que os torne a enuiar ally. Aos de Maduré se dará a ordin^a q V. Mag^e manda E eu lhes dey de parte de V. Mag^e. as graças do bom procedimento, q^e tem nas materias da Christandade, q elles mereçem muy bem, porq se empregão neste ministerio co todo cuidado e applicação.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fol. 26.

XIII

A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO AND THE LATTER'S REPLY

(Lisbon, March 7th, 1613.)

Dom Jeronimo dazeuedo Viso Rey da India amigo Eu El Rey uos enuio muito saudar. Por cartas do Viso Rey Ruiz L^o. detau^a. e do Bispo de Meliapor entendi o apertado çerco que a gente dEl Rey de Bisnaga poz aqla çidade, e quão necessario hè fortificarse, assi e por se(r) de tanta importancia

para a nauegação, e comercio dos m^ms^. della, e principalmente por estar aly o corpo do bema(ue)nturado São Thomè, pello que hey por bem que a a çidade se fortefique, e de conçeder para sua fortificação huã viagem de Choromandel diante de todos os prouidos, como uereis pella prouisão que mandei pass(ar) e se uos enuiara com esta, e vos encomendo que p(ara) o bom effeito, e cumprimento della deis todo o fauor e ajuda necess^ria^. e para a obra da dita forteficaçao se fazer co toda a breuidade, despendendose n(ell)a odr^o^. procedido da dita viagem para se acabar a obra da dita forteficação uos deuia ordenar (q o) Bispo procurasseis por persuadir aos Marado(r)es (della) que pozessem sobresy para ella odrt^o^. dehum p( ) em suas fz^m^. como hà nas mais cidades em q. de(uem) uir facilmente por ser para sua defensão, nao o ( ) por bem de que por ahora se tratasse de a carregar com este nouo dereito por respeito das perdas que padecer(em) no çerco, e co esta consideração uos hey por encarre(gado) tratar deste negoçio quando enterderdes q (sea) paraisso milhor occassião, e hauendo algu alu( ) com que possais ajudar a dita obra, o façais, com tamto que não seiao viagems, né cousa com que se prejudique aos prouidos, né de minha fz^a^. pello estado em que ella ella para isso esta como sabeis.

O mesmo Viso Rey me escreueo també como os Moradores da ditta çidade de são Thome de Meliapor lhe pedião ajudas e fauor, não so para se forteficar, mas para se incorporar na jurisdição desse estado, e se por alfandega, e arrecador para minha fz^a^. os quatro por çento que se pagão de dr^to^s^. na praya a El Rey de Bisnagà, o qual hi tão uelho q^e^ se espera por horas sua morte, e que aja co ella discençoés, e occasiao, de se poderé senhorear aquellas terras, o q^e^ se me representou ser de muita consideração pello trabalhaso estado em q esse Està em muitas cousas a que ha que acudir e estar çerto o mal q o tomarà aquelle Rey, ou os q lhe suceder, com que não som^te^, serà mui difficultoso conseguir o q^e^ se propoé (ainda q^e^ se meta muito cabedal) mas se arriscarà a q co essa occasião dem os portos q^e^ té naquella costa aos Olandeses q os deseiao muito, e que tendo os elles seajintem hus e outros, e deitem dally meus vassalos, pello q me pareceo deueruos remeter esta materia, e encomendaruos (como faco) que sopostas todas estas difficultades pondo tudo em conselho facais nella o q^e^ se assentar, e uirdes que mais conuem ao seruiço de Deos e meu, e seguranta daquella çidade auisandome particularm^te^ do q^e^ se asentado e fizerdes.

E porque eu tenho muita satisfaçao da pessoa e seruiços do dito Bispo, e do bem que proçedeo no dito cerco, E elle se me queixa que se lhe não pagão seus ordenados Vos encomendo que co muita Preuidade lhe façais pagar todo o que delles lhe fer deuido, e que os que for uensendo se lhe pagem com pontualidade, e que encarregueis a algus criados seus q elle.....

E porque tambem fui auizado do bem q o Naique de Tanjaor se ouue em meu seruico na occasião do dito çerco lhe mando agradecer por minha carta que se uos enuiará com esta para lhe enuiardes como uereis da copia della. Escrita é Lis[a] a sete de Março de *1613* Rey.

* (Cap. 1°). Tanto que Recebi esta carta de V. Mag[de] vendo a merce que por ella faz a çidade de Meliapor para sua forteficação de huã viagem de Choromandel p[a] Malaca passei logo patente della para a fazer a pessoa q[e] o Bispo e çidade nomeassẽ, e assi lhe passei prouisao pra co o procedido della se correr na forma q V. Mag[e] por este cap[o] manda...

(Cap. 2°.) Este Rey de Bisnaga he falecido, e como naquella cidade de Meliapor não ha presidio né força para vençer os contrastes q recreseré queremdose tratar de q neste capit[o] se apporta me pareçeo q não era tempo de de fer nesto nouidade.

(Cap. 3°.) ( )am[te] mil x[a] q V. Mag[de] faz o Bispo lhe passei prouisão e procurarei q com effeito se lhe pague...

(Cap. 4°.) A carta de Vossa Mag[de] para o Naique de Tanjaor se mandao ao Bispo para elle lhe enuiar. Guarde Deus a Cat[a]. pessoa de V. Mg[e]. como a Christandade hà mister deste galeão todos os Santos a 21 de Jan[ro] de *1615*.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fols. 143-144.

XIV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(Goa, December 24th, 1613.)

E os de Meliapor é particular q são todos muy liures, e não bem acostumados, e a experiencia té mostrado q[e] nao se milhorarão nenhuã cousa por hauer alij Bispo, nẽ hera necess[ro].

Monçoes do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fol. 51.

* This is the draught of the Viceroy' answer written in the margin of the same folio.

XV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO TO THE KING PHILIP III

(Goa, December 26th, 1613.)

A cidade de Meliapor desejei muito prouer de hu presidio, e dar lhe p cabeca hu fidalgo de authoridade porque de faltar aly semelhante pessoa a q se tenha respeito, hey q resultão as desordens, q nella se commeté e estar co a diuisão e discordia dos moradores maes arriscada, e em particular para acudir dally a impedir o q os Olandeses intentaré de nouo naquella Costa e trattar de lançar os q estão em Palleacate; communiquey a matteria é conselho, e pareçeo q era huá das maes importantes, q depresente auia para bem do estado, trattouse tãobem da pessoa, e pollos mais Vottos sahio q fosse dom Bernardo de Noronha, e assy lhe mandey declarar e q lhe daria tudo o q se pudesse tirar do estado co o mesmo ordenado q' tem o capitão de Ormuz, e os poderes naquella cidade e em toda aquella costa q' se comçedem aos Capitãos mores das armadas, E por maes officios, q com ele se fezerão da minha parte, pello Arçebispo e por Dom Luis dagama E ultimam^te. pello Secret^o. do estado como Ministro de V. Mag^e. dizendolhe q' como as maos chegassem lhe enuiaria gente co q e podesse dar em Paleacate, E em sua companhia levaria logo todo o q pudesse tirasse daqui, resolueose co tudo em o não fazer, e posto que entendi q era este caso digno de se fazer huá grande demonstracão sobre, deixey todavia de o fazer p não acabar de se desacreditar o seruiço.

...V. Mag^e o mandara fazer é tudo como o uuer q^e le maes seu seruico.....

...Goa a *26* de Dez^o de 1613.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fol. 51.

XVI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D' AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(1613.)

Reposta a la Carta, q tratta dos Reis Vesinhos

Ao Samori e Rey de Cananor se derão as graças como V. Mag^e manda do bom procedimento q tiuerao na occasião dos olandeses q vierão a esta costa, e assy se faz sempre nas semelhantes, q se offerecẽ.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fol. 21.

XVII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(1613.)

A cidade de Meliapor he pouoada de gente, q estaua custumada a Viuer co toda liberdade, onde a Justiça não tem mais lugar de fz^er^ sen off°.q o que os mesmos moradores lhe querẽ dar, e emparticular os q^e^ são poderosos, porq como aquella terra he do Rey de Bisnaga, e não ha aly presidio, nẽ poder de q^e^ se temão cada dia succedẽ estas, e outras muitas desordens sem se poderẽ remediar, e posto q o principal respeito, porq desejo por naquella cidade hu fidalgo de authoridade p^a^ seruir de capitão della e ter hua guarnição competente p^a^. as cousas da guerra, q^e^ se offereçerẽ e fortalesa de Palleacatte, q aly tem, todavia considero tambem a necessidade que ha aly de Semelhantes pessoas, co poder p^a^. enfrear aquelles moradoses, e os faser Viuer em temor, sobediencia das Justiças e em quanto isto não ha nenhuã cousa montão deuassas, e eu fico aduertide da q V. Mag^e^. manda, q^e^ se tire de Ant°. Pereyra de Sousa cujo procedimento he tão conhecido, q^e^ se^n^ eu podera haner as maio^r^ poucas prouas mais se lhe ouuerão de buscar.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fol. 30.

XVIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D' AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(December 31st, 1614.)

Por o Bispo de Meliapor me fazer instancia todo este jmuerno passado sobre se emuiar a quella cidade hu fidago de qualidade a que se tiuesse respeito e alguã gente de guerra com q obrigasse aos detr^s^ a lho terem e para o q comprisse para sua defensão e o mais q se offereçesse tocante a fortz^a^ q os olandeses tem feito em Paliacate e em particular para compor e aquietar os bandos q aly ha entre os moradores daquella terra q^e^ são de qualidade q^e^ se podẽ m^to^. temer q esta seja a principal occazião para seella perder; Tinha ass^m^ntado de enviar aly dom Bernardo den^s^. o qual sẽ embargo de não hauer aseitado o anno passado fazer esta jornada a aseitaria agora, e somente esperaua q as naos chegasse para da jente dellas lhe dar ate çento e sincoenta homẽs, porem como V. Mag^de^. em hua das cartas q me escreue não aproua que se

enuie para residir aly semelhante pessoa dezisti do negocio, nẽ elle poderà já ter effeito se não em ferᵒ. qᵉ Vem por as naos hauerẽ tardado, quererá Deus qe desta minha jornada resulte ficar isto do Norte nos termos q conuẽ porq'com isso me disporei logo a trattar das cousas daquellas partes, e por Ventura q passe em possoa a ellas.

O Rey de Bisnagá he morto e se mouerão co isso grandes disçencoes sobre a succçessão daquelle Reino, e hu q elle deixou nomeado não se satis fizerão os grandes, e o matarão, e estão as cousas nesta confuzão, e tempo era este qᵉ se estiuer(a) aly hua pessoa de confiança co alguã gente fora façel lançar mão de algua cousa naquelles contornos.

Desta parajen dos Ilheos queimados ao ultimo de Dezᵐᵒ. de 1614.

D Iedojmo dazeuedo.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fols. 165-166.

XIX

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(January 4th, 1616).

V Mgᵈᵉ. tem conçedido a esta cidade de Meliapor duas viagens de Choromãdel para se forteficar as quas antepus as q V. Mgᵈᵉ. tẽ conçedido para o estado, com o procedido dellas se poderá dar principio a obra e faser parte della e conforme ao q isto luzir mandara V. Mgᵈᵉ. emtão trattar da mais merçe q for justo q para a dita forteficação mande faser.

Monçoes do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fol. 218.

XX

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO THE VICEROY AYRES de SALDANHA

(Lisbon, January 22nd, 1601.)

E assy dizem que pela fortaleza de Manar estar muito desbaratada, os Religiosses da Companhia que Ressidem naquelas partes persuadirão aos Christãos da pescaria, dessem algua ayuda a sua custa para o Repairo. E comcerto da dita fortaleza. E que Vierão em dar a metade do custo que se fezesse para o que logo depossitarão dous mil pardaos, e que ate gora (se) não tinha ordenado nhuã coussa nella, emcomendouos, deis ordem, como se faça esta obra. E que

seya de maneira que fique aquela fortaleza defensauel, para os a. Adentes que lhe sebre Vieram pois estes Christaos da pescaria querem contribujr com a metade da dep. a desta obra.

Monçoes de Reino, No. 8, Ano de 1601 te' 1602, fol. 79.

XXI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(1613).

Os auizes q V. Mag^de^ me escreve que teve de naos olandezas e Ingresas q seaprestauão para passar a estas partes, e depoderẽ ser ja partidas alguas, me não fez nenhua nouidade, perq isto mesmo espero q sejacada anno em q^to^ se não cortarẽ as raizes que cá tem lançado esta gente.

De nenhua destas naos olandezas hà nouas ategora e o Bispo de Meliapor me escreuee q não auia aportado por lá nenhua embarcação sua, sendo assi q os olandeses q residem en Paleacate estauão co muito cuidado aguardandoas; e posto quo uendo eu q nenhua das naos do Reino chegou ca...

Monçoes de Reine, No. 12, Ano de 1612, fol. 31.

APPENDIX C

DOCUMENTS FROM THE PRIVATE ARCHIVES OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

I

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. FRANCESCO RICIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601.)

Nesta terra de São Thome ha duas man^{ms} de lingoas, da terra hua como da pescaria q̃ eu tinha prendido, a outra dos badaguas ; p isso comensei a prender a lingoa dos badaguas, e p ter semelhança hua co outra facilm^{te} entrei nella, e luogo fez hua arte da mesma lingoa tudo isso parece q̃ foi providencia de dispor q̃ veo a São Thome o p. Visitador Nicolas Pimenta p^{e}. visitar os p.^{es} encomendou m^{to} q̃ se buscasse modo de ter entrada nesta corte de bisnaga p^{r}. poder nestes reynos manifestar a ley de Christo Nosso Snor, & sendo reitor o p^{r}. Simão de Saa p meu de hu criado sobro del Rey q̃ se chama oburaja entramos nesta corte p. q. hoburaja escreveos duas ollas aos p^{es} q̃ (fossẽ) co elle q lhe faria m.^{tas} honras E assi ho p. Simão de Saa e eu por seu companheiro viemos a esta cidade de Chandrigirim a (ter) co elle o qual nos fes m^{tas} honras e nos levou a el rey o qual tãbẽ nos fes ho mesmo e nos deu lisença q̃ nos podessemos fazer igregia e cazas nesta sua cidade despois d'isto fomos a São Thome e escrevemos a Goa ao p^{r}. Visitador o q̃ passamos co el Rey, o qual mandou logo o p^{e} Manoel da Veigua ordenando que fosse eu em sua cop.^{a} e viessemos neste Chandrigrim a fazer igregia E assi vimmos praterço oburajo o qual depois de nos ter feito mu.^{ta} honra nos apresentou a el Rey o qual folguo co nossa vinda o burajo p vontade del rej nos deu hu logar m.^{to} bo e grande p.^{a} fazer Igregia pequena e cazas e sereamonos ao Redor, na Igregia possemos duas images hua do Salvador outra do nossa snora na qual Igregia vẽ continuam.^{te} muito concurso de gentilidade fazendo m.^{to} reverencia deitando se p terra diantes das images, pedindolhe merces teporaes e muitos delles vierão a dar graças p os favores q̃ alcançarão demos os misterios de nossa fee convencedooos q̃ vão errados e p. q. as cousas q̃ elle crẽ são mentiros manifestos e pecados nenhu delles sabe q̃ hão de responder se não ficar confusos e honrar as cousas de nossa ley taobẽ ao mesmo rey p meio das das images q̃ lhe mostramos co as quais elle muito folguo declaramos m.^{tas} vezes as cousas da nossa ley o qual paser de m^{to} endimiento taobẽ faz o mesmo, mas co tudo isso nẽ elle nẽ nenhu destes gentes tẽ agora se baptizou tira(n)do ihu menino, esperemos em Ds q̃ hos luminara no entendimento e darà força na vontade p. deixar os seus erros

e abrasar a verdade q̃ lhe temos declarada p^{a} ayudar esta gente taobẽ eu trabalhei e tirei hua doutrina crista e m^{tos} misterios da vida de Christo na mesma lingoa delles o q̃ (servira) muito quando o nosso snor lhes abrira os olhos agora temos grandes esperanças de suas conversoes, pq. el rey que(r) ter m^{ta} amizade co os portugueses o qual manda seus embaxadores ao Visorej co dous p^{es} nossos s. o p Simão de Saa e o p^{e} Belchior Cout.^{o} mandando dous aneis q custarão sinco mil paguodes e levão recado q̃ quer ser irmão em armas do Rej de Portugal. Nesta residencia de Chandrigrim estamos tres companheiros, s. o p. belchior Coutinho q̃ he de m^{ta} vertude & de grande ingenho,e vaj m^{to} p diante na lingoa badagua, outro o Irmao Alexander frey de nação Ingrez po ser pintor e muito aceito al rey. o terceiro sou eu minimo de todos isso he o que me oferece escrever a V. P. de mi desta gente E p. q. el rej e esta gente são m^{to} afeiçoados as images Roguo a V. P. nos faça caridade de mandar p^{a} esta Igregia hua imagem do Salvador tranfigurado q̃ olha p todoas as partes q̃ he seu orago co as figuras q̃ estiverao na tranfiguração e sj V. R. nos ouuver de fazer esta caridade seja de la manho de hu home e rogo V. P. que mande en seu nome algua pintura boa e fermosa a el rej a qual daremos en nome de V. P. peco taobẽ a V. P. que mande p^{a} mim o liuro das images do P. Nadal asi p^{a} minha consolação espiritual como tãobẽ p^{a}. mostrar a esta gente a qual folgua muito de ver images resta somente deitarme aos pees de V. P. a sua s^{a} benção como taobẽ faz^{ẽ} os dous companheiros de Chandrigrim 20 de outubro de 1601.

FRANCISCO RICIO.

II

AN EXTRACT OF THE 'LITTERAE ANNUAE' OF THE PROVINCE OF GOA, 1600

(*1601*).

Na missão de Bisnagà residem 3. P. e hu Irmao..... El Rey he ppicio aos P. e lhes faz merces e m^{tas} mais fizera, e de mais dura se dos seus fora obedecido. Dos Embaixadores do Gram Mogor o m^{to} cazo que seu Rey fazia sos nossos P^{es} o q̃ aiudou não pouco p^{a} autorizar naquella Corte nossas couzas.

III

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. MANOEL DE VEIGA, PROVINCIAL OF MALABAR, TO Fr. JOAO ALVAREZ

(Cochin, December 10th, 1601).

S. Thome tera 500 cruzados de renda, a maior parte lhe deu o rei gentio da terra, e tem alguas casas q̃ lhe rendem.

IV

AN EXTRACT OF THE 'LITTERAE ANNUAE' OF THE PROVINCE OF GOA, 1601

(Goa, December 21st, 1601).

At Cioromandelis oram, ã Negapatano, vsq ad Bisnagoram, obiuit P. Emmanuel Veiga qui iam Residentiam inchoauit Chandegrini quae urbs nunc Bisnagorani regni sedes est.

Goae ad XII Calend. Januarij...1602

V. P. filius in Dno

NICOLAUS PIMENTA.

V

AN EXTRACT OF THE 'LITTERAE ANNUAE' OF THE PROVINCE OF GOA, 1602

(Goa, December 21st, 1602).

Bisnagoranam Missionem magnopere promouerunt P Emmanuel de Veiga, Melchior Coutinius, Franciscus Ricius, et Frater Alexander natione Anglus. Regem habent ualde beneuolum, id quod ex litteris, quas ad me scripsit, V. Pat. cognoscet, has, ut ex lingua Canarana traducte sunt, hic ascribam.

Rex Regum, Dominus magnus, Eques Equitum, Vencatipati; post Deum Rex, Patri Visitatori, qui Goae est, Nicolao Pimentae hanc epistolam mittit.—istis litteris, quas V. R. ad me scripsit, colloquente mecum P. Emmanuele de Veiga Superiore patrum qui in his partibus commorantur, vehementer laetatus sum ac facult^{em} dedi Ecclesiam, et domum extruendi in urbe mea Chandegrino. Pagum etiam quẽ uocant Elamur prope ab oppido S. Thomae contuli in Patrum expensas, atq̃ tum istos, tum etiam alios qui eis

successerint, honoribus amplissimis et praemiis decorabo. Concessi praeterea amplam facultaten legem Dei praedicandi vt uolens quisq̃ Christianus fiat, neq̃ propterea de honore pristino quicquam detrahatur. Meus in lusitanos amor antiquus jam satis Goae innotuit. De honore quem Patribus detuli ipsi scribent. Annulum et alia quaedam munera Proregi mittere decreui, quae Condoqor Interpreti meo perferenda tradam. Id V. P. Proregi significabit, vt antiqua inter nos renouetur amicitia. Quid erit praeterea noui, id referet P. Emmanuel de Veiga, mihi quod scribam aliud nihil occurrit. Huc usq̃ Rex. Reliqua intelliget V. R. ex litteris P. Melchioris Coutinii, datis ad 16 Calend. Augusti anno 1600, in quibus scribit quae sequuntur—

Postquam P. Emmanuel de Veiga ad oppidum Sancti Thomae profectus uisitationem accepit tres tantum in praesentia hic sumus. P. franciscus Ricius et ego linguae addiscendae operam damus. Doctrinam Christianam quae propter Neophytos Salsetanos composita fuit, nos hic et alia nonnulla in linguam Badeganam uertimus. frater Alexander tabelam a se pictam regi monstrauit, ubi inerat pictura haec Saluatorem recens natum, quo pacto tre Magi iacentem in praesepio adorarunt. Aliam tabellam obtulit ubi inerat B. Virginis effigies puerum in ulnis tenentis hanc Rex uenerabundus in palatio loco celebri collocauit. Aliam frater pingere incepit de descensu Christi ad inferos, quam inchoatam Regi ostendit, is serio exoptat dum perficiatur, monstratis autem nonnullis imaginibus impressis, Rex hanc et illam de tribus Magis pingi uoluit. Faxit Deus ut harum rerum cum aspectus, tum doctrina, ei ueri notitiam aperiat aliquando. Cum fratre familiariter agit, ac forte cum pingenti adesset se dicentem audiret pigmenta deesse, quibus colorem picturis induceret, illico cubiculum ingrediens ipse sua manu, ei centu aureos protulit, quibus, quae opus essent coemerit...

His erroribus Brachmanes multa adiiciunt nefariae superstitionis plena, maxime ea quae de Perimale passim feruntur. non ita multo ante Tripitini, quae ciuitas ab hac urbe per tria millia passum distat anniuersarii nuptiarum Perimalis dies festi agebantur. huc tanta perigrinorum turba confluxit, ut delita donaria ducentis aureorum millibus censeretur. Crines tonsi, eorum qui hos pacto Se omnium peccatorum ueniam consequi arbitrantur, multu afferunt emolumenti iis, qui continentis elephantes funes faciunt, quos aiunt his capillis factos esse fortissimos. illuc Rex cum Reginis et ciuit' uniuersa se contulit uno relicto Dalattaio at palatii et urbis custodiam. Omnis illa solemnitas in hoc

uno consistit. Simulacru ingenti curru sublime uehitur. Currum decem hominu millia trahunt, ipse Rege cum primis adnitente. Caeptu est opus primo noctis crepusculo: media nocte pluuia Regem abegit, reliquis in labore perseuerantibus, donec uehiculum, ad mille et quingentos passus abductum, ad lucum unde fuerat delatum, restitueretur.

In nouilunio, quod proxime praecessit, festum quddam fuit vaccarum. Perimalem quippe de uacca ortum perhibent,. Videre erat in urbe, et in regia omnia uaccis plena, quas passim obuias habebamus, ut mirum uideret, in homines rationis compotes, tam turpes errores cadere potuisse; liceat certé aliquid dare educationi, et consuetudini, unu illud ualde ineptum atq absurdum, Regi non licere quemquam mane alloqui, nisi prius duorum Brachmanu uultu conspexerit. Quod si Deus illum et reliquos incolas sua luce illustrauerit haud dubic eos, in bonos Christianos euasuros crediderim. ac eadem constantia diuinis praeceptis obtemperaturos, qua nunc Daemones et inania simulacra uenerantur. Viseret me Regis, magistris falsis, ita per omnia more gerentis, ut stata ieiunia, quae bis recurrunt in mense, tam accurate obseruet, ut ne unu quide praetermittat.

Singulari beneuolentia, et amore nos complectitur. Ac nuper natis inter Lusitanos et Dalauaium discordiis in ciuitate S. Thomae, cui Dalauaius praeest quaecumq ab eo postulauim', libenter concessit. Itaq opera et industria P. Emmanuelis de Veiga et P. Rectoris S. Thomae conciliata inter omnes pax, et discordiae sublatae. Quin et Dalauaius suam domu petentes benigné, et humaniter nos accepit, comiter introduxit, et donationem annum trecẽ torum aureorum a suo Antecessore factam, ratam, ac firmam habuit. Aedes possidet Dalauaius, quae pulchritudine, et hortorum cultu, et ornatu fontium, et aquarum scatentiu artificiis, alias huius urbis facile superant. Rex per hos dies haec loca pertransiens, quaesiuit a suis, ubi esset nostra domus. Nos audito Regem uenisse, pro portis uenerabundi obuiam incessimus. qui Regem comitabantur acclamabant Paroco parangolu, id est uideat uestra celsitudo Patres Lusitanos, ille de nobis festinum et affabilem exhibuit. Deus Optimus Max. eius animum ac populi uniuersi, ad ueri Dei cultum ā uitae prauitate conuertat.

Ad eum Rex Mogolorum Achebar legatum cum quatuor equis et aliis muneribus misit, quae cum sui Regis nomine obtulisset, is rursus omnia legato donauit; et alia insuper munera cum pecuniis, quas item dari iussit in expensas. Aedes nondum habet qua propter is qui, qui id muneris habet,

ut legatos suscipiat, et in regis conspectu sistat, nos rogauit ut domi nostrae non amplius biduo hominẽ admitteremus. Locum dedimus idoneum, in quo mense iam comoratur, homo est prudens, et experiens. Ex eo cognouimus, quid agerent Patres nostri, qui apud Achebarem sunt. In colloquio quod cum Rege habebat honorificé multa de nobis praedicauit nostrosq apud dominu suum praecipuo in honore, ac pretio haberi affirmauit. Respondit Rex se eodem prorsus animo erga nos affici, quin et Ecclesiam, aedes, et alia omnia daturu. Regi dicunt eo consilio munera Achebaris legato donasee, eumq non ante uigessimum diem ad colloquium admisisisse, quod a ducibus monebatur, ne Achebari fideret. Si enim tres illos Reges Mahometanos, Abdeneganu, siue Meliquum, Dialcanu, et Mussalepatanu sub iugum mitterit, dicebant facile fore ut Regnum Bisnaganum in potestate redigat. Ad haec Regem dixisse aiut regnum in manu Dei est, me (inquit) si uolet priuare imperio, quis eum prohibebit? Ego uero Mahometani pedes no osculabor. Si uenerit certum est praelio decertare. Alii alias causas afferunt.

Coeterum ille delectum habet fortissimorum ducum, per causam Cangiuarani recuperandi, quae ciuitas cum omni ditione adiacente Astapanaico Tangiorano Dynastae parebat. is nuper satis concessit, corpus demortui in rogo ex sandali ligno extructo, una trecentae et septuagintae uxores uiuae concrematae sunt. Huius filius natu minor, maiorem, quem pater antea custodiae tradiderat, interfecit. Ac iam constat Regem nihil de hac expeditione cogitare. Neq uero de alia, ad quam, eum proceres magnopere hortabantur Gingiam urbem vt capiat. Christapanaicus enim, is qui V. R. illuc iter habentẽ tam humaniter accepit, ueneno infectus insanit, quamquã sunt patuisse iam dolos, atq Dynastam vt fucum faceret quatuor regni sui magnatibus, quos postea occidit, se mente captum finxisse. Hanc urbem suaserunt Regi, ut armis impeteret, ille quamquã jure fortasse posse, tamen ut est leni et miti ingenio, respondit, efferatae crudelitatis esse. stipendiarium suum insania laborantem armis insectare. Quare probabiliore coniectura ducor, vt credam, hunc ducum et proceru conuentum eo tendere, ut de Achebare repellendo, deq urbibus praesidio occupandis consulint. Equidem non incredibile existimauerim haec omnia Dei nutu ad optabiliorem finem contigisse, ut nimirum hac occasione Sanctae fidei notitia ad plures perueniat, atq non solum in hac urbe, uerum etiam ubiq gentium catholicae ueritatis praeconibus locus pateat, quoniam uti antea ad V. R. scripsi Tornogoda Olalae Praefectus de integro nos inuitat. Et Trimarragius Regis Bisnagorani fratris filius, natu maximus,

hujus regni haeres, multis precibus ā nobis contendit vt ad se ueniamus. Scit enim V. R. cum huius Principis pater ẽ uita excederet, ad hunc, qui nunc regnant, defuncti fratrem, omnium ordinu consensu imperium esse delatum, praeteritis demortui filiis, qui tunc temporis, per aetatem non poterant regni gubernacula adire. Et quanquam Rex fratris filium natu minorẽ quem in palatio educat, maiore studio prosequitur, uulgo tamen affirmant maiorẽ natu regnaturum, qui plures et potentiores Dynastas fautores habeat. hic in ciuitate sua Cirangapatano commoratur, qui abhinc quadraginta, aut quinquaginta leucas, ac tantudẽ a nostro Mangalore distat, inde ad nos litteras misit, quaru hoc est exemplum.

Trimanus, Mahamanda Lispara, Ramarragius Trimarragius, Dominus magnus Princeps, hanc epistolam ad Patres mittit. Vehementer gaudebo ubi uos ad hanc meam ciuitatem uenire intelligam. Venientibus aream dabo, aedibus, et Ecclesiae in hac urbe condendis accomodatam, insuper quingentos tagodios aureos in annuos redditus. Singulari etiam honore et monificentia uos complectar. 1ta iuro per Dominum Zanganatam, et per pedes patris mei Ramaragii. Coatera ex legato meo cognoscetis, statim uenite et nolite moram trahere.

Domuncula nostra aream habet latam, ac uento salubri peruiam, ad Ecclesiam et aedes construendas accomodatam, et turbis popularibus minime obnoxiam.

Interea loci Ecclesiam paruam extruximus satis pro tempore accomodatam, quoad amplioris aedificandae facultas suppetat. Haec P. Melchior Coutinius.

Jucundior etiam uniuersis, et maiore laetitia et applausu referta Bisnagensis Regis legatio fuit, cui causã dedit nostrorum Patrum ad Chandegrinum profectio, et in urbe regia domicilium erectum. Ea sane legatio, quam uel Regis uicini potentia, uel ipsa uicinitas, uel antiqua cum lusitanis amicitia, uel (quod caput est) facultas recens data euangelii promulgandi egregie commendabat, multis nominibus uniuersae ciuitati grata fuit. Scripserat ei Prorex, et per literas de suo in Indiam appulsu certiorem faciens, gratias agerat quod nostrae Societatis homines tam singulari humanit' fuisset complexus. Qua de cause Rex honorificam legationem decreuit, ac duos legatos uiros primarios ad Proregem misit, quibus duos é nostris Patribus Simonem Sã et Melchiorem Coutinium comites adiungi uoluit, reliquis duobus secum in Ecclesia Chiandegrinensi retentis. Possem multa scribere de huius legationis principio, progressu et fine, ac de precibus assiduis, quibus Princeps, per cuius terras iter habebant,

uehementer contendebat ut e duobus Patribus alter in reditu cum ipso maneret. Verum hoc consulto praetero, ut unu illud, quod singularem omnibus nobis laetitiam, et admiratione attulit, attingam. Legati enim, et ipsi ethnici, tanti nostras Ecclesias, tanti Christianorum sacra aestimarunt, ut eorum altaribus uenerabundi procumberet, ingenue fatentes ueru Deum a Christianis coli; haec opinio de nostris rebus, et omnium fere est, et quotidie crescit. Nec minori fuit admirationi Christianorum pietas, tum in supplicationibus, quas ad Templum S. Pauli sextis feriis quadragesimalibus quotannis fieri animaduertebant, tum uel maxime in illa frequenti baptizandorum pompa, cum catechumenos pro ualuis ejusdem nostri templi stantes, ac solemni supplicatione ad sacrum fontem deductos cernerent. Haec enim omnia ut commode uiderunt, data est opera ut iuxta nostrum Collegium oportuno loco diuersarentur. Illi igitur ad patriam reuersi, mira quaedam de Christianis institutis, ac moribus coram Rege ac populo praedicant; atq hoc pacto paulatim nominis Christiani bonus odor, eorum sensus peruadit, et de ueri Dei cultu melius in dies sentiunt. Vtinam maneat haec opinio et existimatio, et eam, quam de falsis superstitionibus mente comprehenderunt, penitus comuellat, et labefactet.

Goae ad xii Caled. Januarii, hos ect ut in superiore epistola, die sacro S. Thomae Apostolo. Indiae Patrono. anno a partu Virginis 1602.

V. P. filius in Dno.

NICOLAUS PIMENTA.

VI

AN EXTRACT OF THE 'LITTERAE ANNUAE' OF EASTERN INDIA, 1601.

(*1602.*)

El Rey de Bisnaga uay mostrando cada dia os fauores, amisade e beneuolencia q̃ tem aos nossos fasendolhe muitas honrras. E como quer q̃ a renda q̃ pera sua sustentacam os annos passados opontou has aldeas não teue efeito, por se atrauesar no negocio o Regidor Mayor, e algums dos grandes da quella Cort q̃ nellas pertendiam seus intereces, nos quebrou El Rey mil pagodes de renda cada anno nas parias q̃ hum dos Naiques seus sogeitos lhe paga, atte q̃ se offereça algua boa ocasiam de terras escusas em q̃ a comedia dos nossos sem encontro as possa permanecer: pera de colorar esta renda deu suas olas com as quaes indo hum nosso a Canger uaram ter com o Polle por cuja mam esta paga ha de corre-

foy delle recebido com muitas honrras, e mostras de amor, e como se fora hu dos Principes Europenses, amigos de Comp^{a}. Sabendo q̃ uinha o P^{e} lhe mandaua cada dia ao caminho hua ola de comprimentos, q̃ seruiam como elle disia de Bombardadas hua apos outra pera festeiar o P^{e} pormeteo q̃ em tudo as compreria, e q̃ no Janeiro seguinte, faria logo a primeira Candaia q̃ he o q^{o} quartel da paga, como na realidade fes q̃ montou quinhentos pardaos.

VII

A LETTER OF Fr. FRANCESCO RICIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603.)

Anno 1602 quatuor litteras plenas charitatis and amoris in Christo a Paternitate tua accepi : quibus non solum uehementer gauisus sum, sed etiam in hac amplissima missione omnes uitae meae annos consumere et finire (nisi aliud mihi impositum fuerit) constitui. Est enim missio haec tam ampla ut uix litteris explicari possit ; sunt enim in hoc Regno tot regiones, et insignes ciuitates, ut si Deus (ut speramus) eos ad fidem uocauerit innumeri operari ad excolendam uineam necesse fuerint. Dixi spem esse Magnam, quia Rex hujus Regni, eo nos prosequitur amore ut singulis annis mille auereorum numorum dare jusserit Cum loquimur cum illo, et ostendit erga nos signa grandis amoris et libenter nostram doctrinam audit, presertim cum loquimur de Jesv, saluatore, et de Beata Virgine. Auditaque aliis singnificans, approbat. Sic etiam cum plures hujus Regni, et sanguine et doctrina preclari, cum audiut res nostras gaudio replentur, et approbant unam esse legem anum Deum, ut nos omnibus explicamus, et licet in omni doctrina, quam docemus magnam accipiant laetitiam, presertim cum decem praecepta legis diuinae explicamus, est tam magna laetitia eorum, ut uix litteris explicari possit: cognoscut n. legem hanc esse diuinam, ac optimam, et suam plenã erroribus, ac de causa saepissime ueniunt ad nos, et ad nostram Ecclesiam, et audiunt letanter praecepta diuina et omnia quae ad animarum salutem pertinent, maxima pietate, ac deuotione ; ueniut ad Ecclesiam nostram non solum ii qui morantr. in hac Regia Ciuitate, sed etiam ex multis partibus hujus Regni, et prostratis in terra maxima animi sumissione suis in necessita tibus a Deo auxilia poscut, deusque optimus maximus

eorum fidem intuẽs saepe miracula faciens iis auxiliari dignatus est. Miracula et alia cum in litteris annuis scribantur ad paternitatem tuam breuitatis causa scribere omitto. Cum haec uinea sit amplissima et maximi fructus nostri laboris sperentur, ad hanc uineam excolendam proprios operarios, ut mittat Paternitatem tuam uehemẽter rogamus, et quia sunt plures linguae ad discendae operari debent esse magni ingenii et adolescentes quia aliter consequi minime possunt est enim quaedam lingua in qua doctrina eorum est scripta et legis fundamenta; et fere singulis diebus Rex et ejus magistri seu Philosophi intense disputant de Deo, Philosophia et et mathematica et alii astantes fere nihil intelligunt, quia licet siatur lingua hujus Regni est alia lingua tanquam mater Indiae linguarum quae uocatr sanscratam ubi sunt quinque libri in quibus tractatur de eorum diis et de historiis et fabulis in quibus modis apparuerunt, ut aiunt dii hominibus. Sut atiam quatuor leges, et sex scienciae, et hunc librum at linguam paucissimi sciunt, Ego licet didiceri Duas linguas s. Badaguẽsem, et Tamulẽsem, quia sexaginta annos natus, hanc consequi minime possum hac de causa cum uidemus Regem disputare de Deo, Philosophia et Mathematica nihil possumus loqui, quia nihil intelligimus, sed si Paternitas tua inter alios operarios quos huc erut missurii Antonium Rubinum fratrem nostrum qui Goa moratur huc nenire juserit, quia iste, ut dicut, est magni ingenii et ualde Doctus, in mathematica, magna erit spes, ut Rex et alii cognoscant, suos errores, et conuertantur, et ne ab aliis qui Goa morãtr., operari huc uenientes, impediãtr., ad ViceProuincialem si eos misserit, erit maxime expediens, sic etiam, ut solbantur multae difficultates haec V. Prouincia si Prouincia fuerit constituta, erit (ut mihi uidetur) maxime expediens: dico hoc quia VProuincialem uideo esse magni amimi ad missiones faciendas Prouincialem uero tam difficile ad dondos operarios ut ex sexaginta operariis quos Pater Albertus adduxit sex tantum illi sunt dati, et ejus VProuincia est tam ampla ut uix litteris possit Est (haec) missio walde magna operarii uero pauci Et sut multi qui petut Patres et quia caremus istis dari non possut, ut mittat ergo rogamus Paternitatem tuam non solum ad ViceProuinciam multos Patres sed etiam ad hanc V. Prouinciam destinatos et jubeat ne ab aliis ne huc ueniãt impediãtr. Haec sunt quae hoc anno mihi uisa sut Paternitati tuae scribenda de lingua uero in litteris annuis scribentur uale iterum uale meque indignum seruum Paternitatis tuae flexum Paterna tua benedictione benedicat, uehementer rogo datum anno 1603. die decimo septembris.

VIII

AN EXTRACT OF THE 'LITTERAE ANNUAE' OF THE PROVINCE OF MALABAR, 1602.

(1603.)

Emtre os Proueitos q̃ desta missão se seguirão não foi pequeno afeiçoar tanto hu Rei tão poderozo aos Portuguezes que p renouar a amizada q̃ seus ante passados antiguam^te fizerão, mas ja estaua quazi de todo esqueçida, mandase ao Vizo Rei seus embaixadores com os nosos p^es com hua mui onrroza Embaixada como ja cuido q̃ a anno passado se escreueo. despedidos os Embaixadores de goa com fauores, e honrras do Vizo Rei forão p terra a Chandegri, aonde diante do Rei, e mais snors de sua corta apregoarão as grandezas das nosas couzas, e os fauores q̃ do Vizo Rei e p em goa tinhão Recebido, o qoal seu Rei m^to estimou, e mostrouse da hi p^a diante m^to mais afeiçoados a nosas couzas, Em Resposta desta Embaixada lhe mandou outra ao Vizo Rey, O embaixador foi Recebido do Bisnaga com m^tas omrras e aparato p q̃ chegando a chandegri o saio receber hu dos principaes do comselho real com Ellefantes, camellos, cauallos, ataballes, e mais sinaes de allegria e festa, e apozentou nos melhores passos, e cazas daqla Sidade. Estaua neste tempo o Rei em Trepetti duas legoas de chandegri he esta Sidade de Tripetti mui grd e formoza e como outra Roma p^a esta gentilidade p cauza de hu pagode mui venerado q̃ nella esta dedicado ao seu Pirmal q̃ parece responder a Satanas, aqui comcorre de todo este oriente gente Innumerauel q̃ vem com grandes deuacoes e ofertas a vizitar este Pagode. nesta cidade quis o Rey Receber o noso Embaixador mandandoo busquar com m^to aparato, e magestade p lo seu Intimo priuado, e estaua o Rei no Enterior de hu pateo granissimo, não co Ricos vestidos, o q̃ os não costumão: mas cheio de pedraria manilhas, e Ramaes de perorolas do pe ate a caveza, em q̃ emtrauao duas Joias de notauel fermuzura, hua esmeralda sirquada de grandes perollas, e finos diamantes, outra hu Rubi, de m^to presso, e notauel grandeza, chegou o Embaixador por o Joelho no chao, o Rei o fes alleuantar e asentar Recebeo a carta e o presente do Vizo Rei com mostras de m^ta allegria, e tratou da amizade e comunicação q̃ com os Portuguezes desejaua ter, e outras couzas pertemçentes ao bẽ do Estado, e depois depedio o Embaixador cheo de onrras, e merçes, e aos p^es mostrou m^to melhor agazalhado e affeiçao qro^a o Snor p estes meios dispor aqlã segua gentillidade p^a Receber o lumẽ da fee.

IX

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CTAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, January, 15th, 1602).

Quanto as Residencias de Bengala, e Pegu mandarey tambẽ Visitar p algu Pré como V. P. ordena; Posto que eu este anno passado tinha determinado de as Visitar em pessoa, e chegar atte Malaca, mas porque depois vierão novas, q̃ por aquelle mar auia muitas naos de Olandezes, e Ingrezes, nossos imigos, e tinhão tomadas algnas Naos dos nossos Portuguezes da India, e não parecia estaua este ano a passajẽ segura, fuy forçado deixar a Visita, e de são Thome depois de Visitar a Residencia de Bisnagá, tornar a este Collegio, como fiz no mes de Nouebro passado, auendo ja seis mezes, que partira delle, que tanto tempo he neces° pera Visitar as Costas de Trauancor, da Pescaria, Manàr, Negapatão, o Collegio de sao Thome, e a Residencia de Bisnagá, em Chandegry, a qual de sao Thome não dista mais que dous dias, e meo de caminho p terra, e m^to^ siguro.

de. Cochim. 15. de Jan. de 1604.

+

ALBERTO LAERTIO.

X

AN EX TRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. JOAO ALVAREZ

(Cochin, January, 18th, 1604.)

A Residencia de Chandegry no Reino de Bisnaga he empresa de grade importancia, promete de si muito, e se pode esperar grande conversão; não esta o neg° em mais que em começar algum sor de aquelles a se bautizar que logo o seguirão os outros. São aquelles senhores muy grandes e ricos, hus tem quinhentos mil cruzados de renda, outros seis centos mil, outros quatro centos mil, e destes a muitos, e todos são muito amigos dos Pres., muito corteses, affaveis e de muito bom entendimento; e muitos delles nos pedem que fazem igreias e casas em suas cidades, offrecendo a renda pera sustantação dos Pres, mas ategora não aceitamos, nem se fez ainda conversão porque não ouue ate gora Pres que se applicassem de proposito, a aprender suas lingoas, que são duas, hua a comua que se falla e vulgar, a outra como latim em q̃ estão escritas as seitas e fabulas dos seus deoses, e sem

haver quẽ saiba estas lingoas pouco se pode esperar, poi não he Ds de fazar milagros, mas o pᵉ francisco Ricio aprende a vulgar was a velho e não se atreve aprender a segunda, o Pe Belchior Coutinho tinha começado aprender a primeira lingoa...Tambem importa o Irmão Bertholameu Pintor pera esta Viceprovincia ia o anno passado o escrevey a V. R.

Cochim 18 de Janeiro de 1604 +

ALBERTO LAERZIO.

XI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CLADIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, January 12th, 1605).

Tenho este anno Visitado outra uez toda esta V. Prouincia até sao Thome com mᵘᵗᵗ consolação minha, pollo bom procedimento, e augmento que achey nos nossos todos e nas Christandades que temos a nossa conta, seja o Sor muito louuado, e se o Pᵉ Manoel da Veiga Prouincial de Goa, não fora tão contrario a esta V. Prouincia, por se ter feita esta separação contra o seu parecer, e traça, e querer tudo péra a sua Prouincia de Goa e nos acudira com alguas ajudas, mais de sogeites, aptos assy pera estes nossos estudos, como pera estas impresas, particularmente pᵗ às de Bisnagá que hé de muy grande importancia, e esperanças; Não duuido que estivera esta V. Prouia em tudo muito mais adiante, e o negoçeo da Conuersão com muito mais augmento. A necessidᵉ que temos do Irmão Bertolameu Pintor pera estas xptandades hè muy grande, mas o Pᵉ Prouãl o não largara de Goa, se V. P. lhe não mandar espressamente nolo dé; sem hauer lugar a replica, nem a epiqueja, e afora que eu em Roma pedy a V. P. este Irmão so pera se occupar nestas Christandades, parece que se deue contentar a Prouincia de Goa com hauer ja dous anos que lá está.

Cochym. 12. de Janᵉᵒ. de 1605. +

ALBERTO LAERZIO.

XII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. MANOEL ROIZ TO Fr. JOAO ALVARES.

(St. Thome, November 1st, 1606.)

Quando vim para esta terra, q̃ foi aos 3 de Setembro de 1606. a achei de brigas emtre os Portugueses, q̃ ha dous, ou 3. annos q̃ durão; tambem ha poucos mezes q̃ brigarão os

mesmos Portugueses, q̃ aqui morão com os gemtios q̃ estão fora da nossa cidade, porq̃ matando elles ha a hum Portugues aqui cazado, os Portugueses tomando disso grande paxão sayrão fora da cidade, e derão na pouoação dos gentios, q̃ estaua perto, Roubando tudo, e tambem em hua forataleza do Rey gentio, q̃ he o Rey de Bisnaga, a qual esta iunto da nossa cidade, e lhe poserão a fogo, com q̃ o Rey, q̃ esta daqui a 18. ou 20. legoas, ficou m^to sentido, e se mostrou arrufado ainda com os nossos padres, sen lhe querer mais falar ate agora: mas esperamos q̃ o tempo cure tudo, e q façamos boms concertos com o Rey, com q̃ fiquemos em paz. quanto as missoes deste Reino de Bisnagà, digo q̃ coforme a informação, q̃ tenho tomado dos padres q̃ la andarão ate agora, q̃ são os padres Belchior Coutinho e Simão de Saa, ha m^to poucas esperanças de conversão, por estarem estes negros muito obstinados naquelle diabolico fundam^to q̃ ia ha escreui a V. R. porq̃ aindaq̃ Reconhecem a nossa lei por boa, dizem q̃ tambẽ a sua he boa, e q̃ nella se poden saluar e q̃ nella querem Viuer, pois he conforme aos seus costumes, e de seus antepassados exct. em Chandregri ha 6 christaos, q̃ os padres ali fizerão, gente pobriss^a de q̃ os mesmos padres se seruião; agora ao presente estão limitados pera continuarẽ com estas missoes os p. Belchior Coutinho, e Ant^o. Rubino, e o irmão Bertolameu fontebona, q̃ he pintor, porẽ todos estão ainda neste Collegio, e vierão de là os dous p^es. por accasião do p^e. Prouiucial Alberto Laercio, q̃ uisitou este Collegio neste mez de Setembro, mas não foi visitar as missoes, ne el Rey de Bisnagá, por estar o mesmo Rey exasperado pollo q̃ aseima disse; e nem os padres irão atee se não fezerem os concertos, posto q̃ tambem ha outro impedim^to. a hirão, q̃ he não auer que gastar, porq̃ el Rey de Bisnagá ha 3. annos q̃ não lhes paga a ordinaria, q̃ costumaua darlhe os annos passados, e tem ja os padres das missoes m^tes. diuidas.....

Deste Collegio da pouoacão de S. Thome oie prim^o. de Nouembro de 1606.

Seruo em X.

\+
MANOEL ROIZ.

XIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. BELCHIOR COUTINHO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(St. Thome, November, 4th 1066.)

O p. An^o. Rubino q̃ esteue huns dias en Velur e veo p^a qua doente. O Ir. Bertolameo fonte buone q̃ esta aqui

pintando e experando coniunção p^{a} q̃ se o Rei tornar a comunicação q dantes co nosco tinha va tambem la assistir pois p este fim nosso p nos concedeo o p$_{e}$. Ant rubino e o Ir. Bertolameo marauillosos soieitos, esta mais o p^{e} João fe^{a} q̃ tem cuidado da Igreia da Madredepi e o p. P. mexia que corre co a fabrica da Igreia noua da Serã, e ha procurador do Colleg^{o}. Vinha taobem pa ir uisitar ao Rei mas não podeser pollo q̃ logo cortarei, leuoa taobem o p^{e} co sigo o p. simão de Saa q a todos nos deixou saudosos p q$^{=}$ fors aqui R^{tore}. e principiara a amizade co este Rei, esta missão de Bisnaga. Estaua o p^{e}. ao presente no porto de Baleacate sete legoas daqui p^{a} a parte de norte, e alli co gr^{des}. encontros de inimigos gentios e mouros traladado principio aq̃lla residencia, ateq̃ finalm^{te} achou o p^{e}. pr^{al}. q̃ couinha tirar lhe o p^{e}. p nao se fazer alli o frutu esperado, e pollas m^{tas}. iniurias feitas aos xpãos, e ao p^{e}. q̃ ultimam^{te} retiuerão hum dia com preja e aos xpãos, e nunca lhe derao sustentacao mais q ao principio e assim determino o p^{e}. pu^{al}. não lhe dar p^{e}. nenhum ate satisfazerem as iniurias e comprirem as condicoes prometidas : e pode ser q̃ tãobem se lhes procure algun castigo, pq̃ são tão inimigos q̃ ia por duas ueses indo p está a nao Olandeza alli a querião receber e os cometião p^{e}. desembarcarem e os meterem co o Rei ; mas aretiarãose q̃ daqui lho impedissem, e taobem en Velur co o Rei negoceamos ollas p q p nenhum caso lhe consentissem o sairem en terra. fi se entao a nao a Mucule patao e alli leixou seus feitores e se partio p^{a} as partes de malaqua, na moncao en q daqui forao em Setembro os nauios p^{a} pegu e malaqua, queira Ds q̃ lhe não fosse algum cair nas nos.

Agora fuimos aqui p^{a} cedo uoltar para terra adentro, P^{e}. An . rubino p^{e}. Chamdregui, q̃ he hu P^{e}. de m$_{to}$. ser exçellente mathematico e theologo m^{to}. bo pregador m^{to}. uirtuozo...eu he dir p^{e}. Velur, onde este anno o Rei tornou a por sua Corte, e (eu) fui tambẽ là por ordẽ q̃ p^{a} isto tinha, e ( ) q̃ o Rei nos deu dentro da l^{a}. çerca de fortaleza hu casa e Igreja e aruorei a Sa + Sobre a porta, he isto nu(a formo)sa rua que uai de norte a Sul entestar co as paredes do paço. onde a Igreja he uisitada de m^{tas} . parentes do Rei amigos e uezinhos nossos q folgao de ouuir as cousas de Deus. Temos alli sinco xpãos ( ) dos onze q̃ auia em Chandregui. co elles me consolo no meo dos desgostos e offenças qual foi este anno a guerra q̃ o Rei teue co os portuguezes moradores desta terra : e a occasião foi q̃ ẽ iunho passado soçedeo matarẽ aqui os (gentios) de noite a hu portuguez honrado a qual sẽ ordo foi a buscar hua moça q̃ lhe tinha leuado de casa hu soldadẽ do adigar ou gorvernador gentio resistio o soldado, ac oderao

de sua fortaleza outros m^tos. ẽ seu fauor, alançearão ao portugueze matarão. e ferirao hu seu cainhado. E isto ue a noua a cid^e amutinãose os homẽs, tratão de logo de noite dar na fortaleza, dis ẽos o capitão ate amanheçer en amanheçendo aiuntãose à do capitão, insistẽ q̃ saião sobre elles, repugnão os velhos da cid^e. dãolhe os P^es. conselho q̃ sobrestejão ate auizar ao Rei q̃ lhes ode dar satisfação. não estão de acorde a isto, pualecẽ os mançebos, saiẽ co o capitão q̃ mande ( ), poese todos em armas, saiẽ fora da cid^e. queimão a pouoação e fortaleza dos gentios, sendo ia o seu adigar de noite acolhido tornãose a recolher a Cid^e. Vão as queixas do adigar a Rainha faz elle mil lastimas ao Rei, elle saie fora poe se ẽ sua corte ( )

De. S. Thome 4. de nouembro de 606.

BELCH.^m COUTINHO.

XIV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. BELCHIOR COUTINHO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(St. Thome, November 4th, 1606.)

O Rei ai (ir) pera Velur co sua corte nos deu m^to. bom Sitio dentro na pr^a. cerca da fortaleza onde por nao ãdar como o anno atras mendigando por casas imprestadas fis casas, e Igreia e aruorey a S. + sobre a Porta na frontaira dua formosa Rua q̃ uay dinante a Sul p' enestar co as paredes do Paço e asy a Igreia he uisitada de m^tos. do Rei, amigos, e uisinhos nossos e tèmos ali sinco dãq̃les onsexpãos q̃ tinhamos em Chandregui co os q̃^s me consolei no meio da perturbacão q̃ digo q̃ o Diabo aleuãtou a occasião foi de hua brega que cá os Portuguezes tiuerão co os Gentios originada da morte de hu Portugues ao q̃ de noite alancearão os Gentios, aqui fora da Cidade perto de sua fortaleza, e ueio a noua a Cidade amotinarão se os homẽs querião ir de noite dar na fortalesa detuue os o capitão ate o dia seguinte en amanhecido puserãose een armas forãose a porta do Capitão e preualecerão mais os conselhos dos mãcebos q̃ dos P^es. e ancioes de Cid mandou o Capitão tocar o sino sairão todos queimarão a pouoacão e fortaleza dos Gentios mandou logo o dtto lugar o seu gouernador suas olas ou Cartas ao Rei mui falsas e a Rainha a qual por nossos peccados tè agora o Senhorio desta tr . ella sobre isto fes mil lastimas ao

Rei i o qual saio fora pos se e sua Corte lerão se estas cartas, não quiso o Rei ouuir a do P^e R^or. q̃ hia ẽ defesa da Cidade ficou tão embrauecido q̃ de cordeiro q̃ era na condicão ficou feito hu leão dizendo mil roncas q̃ auia asolar e destruir esta tr^a. nomeou capitaes p^a. este effeito disse q̃ não queria mais amisade co P^es. nẽ Portugueses, nẽ ter P^es. em seu reino e q̃ auia de chamar os Olandezes etti. De modo q̃ disserão os seus q̃ nuca o uirão tão agastado ẽ toda sua uida como neste caso, e assi nẽ quis falar co nosco nẽ ler nossas cartas, nẽ deste Pouo, nẽ ouuir nenhuas resoes da parte dos Portugueses posto q̃ por nosso respeito ate agora desistio de mãdar exercito sebre esta tr^a. ja se trata de concerto quererà Ds. q̃ seia como for p^a. seu diuino seruiço. Co a uinda do P. Prou^al. nos aiutamos aqui co a occasião de uer ao P^e. como p^a. co nossa ausẽsa p^a. algu tpo significaremos ao Rei q̃^to se sentio o q̃ fes ao padre Nicolao Leuãto Reitor q̃ então era em não querer ouuilo por espaço de dous meses q̃ ali esteue nẽ tomar o presente q̃ leuaua ẽ nome desta tr^a., se fora pollo Rei ia isto estiuera asabado mas he tão sogeito a negra Rainha. a q̃le tudo gouerna, q̃ por lhe não dar disgosto quebrara co todo o mudo, e ella quis q̃ não teuessemos entrada ao Rei como dãtes ate cá de S. Thome lhe não darẽ os intereses de dr^o. e presentes q̃ ella espera em satisfacão do q̃ fizerão. O P^e. Prouincial escreueo ( ) ao Rei dandolhe disculpa de o não ir este anno uisitar, e fis bem o P^e. Prouincial em não hir q̃ se ariscaua a não lhe falar. tambẽ o P^e. Nicolao Leuãto lhe escreueo de como esta aqui hu Caualo q̃ o Arcebpo. Gouernador mãda q̃ leue o P^e. a S. A. e como quer q̃ o Irmão desta Rainha ha te ia pedido ao Rei este Caualo p^a. (si) fes co elle q̃ escreuesse ao P. Prou^al. e a o P. Leuãto q̃ fossẽ co o Caualo, e assi iá escreueo duas Cartas sobre isto deixou o P^e. Prou^al. ordẽ q̃ fosee o P^e. como ca a tr^a. se concertasse co o Rei. Quererà Ds. q̃ seia luogo, e ẽtretãto temos pessoas de recado em velur e Chandrigui, p^a. onde ha de ir o P^e. Ant^o. Rubino emp^a. velur, e se o Rei tornar a comunicacão q̃ dãte tinha co nosco irá tambẽ o Irmão Bertholameu fuente buena pague N. Sr. a charidade de mandar p^a. ca a taes sogeitos o P^e. Rubino tão excellente mathematico e theologo, e o Irmão tao excellente Pintor ambos cheos de m^tas. uertudes e perfeicoes, as mais cousas, deixo & q̃ da Carta annua terá V. P. noticia de todas, e assy acabo pedindo a benção de V. P. naqual e nos s^a. Sacrifícios de V. P. peço ser encomendado. De S. Thome 4. de nouembro de 606.

BELCH^or. COUTNHO.

XV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. BELCHIOR COUTINHO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Vellore, November 5th, 1607.)

Passandas as festas de Natal e JESVS, nos tornamos p^a. a missão, o P^e. An^to. Rubino pera a de Chandegri; e o irmão Berthalemeo fonte bona e eu para esta de Velur onde agora este Rei tẽ Sua Corte.....(Fr. Coutinho relates here the different signs of the royal friendship as they are already related in the preceding letters.) Agora faz 2. annos escreueo El Rei a V. P. nestas naos esperamos a reposta p^a. lhe ãpsentar, pode ser q̃ a traga o P^e. Prouincial q̃ detremina passar en o fevereiro.....

De Velur 5. de nouembro de 607.

Minimo e xto. de V. P. BELCH^or. COUTINHO.

XVI

A LETTER OF Bro. BARTOLOMEO FONTEBONA TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Vellore, November, 7th 1607.)

Pax xpi

Não quis deixar de dar nouas de minha saude a V. P. e como estamos nesta Corte com m^a. minha consolação vendo este Rei q̃ nos mostra tanto amor q.^to se pode desejar. Não mando a V. P. nouas desta Residencia pq̃ o p^e Belc^or. Cout^e. com o qual estou juntamente soube q̃ tinha escrito na Carta anoa tudo meudam^te como V. P. vera, eu me ccupo cada dia pintando algua couza diante do mesmo Rei o qual gosta tanto de uer que não pode ser mais, e tenho lhe fe^to. alguãs imagẽs hu painel dua nossa Senra donde sobre a mesma Imagẽ passarãosse m^tas praticas Como o p^e Belc^or. Cout^e tera escrito, e fasendo m^to oferecim^tos. de dadiuas não quisemos nunca aceitar nada pq̃ o p^e proul nas proibio que não tomassemos dr^e. donde ficou tão espantado disendo pubricamente diante de todos os grandes que hu oficial tam grande que nuca lhe pedimos nada mas disse depois pubricamente que me queria faser homrras, e dise que Mandou faser hu par de manilhas douro Com pedrarias p^a me dar, e cuido que me dara no fim dua lamina q̃ actualmente estou fasendo em sua presença, e tambẽ lhe tenho f^to alguãs laminas pequenas

m^to bam acabadasem particular hua du Saluador, e outra dua N. Snora o qual estimou m^to e disemme q̃ o tem m^to bem guardada, e cada dia esta olhando por ellas m tempo. aquelle mesmo Sor, e Snora lhe queira abrir os olhos do coração p^a que lo adore, e lo reuerẽcie Como o merecẽ. diserãome como este anno vinha hu Irmão pintor m^to bom eu folguei m^to porque veyo a m^to bom tempo p^a acabar a casa professa de goa q̃ eu tinha comecada, e acabada a quarta parte e se se acabar sera hua das fermosas Igrejas que se poça ver. as cousas da india uão sempre pior em pior, e não faltão perseguicoes m^to grande Deos seja aquelle que ponha a mão nas suas obras porque os homẽs do mundo parece que la querẽ mais apaguar q̃ manter. Encomendo m^to a V. P. o meu Irmão e que lhe faça faser algu bom lauor porque sei q la de faser tam bem quanto qualquer outro q estejão em Roma. não serei mais comprido encomẽdado me m^to a V. P. e nos seus sanctos sacrif^os e deuotas oracoes m^to me encomedo Etc de Velur oss sete de Novenbro 1607.

f^a e seruo em xpo de V. P.

+

I Bertalomeo fonte Bona.

XVII

A LETTER OF Fr. ANTONIO RUBINO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(*Chandragiri, November, 8th, 1607.*)

M^to. R^do. in Chro Prẽ nro

Pax Chro.

L' ano passato scrissi à V. P., e li diedi noua di esta missione dil regno di Bisnagá nella quale mi ritrouo p ordine di V. P. com molta consolat^e. dell' anima mia, sperãdo nel Signore di finire i miei pochi ani, che mi restano di uita in qsta missione, s' i miei molti peccati no me l' impedirano. Doppo che sto in qsto Chãdregui, che sono gia. 10. mesi, battelai quatro, il primo de quali è um figliuolo di 12 ani, il qual' ha prese tat' odio a quest' Idoli, che fa ( ) e confonde tutti qsti letterati, e mi dà moltiss^a cosola^a A detto sto catechizando. 8. p batteiarli questo natale col fiume diuino, e cosi andaremo facẽdo a poco à poco quello che potremo, aiutati della diuina gratia. e spero che doppo i pochi, uerrano molti. Jome ne sto solo in qsto Chãdregu Il P. Belchor Coutigno et il frllo Pittore Bartholomeo fontebona, se ne

stãno in Vellur doue al presente stà il Re, se bene jia di camino p qsto Chãdregui. faciamo quello, che potiamo p dilattare nra sãta fede, sed janua clausa est, et é necess^{a}. molta gratia di Dio p poterl' aperire, il nosrro officio sarà bettere, e no cessare di battere insin' a todo isto s' apra; ma poco ualerà il nostro battere esteriore, se Dio Benedetto no batte interiormẽte co le sue diuine inpsirati, como speriamo nella sua diuina misericordia, che farà. Jo he fatto un mappa molto grãde in lingua badagà co una longua dichiarat^{a}. nella stessa loro lingua ditt^{a}. le parti, prouicie, regni, e città pricipali di tt^{i}. il mudo e lo diede al Re, il quale resto stupito. feci ãche un breue tratato del numero, monumẽti, distãze, e grossezze de cieli. e lo diedi pur anche all' istesso Re, il quale lo uolse udir' a legere co molta attet^{a}. in presẽza di tt^{i}. i suoi letterati, i quali restorono co la bocca aperta uedẽdo la grãde differẽza che n' è tra la nra dottrina, e la loro, e la uerità della nra, e la falsitè de la loro. e cosi pian piano andaremo facẽdo uarie cose co la gratia diuina p alletarli piu in isto modo alle cose di nra sãta fede. Piaccia al Signore illuminarli gl'intelletti accio che si saluino, tutti No m' occurre pa detto, se noldimãdar humil^{e}. la sua sãta benedit^{a}. Di Chãdregui città del regno di. Bisnalga alli 8. di nouẽbro 1607.

D. V P

Indigniss^{o}. figlio in Chro

ANT^{o}. RUBINO.

XVIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. BELCHIOR COUTINHO TO Fr, JOAO ALVAREZ

(Vellore, November 11th, 1607.)

Causarão m^{to}. sentim^{to}. as nouas q̃ o anno passado escreuimos das dezauenças q̃ ouve antre este Rei e a cid^{e} de são Thome, da paixão q̃ tomãra polla queima de sua fortaleza, e pollo conseguinte de nossa estada na mesma tr^{a}. ate auer comodid. pera tornarmos esta. Mudouse esta tempestade em bonãca, pq̃ depois q̃ soubemos estar aplacado segundo nostra em mandar hu nouo adigar e gouernador a São Thome, tirando dali aquelle q̃ com a morte do portugues fora causa das inquietacoes passadas, viemos emtão p cà em Janeiro o Irmão Bertolameu fontebona e eu, entre as mais cousas que demos de presente al Rei, asertou de uir hua Bacia de bollo de doce q̃ tinha Ido ao Coleg^{o} na festa de JESV, hera obra

engenhosa hu pilicano, e os f^{o}. entao lhe disse eu na lingoa que ate antão os moradores de São Thome estauão como mortos por não terẽ por si a graça de S.A. Depois q̃ Como pai mostrara do peito ( ) q lhes, tornarão Como f^{o}. a uiuer a semelhança dequella aue eti. festejou isto pq̃ são homẽs de Comparacoes. Apresentei o Irmão disendolhe como vieia de longe mandado por N. P. gerão p^{e} pintar a uista de S. A. estimou isto m^{to}. pedio logo ao Irmão q̃ lhe mostrasse algua Cousa de sua mão, não tinha por emtão mais q̃ os 2 retratos de nossos BB. PP. quando el Rei os uios, ficou pasmado, não pode crer q̃ o Irmão os fizera, a que lhe eu disse ser testemunho: perguntou se a sua uista poderia faser outros Como aquelles: respondeo que sim posse ẽ efeito. nu painel grande por sua ordẽ os foi debuxando gostando o Rei de uer a ligereza com que o Irmão o fasia quando foi a pintura em obra de hora e m^{a}. Repatou o Rosto do B. P. Ignacio, ficou pasmado el Rei e indose pa dentro lhe mandou logo hu Rico pano dourado ao modo de suas honrras custumadas. foi cotinuãdo com a pintura, e com esta ocasião lhe fomos disendo as principãis cousas e maraiulhas, e uirtudes do B. P. ignacio i do B. P. fr^{e} os quais folgaua m^{to}. de ouuir e ficara os sus conhecidos nesta Corte este dous S^{tes}., queirão ser intersessores p^{a}. sua conuersão fez tambe o seu retratoe com ser elle e si m^{to} graue todauia pera este efeito se mudou do seu lugar e pos no q̃ hera mais conforme p o irmão o ir Retratando—Depois tambẽ a sua uista, e peticão fes hu painel de Virgẽ N. Senora com seu Diuino f^{o}. nos peitos e da outra parte o s^{to}. menino Bap^{ta}. e detras o s^{to}. Josept comforme a estampa q̃ tinha uista, ficou o painel perfeitiss^{o} e esta posto nu alto de fronte do lugar onde cada dia el Rei fala com os seus, ou le com os bramenes letrados, os quais lhe quisera diser que p^{a} que era estar ali aquelle painel f^{o}. pollos xpãos. eti. a o q̃ Respondeo o Rei, esta alcatifa em que eu estou asentado, e uos tambem, não ueola das tr^{as}. delles pois porque se estamos nela não pode estar ali aquelle painel; esse veludo de uos tendes na Cabeca essa Culaya q̃ he a seu modo Galteiras não ueo tambe de sua tr^{a}. ? m^{to}. outros passos ouue semelhantes em que mostrou o amor q̃ nos tem. Como foi hu em que estando falando com o Se tatachare q̃ emtre elles he como Sumo Sacerdote diante de quem o Rei estira por tr^{a}. postoque que he indigno Deste officio por seus vicios. foi o Re. louuando os p^{es}. de serẽ Saniaces; religiosos e castos a o que o tatachare como ministro do Diabo Respondeo se os p^{e}. são Religiosos porque resão comẽ carne? ainda q̃ comẽ carne, disse o Rei, todauia são castos, e não tem molheres. Resposta que se a elle quisesem tomar por si, lhe quadraua

m^to^. bem, porque tem m^tas^ em caza; e he daquelles que engoliao o camello em xotando os mosquitos—outro dia se oferesceo larga pratica de cousas de Ds q̃ el Rei foi ouuindo m^to^. de uagar os 10. Mandam^tos^. e a explicacão delles, disendo o noso lingoa tratando do p^ro^. Como so auia hu Ds verd^ro^.; e todos os mais herão Diabos, calouse El Rei nada Disse. porẽ os bramenes lhe dizião p. que era ouuir isto? ao que Respondeo que hera couza boa e era bem ouuila—tambem se alegrou m^to^. de uer os liuros de Imagẽs q̃ o Irmão lhe mostrou specialm^te^.o do p^e^ nadal uendo huã ẽ huã todas as folhas perguntando meudam^te^. o q̃ hera, e folguando de ouuir tão altos mist^os^. e pque o seu mestre bramene quis embicar nos da paixão sendo hu daquelles a q̃ S, Paulo dizia que parecia stultitia o nosso lingoa o foi conuencendo com hist^a^. de seus falsos tão indignos de Diuinid^e^. e lhe declaramos como aquelo era extremo de amor o que Deus humanado chegou por nas saluar. E Rei ouuia tudo e calauasse, não se tomãdo de ouuir falar mal de seos idolhos e pagodes. Deus os alumie e todos p que se saluẽ—a o presente a sua petição lhe uai o Irmão pintando em laminas. E são infinitos os louuores q̃ tem deto do Irmão.—Deixo outras couzas e cazos particulares que aqui aconteceráo, porque por extenso o puzemos nos apontamentos q̃ aqui forão p carta annua—Em Chandrigri esta o p^e^. Ant^o^. Rubino fazendo m^to^. seruico a Deos, o P^e^. e o Irmão ca Ambos m^to^. uirtuosos continuam^te^. me emfundẽ tem o p^e^. Baptizado algus e uay seguindo o selho e feruor do bom p^e^. Fr^co^. Ricio q̃ Deos tẽ Ca ueo o p^e^ Antonio Rubino e uisitar a El Rei dandolhe de presente hu mapa escrito en letras Badegas e ali huã descripcão por extenso dos Reinos principaes, e dos 4 elementos, e dos doze Ceos q̃ folgou m^to^. de ouvir ler, e preguntou m^tas^. couzas curiosas de mathematica o que o P^e^ Respondeo excelentem^te^., Estes dias teria o p^e^. que fazer com o cometa q̃ apareceo ẽ outubro p aparte do ponente mouendose ad motum primi mobilis, aja Deos misericordia de nos, e deste Reino q̃ esta perdendo da uida del Rei ja m^te^ velho, e con m^tos^ sobrinhos q̃ pretendẽ soceder...

De Velur 11. de nouembro de 607. De. V. R. indigno em Christo filho.

BELCH^or^. COUTINHO.

XIX

A LETTER OF Bro. BARTOLOMEO FONTEBONA TO Fr. JOAO ALVARES.

(Velore, November 11, 1607).

Pax xpi.

Queria escreuer a V R alguas nouas deste Rey de bisnaga mas como sube que o p^{e} Belc^{or} Cout^{o}. tinha escrito a V R, e dado relação de tudo não tocarei nisto senão dando nouas demim, e de minha saude A Deos louuores, estou ao presente neste Velur jontamente com o p^{e} Belchior Cout^{o}. ocupandome em pintar alguãs cousas cada dia no paço diante do Rei oqual mostra tanto gosto em uer me pintar q^{to}. q̃ eu tenho desejo de lhe dar gosto porque he hu Sor de grande respeito, prudencia, intendimento Como qualquer eoropeo, E mostranos tanto amor que he espanto. Muito curioso de praticar de nossas cousas, e imparticular de Nossa sancta fé Como V R sabera nas carta anoas q̃ o p^{e} la mãda Desta Residencia, e Nos tem tanto amor, e respeito, e nos homrra que os seus vassalhos espantão, Como foi em particular hu dia estando eu doente soubi q̃ o Rei auia de sair fora do paço fui a uisitar antes q̃ saisse, e saido pera fora me opresentei diante dandolhe de minha mão hu vidrianto Cheyo de Agoa Rosada parou, e tomou o vidro na mão & comecou a praticar Comigo disendo Como eu estaua m^{to}. magro e amarilho e ou nas palauras mostrando sentimento de minha doença. O dia segumte indo correguandome mais a doença fuime nec^{o}. ir p^{a} São Thome p^{a} me curar aonde estiue quasi dous meses, e a doenca hera do fasti(go) m^{to}. grande Sobindo o Rei que eu não milhoraua nada mandoume hu regimento como mẽ auia de curar, e soubimos tambẽ q̃ uiyo por uia da Rainha. Depois de sanar tornei p^{a} este Velur comecei a pintar hu painei duã N. Snora donde sobre a mesma Imagẽ pasarãose m^{tas} praticas Como o p^{e}. Bh^{or} Cout^{o}. tera escrito, e fasendome m^{to}. ofereceim^{to}. de dadiuas mas como o proul nos proibio q̃ não tomassemos d^{r}. nao quisemos aceitar, donde ficou tam espantado que pubricam^{te} disia parate os seus gra^{des}. q̃ nunca lhe pedimos nada e sindo q̃ esta gente he tam inclinado a pedir q̃ he cousa pasmosa. tambem tenho feito ao Rei alguãs pinturas em laminas em particular du Saluadr: e N. Snora que tinho f^{to}. p^{a} mim p^{a} dar algum padre leuamos lhe a mostrar folgou m^{to}. de uer e leuou p^{a} dentro a mostrar a Rainha, e nunca mas tornou, soubemos depois q̃ o tinha guardado num Caixão. donde tem as suas joyas m^{to} bem cubertas e cada dia o tiraua

fora olhando m^to^ tempo por ellas queira aquelle mesmo Snor e Senora que tudo pode, abrirlhe os olhos do coração p^a^ que lho reuerencie e adore como o merecẽ. a o presente disem q̃ o Rei fas faser Duas manilhas douro com pedrerias p^a^ me dar q̃ he aos seus modos faser grande honrras dar manilhas, joyas Culares o outras cousas semelhantes. estou agora fasendolhe outra lamina diante delle que me pidio q̃ lhe fisesse porque me queria uer pintar cousas pequenas, por isto peço a V R q̃ me mande algum pinceis daquelles pequeninos q̃ sejão m^to^ bos. Diserãome q̃ uinha hu irmão pintor framẽgo m^to^ bom com oqual folguei porque hira acabando a Igreja Noua de Caza professa q̃ eu tinha comecada que si se acabar a de ser hua das bellas Igrejas q se poça uer mas duuido que se acabara tam depressa por que a obra he tão grande que não podera acabar hu so em quinza anos. não mos faltão enfad^o^ m^tos^. e perseseguicoes. Deos seja aquelle que ponha a mão na sua obra porque os homẽs do mudo parece que la querẽ mais apagar q̃ manter não me estenderei mais Nisto porque o sabera mais meudam^te^. Encomẽdo m^to^ a VR o meu Irmão, e o ajude fazerlhe dar algua obra boa pq̃ sei q̃ o sabera fazer perfeitam^te^ como qquer outros. não se ofrece mais Destas partes. Rogo m^to^ a VR. que me encomende a o p^e^ Joseph de fano, e a todos os p^es^ e Irmãos e emparticular a o Irmão Juliano pasagnano a la su deuota oraciom. nos sanctos sacrif^os^, e deuotas oracoes de De V R m^to^ me encomẽdo. de Velur aos onse de Nouẽbro de 1607.

Minimo Seruo em xpo de V R

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I Bartolomeo Fonte bona

XX

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVIA.

(Cochin, November 20th, 1607).

Nas Residencias de Bisnagá se uay contimuando co a couersão, q̃ o bo P. Fr^co^. Ricio tinha começado, e o p. Antonio Rubino em Chandrigry tẽ ja feito algus xpãos de nouo, como elle escreuera a V.P. E pera o p. Belchor Coutinho fallar, e tratar as cousas de nossa s^a^. fè co el Rey, foy grande meo o Ir. Pintor Fontebona, q̃ he a el Rey e a todos muy aceito, e uiue là co m^ta^. edificação e exemplo, e merece p sua m^ta^. bondade tudo. A my pareciame poderia ajudar na

qlles Reynos muito mais se fosse jutam^{to}. Sacerdote, elle sabe latim q̃ basta: verdade he q̃ nuca elle me fallou nisto nẽ directe nẽ indirecte, nẽ nhua outra pessoa p elle, nẽ exerguey nelle q̃ disto tiuesse imaginção nhua; mas eu som^{te}. cuidey nisto ha ja algus anos, p me parecer fara co isto m^{to}. mais serviço a Nosso Sor, e na Prouia cuido não auerà disto nhum escandalo nos outros Ios coadjutores, p estar elle na qlles terras tã separado dos outros, e co tã differente ministerio, e não seberẽ por uentura em q̃ estado seja recebido na Com^{a}. Se a V.P. parece bẽ mandar esta licença, pera my tenho serà pera gloria de Nosso Sor, e mayor bẽ dqllas almas.

Al P. Roberto Nobili mandamos p^{a}. a Residencia de Madure agora faz ano e meo, pera se perfecoar na lingoa dqllas partes, e prouarmos se se podia dar algu principio a algua conuersão na qlles Reynos...

Cochim. 20. de Nouebro de 607.

D. V. P.

Inutil filho e S^{no}. em Chro

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ALBERTO LAERCIO

XXI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ANTONIO VICO TO Fr. PIETRO ANT. SPINELLI.

(Cochin, December 9th, 1607)

Il Re di Bisnagà ogni giorno piu s'affectio na alle cose di Dio, et da licenza a nri che si deuidono i altre città del suo Regno... di Cocci li 9 di xmbro. 1607.

D. V. R. Serui idigni i Cho.

ANT. VICO.

XXII

'LITTERAE ANNUAE' OF THF PROVINCE OF MALABAR, 1604-1606.

(1607).

Ex his (*Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji*) Gingensis qui proxime regiam ditionem attingit, regnum in alios minores Naiches sub-diviserat. Horum unus cui Lingamanaiche nomen est, paucarum urbium dominus, adeo divitiis pollebat ac viribus, ut Gingensis ac Bisnagrensis impetum

sustinere se posse ratus, fisus Volurensis arcis munitionibus, diu neutri parere voluerit.

Itaque Rex Bisnagrensis Adelaraio suo (is est dux exercitus maximus) dederat in mandatis ut rediens in hyberna Ciandegirinum, Volurum inopinatam aggrederetur. Adelarayus non procul ab ea urbe cum exercitu iter habens, prima nocte aberrase se ab itinire simulans, cum tatam noctem maxima celeritate praecurisset, non potuit tamen ante lucem Velurum ita cum omni exercitu opprimere, ut detectis portis exclusus et globorum ferreorum imbre e tormentis exploso, moenibus amotus non sit. Dous menses, ruente imbribus coelo, sine ulla spe urbis potiundae, Velurum obsedit. Cum ecce tibi quadam die duobus adelarai militum praefectis qui Lingamanaiche amicitia, nescio etiam an sanguine conjuncti erant, Velurum ad colloquium ingressis, in reditu Linguamanaiche urbanitatis ergo, amicos extra portas deducens, ab adelarai militibus capitur, atque in castra vinctus adducitur, ibique amicis custodiendus traditur. Qui ubi evadendi spem sibi praereptam vidit, astu atque cuniculis rem aggreditur. Adelaraium oneratum promissis ut liberet obsidione Velurum hortatur, viginti leches post discessum se daturum pollicitur, quindecim auri, et quinque gemmarum et margaritarum, (continet autem Lechis pagodes centum millia, qui sunt nummi aurei nostrates centum quinquaginta millia). Adelaraius Lingamanaichis dolos odoratus, litteras ad regem mitti quibus eum Velurum evocabat, nunc esse tempus, aiens, at regium erarium adimplendi, et suae ditionis fines addita urbe munitissima porrigendi. His litteris Rex, qui antea ad exterrendo Naiches Ciandagrino fuerat; regressus cum infinita prope militum, aliorumque hominum multitudine, magnoque elephantorum numero, Velurum versus castra movit, quinto idus Januarias anni 1604 January 9th. Eo ubi pervenit, militum ducumque acclamationibus ac militari plausu exceptus, Lingamanaichem qui se ad pedes regis abjecerat, bene sperare jussit, tum Lingamanaichis filiis qui tormentorum explosionibus Regem ab ingressu arcis arcebant, ut arma ponerent, imperavit. Tunc Rex cum Regina urbem ingressi in regia Laingamanaichis e marmore, auro, gemmisque distincta, opere Corinthio, commorati sunt. Totus que in eo rex positus erat ut viginti Leches, quos promiserat Lingamanaichis exprimeret, Sub idem tempus, ineunte scilicet Februario, P. Franciscus Ricius Regem ut inviseret ageretque cum eo quaedam negotia, ad Regem Velurum se contulit, a quo perhonorifice exceptus, atque per quatuor menses retentus est ; diutiusque

remansisset nisi quodam Regis simulato Chandagrinum regressu deceptus praecurrisset.

Non multo post tempore P. Belchior Coutinho, recuperandae valetudinis gratia, quam amiserat, S. Thoma venit ibique mansit usque ad mensem Augustum; quo tempore P. Provincialis eo Regem Bisnagrensem Patresque tam S. Thomae quam Ciandragiri visurus appulerat. S. Thomae P. Provincialis paululum commoratus, quinto idus septembris exornatus muneribus quae Regi daturus attulerat, videlicet, Elephantus quem dono a Rege Jaffnapatano acceperat, cane venatitio, aliisque munusculis, Patri-bus Rectore, Belchiore Coutinho, et Emmanuele Fonseca comitantibus Velurum iter aggreditur, atque ex itinere, Puley veterem Patrum Collegii S. Thomae amicum ut viseret, Canjiverano transire decreverat. Hic est qui Superioribus annis P. Francisco Martino nostri Collegii Rectore, cum a Rege Tangiaorio oppido S. Thomae fuisset praefectus, captus Nostrorum praesertim Rectoris consuetudine, ejusque sanctitatem admiratus, ex Regiis vectigalibus que cives S. Thomae Tangiaorio solvebant, quotannis trecenos nummos aureos quibus nunc victitent Patres, in annos singulos Patribus regio nomine donaverat.

Hic, P. Provincialis iter sübodoratus, certis locis qua Pater erat transiturus ut eum omni apparatu exciperent, sibi conjunctissimos quosque disposuerat. Prima itaque die cum Patres pervenissent Conducturum a Puley sororis filiis perhonorifice excipiuntur. Altero die pervenerunt Canjiveranum, que arx est munitissima Tanjaorii, magnificentissimi fane celebritate longe lateque maxime inclyta; quam arcem et alios amplius centum pagos Puley supra 40 annos administrat. Qui P. Provinciali aliquot leucas e sua familia virum nobilissimum obviam miserat, officii causa, et ut ad se spe eorum adventus exhilaratus deduceret; tum ipse sub nocte duobus militum milibus circumseptum, totidem ad arcis custodiam relictis, egressus est extra portas in planitiem satis amplam ibique duarum horarum spatium substitit, missis identidem exploratoribus qui scirent ac de Patrum itinere eum certiorem facerent, ac funalibus (nox enim iter habentes oppreseram Ubi pervenere, Pule senio facieque venerabilis, majoriqt). dignus imperio e suorum agmine procedens, taedariue funaliumque luminibus noctem superantibus, in P. Provumalis aliorumque complexus humanissimus ruit, iis benevncio tiae argumentis quae quivis Europaeus a sui amantmsilo christianae Reipublicae principe, posset optare.

Post mutua salutationis officia, Patres domum suam amplam atque magnificam deduxit, in ejusque parte accomodatiori, quam aulaeis tapetibusque constriverat atque ornaverat, collocavit. Ibi tres dies Patres subsistere coegit, quibus ea suae erga Patres Societatis propensae voluntatis argumenta dedit, ut plura aut majora ab alio Societatis studiossissimo expectare non possis.

Canjiverano Patribus Vellurum contendentibus, Rex qui de adventu fuerat certior factus, cujusdam pagi viri nobilissimi domum qui in arce Vellurensi, juxta domos regias habitabat jussit ornari, in quam deducti Patres, illico a Regia familia visitantur, eorum salutem ab eis nomine regio sciscitatura. Tum Ramana sororis regiae filius, nostrorum studiosissimus, per aulicos ac familiares suos Patres invisit, eisque cibaria opipare de sua mensa, uti Patribus Nicolao Levanti atque Francisco Ricio antea fecerat, missurum se dicit. Cui cum respondisset P. Provincialis Patribus comitibusque suis domi velle se cibos parare, tum ille verveces atque gallinas in magna copia, necnon butyrum et orizam aliaque cibaria, nondum parata, et paulo post aprum quem ejus frater ex venatione attulerat, misit ad nostros; tum ipse venit, easque benevolentiae significationes exhibuit ut eorum familiaritate diutissime usus videretur.

Altero die Rex suos P. Provincialem misit viserent, ab eoque sciscitarentur quando ad eum ingredi vellet. Quibus respondit Pater se elephantem qui Conjiverani, ut paulum quiesceret substiterat, expectare, qui ubi pervenit Pater significavit Regi, qui Optimatem qui illi est a secretis, Patrum amicissimum, cum magno comitatu misit, accitum quocum Patres ex hedris vecti venerunt ad valvas regiae. Descendit Rex in atrium ad excipiendum P. Provincialem, atque una ut videret elephantem canemque venaticum et alia quae attulerat. Tum secum deduxit in aulam sedemque in sella regia Patrem, sui Regni principibus stantibus in peristromati, apud se sedere jussit, a quo P. Provincialis petit ut alios etiam Patres sedere juberet, quod et fecit. Accepit hic P. Provincialem humanissime, maximis verae benevolentiae argumentis. Cumque Pater abeundi facultatem, eo quod tempus Coccinum redeundi ad accipiendas litteras ex Lusitania advenerat, peteret, nunquam sivit, addens nec Rgem Bisnagrensem nec Societatis Provincialem Praepositum decere, eum in primo statim congressu demittere. Ad haec habere se dicebat quiddam magni momentii tractandum, quod in praesentia tractari non poterat. Itaque illi perendiae condicit. Condita die adfuit Pater,

sed tanta in Regem moles negotiorum irruit audiendi, namque fuere legati Mogorenses, Idalcani, Gingenses, Tanjaorenses, ac Madurenses, aliaque tot negotia gravissima supervenerunt, ut non nisi sub noctem intempestam potuerit Patres audire, quos ubi hilare excepit, remotis arbitris, P. Provinciali ad aurem per interpretem significavit se ad novum Proregem Indiae, qui eo tempore sperabatur, mittere vele legatos, renovandae firmandaeque cum Lusitanis amicitiae causa, sed eos sine P. Rectore ab se nolle dimittere, itaque se etiam atque etiam rogare ut P. Rectori eundi cum suis legatis facultatem in scriptis relinqueret. Cui P. Provincialis respondit cum Proregis adventus certi nuntii venissent, tum se ea de re concilium capturum. Subdidit Rex: post istos nuntios, quis hic erit qui Rectori det facultatem eundi ? Nunc necessarium capiendi consilium tempus esse, postea neutri integrum fore. Tunc Pater Regis postulata concessit, quibus ille laetus Patri Rectori voce ut omnes audirent: Goam, inquit, cum legatis eundi facultatem habes, atque ita P. Provincialem officiis muneribusque cumulatum dimisit.

Hinc profecti Patres, relicto apud Regem Veluri, P. Belchiore Coutinho, venerunt Ciandegrinum, ubi P. Franciscum Ricium senio meritisque venerabilem, Badagarum linguae morum, ac religionum peritissimum, in excolendis Neophytis, ethnicorum sectis evertendis, X^mo religione propaganda, occupatum invenerunt .....

Illud etiam ad rem Xnam plurimum facit, nobilium puerorum schola Badagarum litteras sub ethnico praeceptore, nostris sumptibus nostrorumque moderamine discentium. Decet praesertim varias canciunculas, Jesu et Mariae laudes continentes, quibus teneri aetati sensim sine sensu X^mi pietas instillatur ...

Nunc Vellurum cogor reverti atque inde Regem P. Coutinho Chandegrinum deducer. Fuit Pater Veluri, Patrum Xnorumque causas agens, regemque omnibus officiis delinitum ahabens, a mense septembri usque ad Maium ; quo tempore Rex cum a Lingamanaichi magnum gemmarum ac margaritarum numerum expressisset, eum arce Velurensi spoliatum Ciandegrinum duxit in triumpho, de quo ipsius P. Coutinho ad Patrem Provincialem libet attexere :

" Perrexi tandem (quod Dei benignitas fuit) incolumis Chandegrinum, quamvis ut in maximis caloribus fessus via, sed itineris molestiam comitum infinita

multitudo levabat; quorum aliqui, ut omittam pedites innumerabiles, essedae, alii equis et bobus, alii elephantibus bini vel terni vehebantur. Me quamvis uno die Rex praecessisset, tum eum antequam urbem ingrederetur, consecutus sum, nec enim ingredi voluerat, antequam Tripiti in celeberrimo fano, uti ante decessum voverat voti religione se solveret. Sexto itaque Calendas Junias * quatuor post ortum solis horis, hac pompa in urbem invectus est. Viam quã, per urbem mediam, erat transiturus, aulaeis ac festa fronde visendam, arcus etiam in magno servii variis coloris vestiti terni certo inter spatio dispositi plurimum ornabant Regem, praeter instrumenta bellica, tam ex aere cavo, quam tympana et classica. et praeter alia signa quamplurima, regium vexillum in quo ex auro leo et piscis depicti significant eum terra marique dominari Praeibant equites multi, ipseque Obraias, Regis socerus, aliique regni proceres auro gemmisque pellucidi. Ipse Rex una cum Connanaichi elephante pulcherrimo, croco toto corpore et capite, feoribusque ornato quem oloserico et culcita serica auro intertesta in qua ipse sedebat, gemmis ac margaritis contectus vehebatur. Non usus est corona regia quam habet maximi ponderis et pretii. Quidam ideo eum non uti ea corona dictitant, quod alii Reges statim ac capiti eam imposuerunt, morte immatura sublati sunt; alii ideo eam neque ad similes trimphos adhiberi autumant, quod nonnisi recuperatis regnis quae à superioribus regibus Mauri detraxerunt eam in triumpho Regem Bisnagrensem ferre mereatur. Cum ita in triumpho veheretur, hilares oculos benevolentiae indices, circumquaque in subjectam conjiciens multitudinem, forte nos vidit pompam spectantes, nobisque arridens, tum ad Cinnanaichem conversus, nosque ostendens, nescio quid cum eo est collocutus. Credo equidem Regem aspectu P. Francisci exhilaratum, quem jamdiu videre cupiebat. Nos praetereuntem usque ad Regiam secuti, iterum eum ex elephante descendemtem vidimus. Hic Rex in aura sella ab Adelaraio urbis praefecto, ut mos est munus accepit. Tum alii proceres Regem venerati discedebant. Nos etiam accessimus et quidem P. Franciscus Ricius ei cyathum e vitro inauratam quem ad id servaverat, obtulit, atque ita domum revertimus." Haec P. Belchior Coutinho.

Patres ad Bisnagrensem Principem uti superioribus annis praescriptum est, inopia mittendorum, nondum iverunt. Instat tum quotidie importunis litteris nec ullum finem facit

* May 27th.

evocandi, et Provincialis, cum esset Ciandigirini ei Patres se propediem missurum promisit, sed nondum stetit promissis, quia quos mittat cum maxime cupiat, non habet. Unas ipsius Principis ad Patres Chandagirinenses litteras opponam, et hanc residentiam absolvam.

" Anno Subaratutii, mense decimo, decimo post plenilunium die, Litterae Trimalaragi, Ramaragi filii, maximi principiis, ragi inter ragios, datae ad Patres Ciandagrini. Accepi vestras litteras quas mihi per vestrum Tagium misistis, easque abscondi in praecordis. Accepi etiam munera omnia; gavisus sum vos de meo istuc adventu apud regem et principes regni studiose agisse. Vos cum hàc Goam iter haberetis, dixixtis vos huc ad commorandum propediem venturos. Miror nondum venisse. Veniant, oro, ne morentur. Cetera meus legatus ore ad os loquetur."

XXIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. BELCHIOR COUTINHO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Vellore, October 11th, 1608.)

Pax Christi.

O anno passado escreui a V. P. as nouas destas partes, mas como quera q as naos forão de Goa, e nehua de Cochin, pode ser q as cartas ficarião em Cochim pera onde as encaminhe, e q este anno uão. Nestas darei nouas do mais q este anno acaesçeo, e encaminhoas p^{a}. Goa por terra, pera q não foça da ficarẽ como as outras. Estamos de saude Deus seia louuado, aqui en Velur o irmao Bertolameo fonte boa e eu, e em Chandregri o P^{e}. Ant^{o}. Rubino, onde faz m^{to}. seruiço a Deus ( ) E posto q algus delles se desgarrarão por uarios seruos dos mesmos gentios, todauia ao menos fica sempre aqlle cazal de ( ) he nomeado q sempre se mostrou alegre firme e perseverante ne fee, ( ) ven serue. Ca en Velur temos tambẽ outra familia daqllas em Chan(dregri) bautizadas, e pcuro o q. posso de os mouer o q sabem ( ) q ( )rao e continuar alegria, etc. De nouo este anno bautizei hu uelh(o) dia de N^{a}. S^{ra}. da assumçao, he de 100. annos, e dizẽ q não adorava os idolos (mas) hu so Deus q lhe demos a conhecer como fez S. Paulo aos areopagitas. E po(r quem) dantes sospiraua m^{to}. pollo bautismo, ao dia q tinhamos conçertado ( )

e assim o bautizei, sendo padrinho hum mercader portuguez q ueo aqui uender esmareldas a este R(ei)...

As mais nouas deste Reino são q o Rei este anno passado em ianeiro abalou daqui e foi a Ginga q està daqui 2 dias de caminho e ( ) foi q tendo ido seus capitães diante a conquistar as terras do Naique de Ginga porq tardaua na paga do tributo e indose acercando a fortaleza, quis Deus castigar aqlle Naique q nella estaua como hu epicuro e brutal nao tendo menos q mil molheres dentro no paço; e sese deixara estar na fortaleza, ninguẽ podera co elle porq he quasi inexpugnauel; çeguro a paixão sahio fora contra os capitães do Rei, e os seus co medo o desenpararão e foi ( ) ficando o ditto Naique catiuo, a quẽ dando as orelheiras, a quẽ as (joyas) do peito porq. o nao matassẽ. foi a uictoria dia de IESV *como depois dissemos ao mesmo Rei; e a meia noite veo cà a noua roando, ( ) El Rei e foi a Ginga, o Naique catiuo se lhe deitou aos pees, e por meo da Rainha, e seus irmãos se concertou a lhe pagar 60 ( ) mil cruzados, e p^a. á Rainha largar a fortaleza de Cauaripa(tão) aqui perto; e co isto se recolheo outra uez o Rei cà p^a. Vel(ur) e o Naique de Ginga sentido da perda de sua renta e de seus elephantes ( ) foise como da çere perigrino a Cirangã hu seu pagode dizendo q não queria mais do mando etc. mas os 2 Naiqu(es) seus amigos o de Madure e Tangior lhe derão m^tos. dadiuas e fizerão q tornasse p^a. seu estado o qual possue.—Este (anno) ueo o P. Prou^al. da costa da pescaria a uisitar esta, e ( ) a S. Thome onde o P^e. a todos nos consolou...T(ambẽ) ueo a S. Thome o nouo Bispo mandado por S. S^de. e por S. (M^de.) E o P. R^to. lhe fez m^to. gazalhado ẽ nossa caza na qual (esteue), e dalli por onde do P^e. foi leuado a pee co m^tos. (honrra) e festas de danças, folias, disos, por arcos, etc.—Corre (sua) amizade co nosco. Todas estas materias deixo p^a. os P^es. q (naqllas) partes residẽ. E torno a estas ẽ q estamos. Poucos (dias ha) q os Naiques de Tangior e Madure mandarão ao Rei seu tri(buto) de 500. mil cruzados e m^tos. uaried^os. de psentes de ( )-p^a. receber isto se poz de festa todo ẽ si cheo de (ouro) e pedraria. e no aroia q tinha no peito de q. ( ) ual 100 m(il) cruzados, assistimos a este acto, por priuilegio e licença do Rei; (o qual) sempre se mostra amigo, posto q ha m^to. q não se nos paga a (renta) nos te ordenado, p. a qual agora lhe pedimos os ( )tos en olas, queirão ( ) outra paga q os Naiques lhe hão de fazer. queria Deus q decess( )pois o P^e. R^o. (q se e não outro poderia

*January 1st,

dazela) estes annos ( ) sua industria e m^a^. charid^e^.— tambẽ o irmão esta disgostozo p(orque) o Rei não differe a pintura, e telhe pmetido m^tos^. cousas de ( ) e monilhas, etc. ẽ tudo sahio mintirozo como o he estados; es( ) assim q dantes era tão liberal q̃uando menos p^a^. Chandregri ( ) posto a privazou a Rainha ase feito tão escaçeo ou este o fica co ( ) q todo mundo se queixa deste parentes seus, e soldados, etc.-n( ) chamar p^a^. cà nẽ ouvir falar a Trimalarayu o Principe, o qual de(sde Ciran)— gapatão onde esta, sempre nos escreue olas e nos chama e mostra por escrito (a) mesma amizade q ẽ presença mostrou quando nos agazalhou in(do) p . Goa co os embaixadores deste Rei. E a mesma nos mostrou co seu sogro e ( ) q he a caza q ha de montar m^to^. no tpo de seu gouerno. Fizemos este anno as festas do natal co hu lindo psepio...

De Madure tera V. P. nouas daqlla missão, naqual não ha q notar mais q o grande fto co q o P. Ruberto e tanta adificação se entrega alli ao servico de Deus disfarçado etc. q no mais he como cà, e nẽ tanto ainda, pois he gente peior...

De Velur 11. de outubro de 608.

De V. P. Minimo f^o^. em Christo

BELCH^r^. COUT^o^.

XXIV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERCIO TO Fr. JOAO ALVAREZ

(Cochin, November 20, 1608.)

Pax Chri.

Quatorze naos partirão na fim de Marzo passado de Lisboa pera estas partes co o Visorei o Conde da Feria, co m^tos^. mil soldados, q̃ se chegarão todas estas naos e gente, fora o remedio da India, e alevatara este estado cabeça, q̃ esta quasi todo perdido co estes anos do gouerno do Arcebispo frade; e co tantas naos Olandesas quãtas estes anos andão passeando p estes mares do Oriente, se auer que lhe uà á mão, co ellas fazerẽ q^to^. querẽ em tudo; Mas parece q̃ Ds. não foi seruido disto, pq̃. hu galeão dos 14 appartãdose do Visorei chegou a Mocãmbique ẽ Agosto, onde achando huas treze naos olandezas, q̃ tinhã posto de cerco a nossa ortaleza, depois de pelejar hu dia foi dellas tomado; pollo

qual sabendo os olandezes q̃ vinha o Visorei atras, leuatarão o cerco; (postq̃ nelle lhes foi mᵗᵒ. mal, e murrerão mᵘᵒˢ. sẽ faser nhum mal a Fortaleza p os nossos se defenderẽ, e pelejarẽ ualerozamᵉ.) e se uierão p. Goa, puse na barra; onde estando, ouue nouas q̃ hua nao nossa p nome nao Oliueira da Compᵃ. do Visorei tinha tabẽ chegado, e estaua seis legoas p. o Norte a uista da terra, forão de Goa nauios, tirarão o dinh.ᵒ e todo o fato de cima, e antes q̃ os olandezes chegasse a ella, os nossos lhe puserão o fogo, e ardeo toda, p. os imigos se não aproueitare della; Das outras dose naos co o Visorei até oje se nao sabe noua nhua, q̃ he cousa q̃ a todos nos magoa, nẽ parece podera ja uir se não ẽ Mayo, p terẽ já começado os Leuãtes q durão estes seis mezes; Não parece isto se não castigo de Ds. q̃ ainda se não acabou, pq̃ na verdade nesta vinda do Visorei co este socorro estaua o remedio de todo este estado; seja o Sor p.ª sepre louado...

Cochin 20. de Nouẽbro 608.

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ALBERTO LAERCIO.

XXV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERCIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, December 30th, 1608.)

As Residencias de Bisnagá, onde estão os dous P. Belchior Coutt., e Antonio Rubino E o irmao Bertolameu fontebona muy aceitos a El Rey, e a toda aquella Corte; tem feito algus Christãos, mas não tantos como desejauamos, e ainda estes este ano co a perseguiçao de hu Gouernador de Chandrigry tiuerão bem de trabalhos, e el Rey como he muito velho, postoq' tem muita bondade natural, e partes grandes com tudo, não acode; as guerras e inquietacoes q' este ano teue, tambem adjudarão a isto ...

Cochin. 30. de Dezembro de 608.

D. V. P.

Inutil f.ᵒ em x.ᵒ

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ALBERTO LAERCIO.

XXVI

'LITTERAE ANNUAE' OF THE PROVINCE OF MALABAR, 1606—1607.

(1608.)

He Madure cabeça dos estados do Naique; oqual posto que não tenha titᵃ. de Rei, se não de capitão que isso quer diser Naique seu poder he muito grande, i tem reis tributarios sendo o ele tambem ao emperador de Bisnagar cuio capitão antes era, e seleuantou com os estados que gouernaua; quando o emperador em hua rota perdio o imperio, E tornando depois recuperar parte delle, este de Madure, e os dous de Tanjaor e de Ginja lhe derão obediencia, e pagão parcas em sinal de Vassalagem: porem são absolutos, e mui poderosos, porque cada qual tẽ tresentos elephantes de peleia, a fora a gente de cauallo a pee...

O nouembro passado de 606 passando po aquella residencia o Pᵉ. provincial deixou nella o pᵉ. Ruberto Nobilli por companhrᵉ. do padre Goncalo frz assi pera aprender a lingoa da corte mais pollida, como porque a cansada velhice, e as doenças do padre pedião Socessor...

Custumão os padres assi nesta residencia como em Chandeguerim aser escola de ler e escreuer em Badaga com mestre gentio posto por nossa mão pera que se uão affeiçoando os animos tenros dos mininos aos padres e os cousas de Deos...

Pertencem ao Collegio de S. Thome sete da Compᵃ...ha mᵗᵒˢ. annos que esta Cidade anda reuolta com bandas a modo de guerra ciuil: sem te lhe poder dar remedio algum por estar em trᵃˢ. de Rei gentio e longe da corte, e a iustiça e capitão não ter poder d'armas pera prender, e castigar os malfeitores; com tudo muitos males se atalharão por meio dos nossos, hua sesta frᵃ. de quaresma tratou o pᵉ. pregador com tanto espirito, e zello sobre os odios, e brigas que o principal de hum dos bandos que ouuio a pregação, e tinha vindo com muita gente de armas, e espinguardas, se abrandou de maneira que logo determinou deixar o odio, e pretendeo amisade com seo contrario como fes na Igreia Matris do Apto. de S. Thome restituindo cada hum todas as perdas e danos q tinha feito, e confessandose com mostras de arrependimento, e emenda, ao presente não ha odios, nem brigas...

Está á cidado de S. Thome nas tr . del Rei de Bisnaga, e posto q̃ os Portugueses tem capitão, e ouuidor que os gouernem, e administrem a iustiça; em outra pouoação apartado e vecinha esta hum capitão do Rei que arecada os direitos, e gouerna os gentios ; hum Portugues hua noite foi co armas a sua pouoação p^a. buscar hua moça que lhe tinha fugido, e armandose la hua briga foi morto. Os parẽtes pedirão vingança ao capitão, o qual aiuntando muita gente d'armas foi dar na fort^a. del Rei, e porque o Adigar se acolheo, lhe pos o fogo, destruindo m^ta. parte da povoação, e matando algua gente mesquinha, chegou a fama deste aleuantam^to. a el rei ; o qual sentio muito à fronta que lhe fiserão em lhe queimarem sua fort^a. allegando se o Adigar tinha culpa lhe fisessem queixume que elle o castigaria. Os moradores de S. Thome areceando que o Rei mandase exercito p^a. lhe por cerco ; pedirão|ao P. Reitor Nicolao Leuanto que fosse ter com El Rei p^a. com resoes, e presentes o aplacar; sabendo o Rei da sua vinda lhe mandou diser q̃ se queria tratar cousas dos p^es. que leuaria muito gosto em lhe fallar; porem tratar dos negocios de Maleapor, não era resão tendo lhe feito tão graude afronta ne menos auia de recebir seus presentes, com tudo pouco a pouco se foi abrandando, e como de sua naturesa he manso, e benigno ; mandou depois chamar o p^e. e com mostras de muito amor o recebeo e concedea tudo o que pedia, tirando aquelle Adigar ou capitão da fort^a. e pondo outro a uontade dos Portugueses...

Em Velur reside o padre Belchior Cout^o...

Em Janr^o. de 607 foi mandado o Irmão Bertolameu Fonte Bona.

XXVII

A LETTER OF Fr. ANTONIO RUBINO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Vellore, September 30th, 1609.)

M^to R^do in Chro Pre nro

Pax Chri

Gl' ani passati a scrissi a VP. il stato di qsta missione del Regno di Bisnaga, do( ) mi ritrouo co gradiss^o. mia consolat^a. se bene l'essere la porta si chiusa al Euangello, causa non picolo dolore. Al presẽte io inteme co il frllo Bartholomeo fontebuona, che molte uolte pinge auãti il Re ho cura d ' ambe due qste residenze di Vellur, e Chandregui o cosi sto un poco in un luogo, et un poco nell ' altro: La

causa pche no tiamo dui Padri in qste due residenze, è p no tiuere co che sostẽtar li, pche sono gia 6. ani, o piu, ch'il Re no ei paga ne ei dà un quatrino, se bene i giorne passati diede il Re al frllo la ualuta di cento scudi d'oro p coprare colori. Adetto dice, che li farà pagare mille scudi ma Dio sa quello, che serà, pche di loro si po dire p(ro)ssima: che mẽdaces filii hnum, e qui no dice bugia fra loro no è huomo. Il stato della Christianità in qsto Regno e l'istenso che degl' ani passatti, p che no battelai, se no un figliolhino d' età di 4. ani, che racolhi in casa co ( ) de suoi parẽti; e quelli pochi Christiani, ch' abbiamo, che sono 15, dano si mal odore di se, ch' io mi risolhi, à no uolhere battellare ( ) s'il Sig^{r}. no li chiama co particulare uocat^{o}., p che alch^{i}. defecerunt altri auãti mi si mostrano Christiani, in sua casa uiuono como Gentili. No si po credere quãto chiusá sta la porta in qsto Regno alla sãta fede, e tutto cio nasse dall' auuers. et odio grãde che ei portano, p sapere che siumo sacerdoti delli portughesi, i qquali mangano carne di uacca beuono uinho ( ) se bene noi in qsto regno abstinemus ab iis, co tutto cio basta isto nro uestito nero p che gli fughino et abhorrischino, come la peste, e basta come diceno il sappere che suome Sacerdoti dell Portoghesi. Per far alche frutto he neesss^{o}. p uestire mangare e nelle cose politiche trattare como lore in quãtu fieri potest e qsto sempre dissi al P. Prou^{le}. il quale ha animo di mãdarmi p isto Regno uestito al modo loro, a un luogo oue no seja conesciuto, m'il no hauere ( ) ha ipeditti qesto disegno Il mutare uestiti in qeste residenze ( ) è supefluo p che ja siamo conesciuti e fora co m^{lto} poco frutto cosi è è necess^{o}. andar in parte oue no siamo conosciuti, in qsto si gran regno no mãca no. V P. ordene quello, che li parera piu espediente, che stãdo del modo, che stiamo, mais faremos cosa di momẽto. Il Re gia no ci mostra l' afetto che ci mostraua gli ani passati à psuasione di quest maladetti Bramani, che sono inimici capitali della nra sãta fede, de qual il Re è piu che schiauo. Le cose particulari di qsto Regno, e di qsta missione, scrissi al P^{e}. Prou^{le}, credo che lui informarà VP. p qsto io le scriuo finisco co dimãdarli humil^{te} la sua sata benedit^{te}. pregãdole che si faci raccomãdare nelli ss^{ti} Sacrificii et orat^{i} della Compagnia. Nelli ss^{ti} Sacrificii di VP. m^{to} mi raccomãdo Di Vellur città del Regno di Bisnaga li 30. di Settẽbre del 1609.

D. V. P. MinimoFigliuolo nel Sig^{r}.

ANT^{o}. RUBINO.

XXVIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTC LAERZIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, November 20th, 1609.)

Della Missione, et Residenza di Madurè.

Accio messo si possa intender quello, che Dio N. S. si è degnato di oprar per spatio di qsti tre anni in qsta missioni di Madurè, dal mesi di Nouembre dell' anno di 606, nel quale il P. Rub^to^. Nobili fu mandato a quella residenza, sino a qsto presenti di 609., he uoluto far qsta informatione, et perche sia piu chiara, repetivo prima in breue, quello che gia si scrisse a V. P. nelle due annue passate; dipoi andarè seguitãdo quel' che nell' anno psenti è succeduto.

La città di Madurè, che sta lontana da qsta di cochino cinquantana leghe per la terra dentro, restando nel mezzo le alte montagne, chi si chiamano il Gatte, è Metropoli delli stati, et terre del Naiche, il quall' è molto gran' signore di molte terre, uassalli, et ricchezze, et è come uno de i gran' Duchi de europa et ancor che non tenga titolo de Rè, ma solamente di capitano, che tanto ual qsta parola Naiche, tutta uia tiene molti Re tributarii, com il di Trauancor, di Manamadurè, di Tengange et altri, essendo egli ancora tributario del Re di Bisnagà, del quale è capitano, et si ribello con li stati che governaua nel tempo, che il Rè di Bisnagà in una rotta persi l' imperio, et tornãdo dipoi a ricuperar parte di quello, questo Naiche di madurè, et li due di Tangiaor, et di Gingia gli resero obedienza, com pagargli tributo in segno di vassallaggio; ma tuttauia restarono signori assoluti, molto potenti, et di gran' forze, perche ciascun' di loro mette in campo 300. elefanti di guerra fuera della molta gent' a pie, et a cauallo.

Per causa de negotii de i Parauà com questo Naiche, che è signor della costa di Pescaria, son gia 17 anni che si fondo qsta residenza com casa, et chiesa assai buona, per dar' ancora con questo pretesto la prima luce dell' euangelio ai Badagà, i quali ben che restarono marauigliati della santità del Padre, et particularm^te^. della sua castità, non dimeno fuorono sempre disprezzando la legge che predicaua, come legge bassa. et uile, tenendo essi in questo concetto i Parauà et nostri Padri che la stanno per esser' Potughesi, li quali sono da loro stimati per la piu uile et bassa genti del mondo. Vero è che si marauigliano, et stupescono del soa animo, et

ualore, et dell' atti heroichi, et gloriosi che hanno fatto, et fanno in guerra, i quali si come fanno per fama, cossi esperimentassero nelle sue terre, il che per star molto dentro la terra non puo essere, formerano altro concetto de Portughesi. Si marauigliano ancora delle sua richezze, liberalità, apparato, etgentilezza nel uestire. Là onde intendo che la causa di formar aglino tal opinioni di Portughesi, fu il uederli beuer uino, et mangiar uacca, et lasciarsi toccare, et portare in lettica da i Parià che è tra di loro, genti abietta, et uilissima, la qual superstitione è in qsta gente inuiolabil', che una gente nobile non tocchi, ne tratti con altra men nobili; di manera che un Brameni si lasciara piu tosto morir di fame, che mangiar cosa fatta, o datagli per mano di alcuno, che non sia Brameni. Et per esser li gentili di Madurè venuti in questo concetto si basso del Padre che li dimoraua, in 14. anni di tempo non gli fu possibile far ne un solo xpiãno in una città si grãde, et populosa come è Madure, che diceuano che facendosi xpiãni perdevano la casta, et nobilta, et che si faceuano franghi, che cosi chiamano li Portughesi, et resteuano per sempre disonorati, et infami.

.....

( )trattar, con quei gentili, et nuoui xpiãni, et del lore feruor, et molta capacità, che non mi parece ragione impedir il frutto, che chiaram^te^. mostraua lo Spirito S^to^. uoler oprar' in qlla gentilità, et cosi gli concessi piena licenza si Sdare alla scoperta, et di dar il battes^o^; a tutti qlli, che fussero chiamati da Dio, senza timore di qllo che potrebbe auenire sperãdo nell' aiuto, et fauor Diu^o^:, gia che Dio N. S. l' haveua scielto por qlla impsa. Et pche penso, che riceveranno piacere di saper il modo del suo uestire, mãgiare, et trattar co quei gentili, lo discriuero qui breuemente.

Il uestito del P. Rub^to^. è una ueste longa sino alle piedi, qual chiamano Cabaia, di color bianco ue o il giallo: sopra di qsta un' come roscetto di tela piu fina del medesmo colo', et sopra il roscetto un' panno, o eosto, e dell' istesso color della cabaia; qual gle ua gettato per le spalle: in testa tiene un' panno di tela fina bianco a modo di berretta rotonda: a trauerso al collo un' cordone di cinque fili, tre di oro, et due di fil bianco, con una croce, chi gli viene a dar nel petto. Et cio fece il Padre per qsta causa, perche si come i Brameni, i quai sono i loro maestri in qsta guisa portano un cordone di tre fili, il qual' ancore che sia principalm^te^: segno della sua stirpe, è ancora in alcuna parte segno della legge che insegnano, cosi ancora uole il padre portar segno della sua legge spirituale, la qual fa professione di insegnar come

publico maestro conforme al costuome della terra ; perche li tre fili d' oro in un' cordone significano tre Persone diuine, et un sol' Dio, gl' altri dui fili bianchi, il corpo, et l' anima santiss^{a}. di xpo. N. S., et la croce è chiaro segno, di passione, et morte dell' iste(so.) Di maniera che in qsto cordone professa li misterii della della santiss^{a}: Trinità, Incarn^{ac}:, et Redentione, Quanto al uitto il suo mãgiare, che è una sol uolta il giorno alle 22. o 23. hore, è riso, legumi, herbe, latti, et per nessun caso ha da mãgiar carne, oui, ne pesce, perche i Gurus Saniassi, che professano castità, guardano qsta legge nel suo mãgiar inuiolabilm^{te}., ne per nesuna necessità, o infirmità per grave che sia despẽsano in carne, che qsti gentili si burlano di quei che dicono, che si puo consomar la castità mangiãdo carne. L' habitatione del Padre, è in una strada doue habitano la gente nobile ; et per acgitar' maggior credito, non esci fuora di casa, ne pmette che altri lo ueggia, ne che gli parli qualsi uoglia psona, ne in qualsi uoglia tempo, ma dipoi, di ir la 2 o tre uolte et pregar il suo interprete, che lo lasci parlar con l' Aier, che è l' istesso che Signore, et finalm^{te}: dipoi di si uendere molto caro, conforme all' uzãza del paesi, et per maggior riputatione, essendo eglino introdutti a parlar col Padre lo trouano che sta sedendo in un' loco alquanto eminẽte, coperto con un panno rosso, e del color del vestito, auanti del quale sta distesso in terra un' altro panno rosso, et piu auanti una stoia di paglia fina. Tutti qlli che entrano, etiandio li piu nobili, et principali della corte, gli fanno riverẽza alsãdo le mani giunte sopra la testa, et dipoi abassãdole con una profonda inclinatione, et quei che uogliono esser suoi discepoli fono l' istessa ceremonia tre uolte, et dipoi si postrano in terra, et si tornano a star' in piedi. Impero il Padre la lingua Tamul piu polita et cosi ben la pronutia che gli piu periti Brameni nella lingua non gli leuano uantaggio. Sa legere, et scriuere nell' istessa lingua, et gia ha letto molti libri delle sue historie, et mandato a memoria le cose principali della sua legge, et molti uersi de i loro piu famosi, et rominati poeti, de quali essi fanno gran' conto. Impero ancora molte cansonette, le quali canta con tanta ( ) et gratia, che causa a ciaschedun' che l' ascolta, ugual admiratione, et piacere. Va adesso studiãdo il guesedano, che è il latino de Brameni, et gia legge, et parla ragioneuolm^{te}:. Piglia comunem^{te}: occasione delle loro historie, p li confodere, et prouar che no possono esser molti Dei, ma un' solo, il quale è spirito, et non tien' corpo. gli ragiona a cosa della breuità della uita, della certezza della morte, delle pene dell' inferno, come fece particularm^{te}: a uno de 4.° gouernatori del Naiche, il qual

succesce nello stato al suo frẽllo magior, che pochi di auan ti era morto, etfu quel che dono al Padre il piano per fabricar la nuoua casa, doue adesso dimora. Fu qsto signor gentile a uisitar il Padre p l' amicitia che co lui teneua, et fu mezano, accio il suo frello gli desce quel piano. Il Padre comincio il ragionam^to^, con gli domãdar che era fatto del suo frello tanto nobili, et ricco, et da tutti stimato, et honorato, il quale per non hauer conosciuto la legge, et uia della salute, staua gia penãdo nell' inferno, et gli parlo di questa materia, con tanto feruor, et sp(iritu,) che il giouan^o^. non potendo r g mesce il sentimento, et uolendo ritener le lagrime, prompe in un' singulto, c(on) tanta copia di lagrime, che tutta la sua gente resto stupita, et marauigliata, et maggiorm^te^; il P. Rub^o^. ueggendo (la) compuntione, et sentimento in un' petto gentilesco ; et la fede, et credito che daua alle cose, che gli diceua. Si parti il gioua(ne) desideroso di udir' altre molte le prediche del Padre, et pigliare il sentiero della salute, et promissi di farli dipoi di concludere alcuni negotii de importanza, perche va cercãdo settanta mila scuti per dar al Naiche per l' inuestitura dell stato del suo frẽllo, al quale il Naiche accrebbe altre terre, et ua essẽdo ogni giorno piu fauorito del Naiche, p esser gia uani di belle parti, et anco di tante forze, che alza con li mani ( ) molto grande, et a fin di non le perdere tiene una sola moglera, il che li fara il negotio della sua conuersione molto piu ageuole.

Procuro ancora il Padre, che arriuase la notitia del' euang^o^: alle signori di altre terre, et a qsto effetto mando il suo interprete, per nome Giorgio, a un' signore di Baraposano, che è una Prouincia lontana do Maduré ( ) per la te(rra) dentro, al quale scrissi una lettera in che gli diceua, che quei solam^te^: saluar'si possono, iquali cognoscono il vero Dio U(iuo) et esseruano la sua santa legge, et come egli staua appareglіarro per gli mostrat la uia che guida a la salute eterna. La resposta del gentile. La risposta del gentile migle si entendera per la copia della medesima sua lettera, che cosi dice. Fissãdo gl' occhi per qlla parte doue stanno li piedi de V. S. il suo schiauo Ciaruaviouallèm facẽdo riuerenza sriue, Ja tutto qllo che V. (S.) comanda sto pronto per seruirla sempre. He receuuto una sua con grãde piacere, et festa, in che me scriueua che des(i)deraua venir nelle mie terre, per m' insegnare il diuino secreto, et qsto fu il principal negotio che V. S. mi scrisse ; ma per si ritrouar al presenti qsta terra con molte guerre, non puol' essere ; ma come si acquite subito mandare (a) nuoua alli santi piedi de

V. S., ei all' hora sia ella seruita di venire. Signor non riceua la sua uoluntà alcun disgusto, per gli dir, che tardi un poco in uenire, per star la terra in guerre, et morte. Jo non so per qual ( ) sorte sia accaduto, uoler V. S. venir qua : di tutto il successo gli mandaro de poi ragguglo con lettera.

Nella stessa forma mando una ill P. Rub^o. al Ré di Nana madura per inuitarlo, et ueder si uolesse udir le cose pertenecenti a sua salu(atione) come haueua auanti mostrato. L' interprete fu dal Re molto ben riceuuto, et tratto con lui delle cose di Dio, mostrand(o) gran' desiderio de ueder, et udir il Padre. In risposta della Irã disse, che haueua da uenir a Madurè per uisitare il Naiche, et all' hora commodam^te: trattarebbe col Padre ; et cosi lo fece, perche uenne il primo di Agosto, et tratto con i(l) Padre per mezano, et lo mando a uisitare per un sue Bramene con molti compimenti, et segni di amicitia mostrad(o) ogni di Maggior desiderio di egli stesso ir' a parlar col Padre sopra il negotio di sua salute ; ma per causa di una infirmità che gli sopravenne si no a hora non l'ha potute fare. Era qsto Re anticam^te: molto potẽte, ma hora il Naiche gli preso molto terre. E di buon ingegno, et molto desidera de si saluare. il che da grãde sperãze della sua conversione.

Fra gli xpiani che il Padre fece, uni si chiama Alessio Hatebe, come habbiamo gia ditto. Soleua la madre di qsto giouan(e) et suoi pareti en certo tempo far' alcune offerte all' Idoli ; et essẽdo gia uenuto il tpo vennroe i Brameni a dima(n)darle, ma come la mdre gia staua piu affettionata alle cose di Dio, che del Dem^o : gli mando in buona o mal' h(ora) et non gli diede cosa lacuna, del che non solam : i Brameni si lamentarono, ma ancora aminaciarono, che n( ) piglie ubbero buona uendetta, et non passarono molti giorni, che senti la donna darli un gran' colpo nell coll(o) senza ueder alcuna persona, et subito si ammalo si grauem^te: che la tenniano per morta, et gia non parlaua, ne(n) faceua alcun' mouim^to : Il figiolo magiore, che ancora era gentile, corsi con molta fretta a chie derai medio al Padre, il qual gli mando il suo reliquiario per Alessio xpiãno, et ponendolo sopra il petto dell' infirma subit(o) torno en si, et lomãdo,che cosa era quella, che l' haueua touata ; et finalm^te ; ricebe perfetta sanità dando gratie al Signore, che la libero dalla potestà del Dem^o : , et perche ancora l' anima restasse libera, determino di far(si) xpiãna, et a desso va imparãdo il cathechismo, Ne fu minore il mouim^to : che fece qsto miracolo nel figlio maggiore, perche subito comincio a impara la dot-

trina, et il giorno dell' Assutione della B. Vergine, si bath(eo, et) ua auanti con molto feruore, udindo messa ogni giorno, et recitando due o tre rosarii, il che so potra uedere dal caso seguenti, auanti del qual' contero un altro, che prima occorsi. Andaua questo giouane in mala converstione con una donna, dalla qual decideraua la madre di staccarlo, et non potẽdo per nesun' modo, fece uoto alla Vergina Maria, della qual gia haueua alcuna notitia, che gl' infioreria la sua cappella con rose, si il figlio lasciasse qlla mala occasione. Fatto il uoto di tal maniera si moto il cuore del giouane, che gia mai non puose udir nominar qlla donna, il che rigognoscendo la madre per beneficio della Madonna, mando le rose alla chiesa, et gli fu qsto grande motiue per si conuertire. Il caso doque del giouanne, che poco fà diceua, fu qsto.

Alle 23 : di Settẽbre, giorne consecrate a un' Idolo, per nome Anadà, cosumaua Casturu Naiche. è qsti un Signor principal, in corte del qual staua il giouane del qual parliamo, et si chiama Visuada, digiunar, et pigliar un cordone di seta da i Brameni, il qual tutto l' anno portaua legato al braccio, sin' che gli desseri un' altro. Fu Visuada al Palazzo conforme all' oblige che teneua, et gli domãdarono gli Brameni si digiunaua, al che rispose che no, mà essi gli feceuano forza dicẽdo, gia che Casturu digiuna, et è deuoto de Visnu, uoi ancora lo douete essere ; ancorche cento di uoi altri mi predichino, non mi faranno gia mai far cosa contra il douersi: al Naiche nelle cose che toccano al corpo gli seruiro io di molto buona uoglia, ma nelle cose che apartengone all' anima, non e egli mio signore ; ei si mi comãda cose alcuna contra qlla non l' ho da far ber niun' caso. Dissero all' hora i Brameni al Naiche, che non era ragione, che Visuada stesse in sua casa, ne uedesse mai la sua faccia, perche rinegaua gli Dei dicẽdo di piu ( ), che era molto graue peccato i mirar nella faccia di Visuada, al che eghi rispose, anzi a mi parce che è grande peccato i mirar nella uostra, che di certo hauete d' andar' a casa del Dem° : ; ignorano che non sapete niente. Occorsero molte altre particolarità, nelle quali si prouo la constanza di qsto giouane, et principalmente coi nom uoler riceuere in neuna maniera il nuouo cordon di Visnu, che Casturu gli daua ; anzi dicẽdogli il Naiche che era di qllo dell' anno passato, rispose che l' haueua fatto in pezzi. et gittato per terra.

Il mese di Giuglio di 608. stãdo nel principio della notte un' Mahomettano con altra gente, tra quali èra il xpiãno chiamato Alberto, apparece al ditto mahomattano il Dem° : in figura humana, et il timor, con che resto ispantado ben'

mostro qual qual fusse la uisione, et dicendole al christiano che iui staua, egli li fece nella fronte il segno della Sta croce, il che fatto il Dem^o^: con molta colera gli disse, con esta arma che ti diede quell' huomo ti ua bie, d' alra maniera io pigliaua hora vendetta di se domandogli il Mahomettano, di chi era quell' arma; al che rispose il Dem^o^: che era arma di Dio onnipotente, dal qual era stato creato, et il Mahomatt^o^: et egli medesimo, et cio ditto disparece.

Nell' istesse tempo entro il Dem^o^: in un gentile in ps^n^za di molti, et arriuãdo la Alberto, in cui tutti riconosceuano poter contra il Dem^o^: lo pregauano che gli fecesse alcune interrogationi. La prima cosa che gli domando fu si qllo che il P. Rub^o^: insegnaua era uerità, et si era uero maestro. Rispose il Dem^o^: che il Padre era huomo di grande autorità et che qllo che insegnaua tutto era uverità. Demãdo di piu il xpiãno si qllo che il Padre haui ı cominciato anfaria uanti al che rispose, che nel principio farebbe poco ma che dipoi di tre anni farebbe molto, et che l' impsa che haueua comincia-(to) anderebbe in grande aumento del che tutti retarono marauigliati, et bem puol' essere, che il padre de la mentiyra dicesse il uero del progresso di qsta missione, come p forza lo disse della uerità, et bontà della dottrina del Padre.

In Agosto de 608. uenne un' gentile per si catechizare di bel giuditio, et tal si mostro subito nelle cose della nra santa Fede dandogli tanto credito, che non, che non uolse mai piu por cenice nella fronte, ne conxentir che tre figlioli suoi se la ponessero, facẽdo grand' instanza al Padre che lo battizasse subito. Ma il Padre per far proua della sua costanza gli prolango il tempo. Continuo il gentile con le prediche del Padre, della quali si seruiua poi per disputar con li gentili. Cadde qsto huomo infermo, et con i figli insieme, et ume a'cuni dicono entro il Dem^o^: nel maggior di loro; et uenẽdo i Brameni con cenice per far le sue superstitioni, li butto il buon catecumeno fuora di casa et mando achiedere alcun' reimedio al Padre, dicẽdogli che qsto^r^ era inuentione del Dem^o^: ma che egli staua de(ter)minato, di piu tosto morir, che far cosa che fusse (·) alla legge del uero Dio. Il Padre mando la Aless(o) con l' acqua benedetta, ei con l' euãg^o^: di S. Jiou^e^: scritto, con la qual medicina se gli fu la febre, et restaron(o) tutti sani, et certificati della uerità della nra Sta. Fede.

In una lrã, che il P. Rub^o^. mi scrisse alli 25. d' Ottobre di 608. diceua. Un Raggiu molto nobile, il quale mostra essere di 40. anni, uenne molte notte alla porta della mia casa con

grande sentimento, et parlãdo con il patron di quel piano, gli disse, che gia era uechio, et che la sua morte era uicina; p cio lo pgaua con grãnde instanza che lo uolesse far parlar con il mio interprete, accio l' introducesse a parlar meco per poter esser mio discepo(lo) e sẽdo che molti gli diceuano in qsta città, che io insegnaua la legge dell' eterna salute. Finalm^{te}: io lo fe-entrar et egli gittandosse alli miei piedi con molta deuotione mi scoperse li suoi desiderii, iqual i erano di essere incamin(ato) per il uero sentero della salute. Parlai con questo uechio molto tempo parendome di buon' ingegno, et pruden(za) et la conclusione fu, che udisse il Cathechismo, et promisse, de cosi lo farebbe, et insieme procurerebbe che molti (al)tri Rgiu, che stanno sotto di lui fussero suoi discepoli.

Un altro Balàla maestro con extraordinario feruor mi venne a pregare che lo insegnasse. Credo che senza dubbio n(on) hauerebbe V. R. potuto ritener le lagrime, ueggendo con quanta deuotione qsto gentile le spargeua, quando stãdo prostrate aali mei piedi caldam^{te}: mi pregauache lo saluasse. Al psẽte ua udindo il catechismo, et forma buon conce(tto) delle cose di Dio N. S.

Hora daro conto di qual che soccesse a Badamurti signor di qsto piano, nel qual io habito, il qual' gia era catecumen(o). Alli 23. d'Ottobre di 603. doppo pranso pesse in tutto la parola. Fui io a sua casa, et lo ritrouai che staua in agon(ia) de morte. Subito lo battizai, et di li a poco tempo si leuo in piedi, et abraciando li miei piedi con molte de(uo)tione disse, che a Dio, et a me devea la uita. Et aggiunse che stauano iui alcuni huomini, che serian(o) Demonii, de quali uno lo uoleua strãgolare, et non gli lasciaua formar parola, un' altro gli rompeua le gamb(e) un' altro gli diceua che la finisse presto per lo poter leuar uia. Staua il pouerello in qsto trauaglo, et contras(te) quando io giunse; ma con la uirtu del S^{to} legno, che gli posi al collo, et dell' acqua benedetta, subito li Demon(ii) fuggirono. Resto egli molto debole, et fiacco, con la gola tanto indebolita, che non poteua dir parola, et facẽd(o) mi di cio cenno gli feci il segno della s^{ta} croce sopra la gola, et subit ocomincio parlar, et io gli dissi (che) gia l' haueua battizato, al che ripose, che molto ben lo sapeua, et che qlla era la sua uolontà. Torno hier' l' altr(i) di nouo a star male, fui a dir messa p lui, et quãdo la cominciaua mi dissero, che staua spirãdo, et finindo io la messa mi diedero nuoua, che gia staua bene, come hora sta senza febre, et hoggi venne à udir messa. Ha posta nelle mie mani tutta la sua famiglia, accio li dia il s^{to} battesimo, nella qual stanno piu di

uen(te) persone. Egli è huomo di tanto credito, et stima, che speriamo p suo mezo si conuertino molti a Dio N. S., Sino aq la del P. Rub° Dipoi della quale mi scrisse dell' altre, dandomi ragguaglio di qllo che Dio N. S. fu oprando, et pche p le sue ist( ) si intẽdera piu chiara, et distintam^te: il tutto, li porro q disteram^te: nella maniera che stanno.

Copia di una Lettera del P. Ruberto Nobili al P. Prou^le: del Malauare de 24. di Decẽbre 1608.

Sono obligato a dar sempre conto a V. R. di qllo che Dio N. S. uao prãdo in qsta nuoua missione. Gia scrissi, come dipoi (la) partita di V. R. di qsta città nel fin di settembre haueua battizato quatro persone; cio è Badamurti che è il signor di qsto piano, doue sta la mia casa, al quali trio diede la sanità miracolosam^te: Christinada, che è un, maestro statuario, che faceua Idoli, et altri laupri, molto eccelle(nte) nella sua arte, et dal Naiche, et da tutti i signori di Madu(rei) molto stimato. Il 3°: fu il nro giouane Golor frẽllo del portinaio maggior del Naiche. Il 4°: fu un huomo nobile che V. R. non lo conosce, per non l' hauer uisto nel tempo, che quiui stette. Adesso nel giorno dell' Apto S. Tomaso battizai noue; cioe li tre frẽlli di Badamurti, et due suoi figlioli. Il Calistu che uenne a udir una pdica del Catechismo, quãdo qui staua V. R., il quale mostraua molto feruore, et con lui battezai' il padre, et due suoi figlioli, un' picciole di cinque, o 6. anni; et un' altro maggiore. Il Calistu, et suo padre, essẽdo ancora gentili erano molto deuoti dell' Idoli, et sue ceremonie, et tanto che dicendo Calistu, à suo padre, che haueua parlato un esso meco, et che io insegnaua una legge spiritual, la qual gli parecia la uera; disse gli il uecchio, che non sapeua cosa alcuna, et che egli parlerebbe con esso meco, et mi conuincerebbe, et mi farebb ( ). Venne il buon uechio accompagnato dal suo figliolo, et ancorche nel proncipio uolse argumẽtare, et disputare, resto non ( ) cosi appagato delle ragioni, che io gli diedi della legge di Dio, che mi apporto grandissima consolatione il ueder qnto concorre Dio N. S. con qsta gente. et cosi fu continuãdo egli con il suo figliolo in udir le prediche con tanto feruor, et formarino si buon concetto delle cose di Dio, che mi obligarono a non gli differir il S^mo: battesimo. Il uecchio essẽdo gentile teneua una casa solam^te: palbergar' li pellegrini, nella qual teneua un Pãdara, accio lesse acqua a tutti li pasaggieri...

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XXIX

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, December 16th, 1610.)

No Collegio de S. Thomé em Meliapor foy estes anos Reitor o P. Nicolao Leuãto co satisfação, e era may accepto à qlle Prelado, q se mostra nosso amigo; e a el rey de Bisnagá e a toda aqlla corte; e teue sẽmpre muy bom cuidado de conseruar aqllas Residecias de Vellur, e Chandrigri; Agora o P. Visitᵒʳ. fez Reitor da qlle Collegio ao P. Simão de Sà, o qual nhum talento tẽ pᵃ isso, e bem o (tẽ demos)tado. Entendo ha de padecer mᵘᵒ. a qlle Collegio ẽ tudo, e na disciplina religiosa, e ainda na amizade co a Bpo, por não gostar do modo do Prẽ, q não he pᵃ. isso, e por este respeito no ano passado lhe tiramos o cuidado da casa de Negapatão...

Cochim. 6. de Decẽbro de 610.

D. V. P.

Minimo fᵘ ẽ Chro

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ABLERTO LAERCIO

XXX

AN EXTRACT OF THE 'LITTERAE ANNUAE' OF THE PROVINCE OF MALABAR, 1609

(1610.)

Quod ad D. Thomae Collegium spectat scimus Reverendissimum Meliaporensem ducemque et Senatum Civitatis a Patre Collegii Rectore, quem apud Regem Bisnagarum gratiosum esse sciunt, multis precibus contendisse, ut eundem Regem adiret, et ab eo impetraret litteras ad Ginianum Dynastam, quibus ageretur de Olãdensibus ex sua dictione rejiciendis: illos enim amice exceperat, et portum quo appellerent, locumque in quo arcem aedificarent, illis concesserat: qui quidem minime segnes arcem extruere jam incipiebant. Quae res si processisset, grãde certo malum Lusitanis et Xnis. omnibus pervenire potuisset. Non potuit Pater nec debuit tam officiosum laborem recusare. Regem adit, litteras impetrat, eas ad ipsummet Dynastam defert; benigne atque

honorifice ab eo excipitur; de postulatis serio cum ipso agit; res difficilis videbatur, propter non modicum lucrum quod ex novorum hospitum commercio ille se percepturum sperabat, prohinde Patrem bene sperare jubendo, responsionem differebat. Interim Rex cum videret Patrem diutius in ea quasi legatione immorari, causam morae suspicatus, suopte ingenio impulsus alias litteras, non sine increpatione ingeminat, Dynastae imperat ut Patris postulata faciat, et omnino Lusitanorum hostem a se repellat; si portum quem illis dederat frequentari vellet, eum traderet Lusitanis, quos utiliores amicos quam Olandenses esset habiturus, His ille acceptis litteris, Patrem accersit, velle se dicit Regis voluntati satisfacere, quaeque postulabantur concedere. Illico ad Episcopum, ducem et Senatum D. Thomae dat litteras; ad quos etiam cum patre legatos mittit, ut cum illis de adeunda Portus illius possessione ac frequentatione agant: conditionem apponit ut Pater Rector cum Lusitanis ad ejus portus traditionem revertatur. Ita fit. Designatur qui futurus sit dux inceptae ab Olandēsibus arcis, illis alio amandatis. Qui ducem comitarentur milites conscripti sunt; dona que ad Dynastam deferrentur praeparata. Denique res solemniter acta est. Jacta erant arcis fundamenta et parietes ad aliquatulam undequaque altitudinem excreverant. Erat ingens calcis, laterumque copia; nam ex lateribus arcem extruebant. Unus illis sacerdos ex Nostris remansit, quae una est ex Residentiis quibus in principio diximus auctam hoc anno fuisse Proviciam. Locus Tavanapatnam appellatur, unde copiousum Deo volente fructum speramus.

XXXI

SOME EXTRACTS OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, ... 8th, 1611.)

(A quotation from a Letter of Fr. Roberto de Nobili, dated Madura, December, 12th, 1610.)

Iddio p sua misericordia uá ogni giorno agiuntando noue pecorelle al suo ovile, distrugendo il culto del Demonio como diceua un Pandara d'autorità ad un xpãno, che la uenuta del Re di Bisnagá a Madure era distruttione del Naiche, et il star mio in questa terra era destruttione de Pandarj.....*

(A quotation from another letter of Fr. de Nobili dated Madura, November 22nd, 1610.)

In questa Città di Madure ha Molti Studj ne quali uanno piu di dieci mile studentj Bramanj, diuisi p uarij maestrj a chi ducenti, et a chi trecenti, et p migliore studiare, et darse in tutto alle scientia, Il Re di Bisnaga, et Il Naiche della Città hanno fondatj uarij collegij con molte buone rendite, p sustentam(ẽto) dei Maestrj et studentj mentre studiano; nẽ (solo) del uitto má anco de uestire pse, et loro case se cho mentre studiano; no anno hanno altre pensiero che le sue biuo, ma in tutto il necessario son prouedutj dalle rendite di Collegij. Quel che legone et Insegnano sono cose molto uarie, p che hanno molte dottrine. Primieram^{te}. fanno alcunne questionj proemialj, como de Argumẽtatione, de Scientia, de Euid^{a}. et fide, et copia queste quatro cose se stende la lore filosofia, percio ché in quaesto medesimo trattamo piu diffusamẽte dividndo la filisofia che esti chiamãno, chinta manj, che uol dire agiuntamete, o coc ( ) de pensieri et arg^{ti} intra Capi, nel P^{o}. é de Euidentia et qui riducono questo questionj., De Inuocatione seu Adoratione Vtrum'sit initio operis aliquis Deus inuocandus,. De Certitudine, De bona sev pfecta certitudine, De Certitudine qua habemus p generationẽ productione de nouo De formalitate certitudinis. De speciebus Objector, De Vnione locali, seu p contiguitatẽ, et De Vnionibus diuersis, Id est formali, accidentali, et aliã quãdã quã no percipio, quia no est ex subst^{a}. et natura. De Praedicato et Subjecto p negationẽ; De objecto uisibili seu visus. De indiuisibilitate uolutatis. De Splendore Auri. De Actus reflexione quo quisq se cognoscit, et intelligit. Queste sono le questionj che nel P^{o}. Capo de Euid^{a}. trattano, há alcune altre ma p la strettella del tẽpo no le posso p se( )an^{te}. uedero. Nel 2° Capo che é de Scientia trattano le sequenti questioni. De Signis Illationis. De Sequella tãtu, De Inductione. De fallentia. De Semine fallentiae seu de modo impugnandi fallentiã. De subiecto, De discursu. De Signo causatiuo. De omnimoda fallentia. De Coniunctione secudu quid. De Priuatione. De effectu p causã. De omnimoda coniunctione. De Vlti^{a}. Certitudine seu consequentia. De causa, De euidentj probatione. De certitudine a Simili. De errore. De dubitatione. De Variatione suppositionis. Ex uero Antecedente de falsa conclusione. De Deo Ruden. De Multiplictate causar. De Naturali vi, et virtute, de sup addita de nouo Virtute Nel 3°. capo che é de Auctoritate seu auditu, trattano queste questioni cio é De Correspondentia Verbor De Conueniẽtia in Commnnj. De Vnione affectionis,

De Desiderio. De Corruptione Sonj. De Corruptione totius mudi. De Merito Legis. Quod no est utru possit affirmarj. De Nouitate. De Annihilatione. De Propria impositione, et Deniq, quo modo debeat esse signu. Queste sono le questionj du una dottrina sola che loro insegnano, la qle finiscono in 4. e 5. anni. Di piu hanno altre cinque molto piu diffuse altre la Scienta che chiamano Vedãdam oue trattano de Deo, et eius Vnitate...

(*Another quotation of a letter of Fr. Antonio Vico companion of Fr. de Nobili, relating the fruit of the latter's life and preaching. Fr. Vico's letter is dated Madura, December 24th, 1610. It runs as follows:*)

Haura giá due mesi che uenne qui un Regolo tributario del Naiche grande p Nome Vttapa Naiche di buonissima natura et desideroso di saluarse ; Questo in arriuando all aposento dell' Aier si prostro con la faccia in terra nẽ se leuo dali insinche due, e tre uolte il Padre no gli lo dicesse. Ragiono depoi col Padre dalle miserie di Questa uita, et certeza della morte, et nel fine prego con molta instanza il Padre uolese venire alle sue terre, p che in ogni modo uoleua riceuere la sua dottrina...

XXXII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, November 25th, 1611.)

A missão de Bisnagá tem a sua conta o P. Ant°. Rubino depois da morte do bom P°. Belchior Coutinho, e agora lhe dey por comp°. o P. Ant°. Diaz. Esperamos uenha cá o P. Visitad°r. pá lhe aplicaremos outros dous P°s. e buscaremos todos os modos pá se colher desta missão o fruito q' se deseja, o qual este anno foy m'°. menos, por el Rey for ja muito velho, e doente, e ter intregue o gouerno á huã das molheres, e a seu Irmão della, os quaes nuca se mostrarão amigos dos Prẽs. e m°s. menos dos Portugueses, a mas agora fizerão guerra a Cidade de Meliapor tendoa de cerco algus meses, de modo q' foy necess'°. recolherẽse os nossos P°s. e moços ao Coll°. de S. Thomé até se faserem os concertos e as amizades. Quando foy uisitar Ceilão em Junho passado achey o P. Ant° Rubino em Columbo, onde pgara as sestas feiras de Coresma co m°s. satisfaçao da quella Cidade, onde tinha ydo á requeri. mento do seu Rey de Bisnagá (que lhe não puderão negar) co seus embaixadores, q̃ elle mandou ao Gouern°r. D. Jero-

nimo pá lhe uender algus elefantes, como o P. Leuanto informara á V. P., mas como nada se affeituou, o P. não tinha ja aly que fazer, e torney leuar comigo até S. Thomé, onde o deixey no mez de Agosto, pera q tãto q̃ el Rey concluisse os concertos e amizades co a Cidade, q̃ se esperaua seria cedo, se tornasse a Vellur co o P. Antº. Diaz continuar a sua missão...

Cochy. 25. de Nouembro 1611.

D. V. P.

Indº. fº em xº.

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ALBERTO LAERZIO.

XXXIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, November 25th, 1611.)

A, cerca do q̃ escreuerão da compra dos Elefãtes del Rey de Bisnagá mostrey o capitolo da carta de V. P. ao P. Leuanto, q̃ está agora aqui descãcando neste Collegio ; e elle responderá, e enformara de tudo o q̃ nisso o ue ; Pore nhuã cousa ovue nisso menos decente, mas antes tudo se fez co muita edificação, e são meos muy necesº. e q̃ à Compª custão pouco, pera estes Reys gentios se affeiçoare a nossas couzas, e permitirẽ co facilidade, q̃ em suas terras se prègue a ley de Ds...

Cochim. 25. de Nouembro, de 611

D. V. P.

Ind. f. em x.

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ALBERTO LAERZIO.

XXXIV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, November 25th, 1611.)

Questo anno andando a uisitare la Prouincia el mese di Maggio, arrivando sino a Meliapor che hé longè daquesta Città ducente leghe, e raccogliendomj en aquesto Collegio a 22.

de 7bré non potei passar per Madurej, e consolarme con aquelli Pdrij e cristianj, come haueua determinato, impedito dalla guerra che haueua frá il Naiche di Madure, et il di Nagapatano...

di Cocino a 25 di 9bré 1611.

D. V. P.

Ind°. f°. in x°

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ALBERTO LAERZIO.

XXXV

AN EXTRACT OF THE LITTERAE ANNUAE OF THE PROVINCE OF MALABAR, 1611

(1612.)

Velluranae et Chandragirinensis Residentiae vacant in praesentiarum. Quo enim tempore Patres in Collegio convenerant ut spiritum renovarent, et mutuis colloquis se ad divinum servitium magis accenderent, Badagae bellum Lusitanis intulerunt, et D. Thomae urbem obsidione premere coeperunt, Causa fuit cupiditas pecuniarum. Dum enim Rex jam nimium senex stupet, qui regnum administrant quidquid libet licere sibi arbitrantur. Regis nomine ingentem pecuniarum summam a D. Thomae civibus postulavere; recusarunt illi tam insolitam exactionem; recusantes armis aggrediuntur. Illi contra armis se defendunt, in armis sunt utrique, illi urbem oppugnant ut eam depraedentur, isti propugnant ut suas res tueantur, Hostium jam permulti, ex Lusitanis etiam nonnulli sunt occisi. P. Rubinus Ri. Episcopi et Magistratum rogatu cum duobus civibus ad tyrannum missus est ut de pace ageret. Sed quia postulatas pecunias secum non deportarunt, comprehensi sunt et in vinculis tenentur. Quem finem res habitura sit ignoramus.

XXXVI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ANTONIO RUBINO TO Fr. JOAO ALVARES

(St. Thome, November 29th, 1617.)

Ouue por bª a Sâta obedª. depois de 4. anos de tirarme a carrega q̃ tinha deste Collº. do q̃ diu particulares graças ao Senhor. As guerras deste Reino de Bisnagà uão tomãdo bom

termo, porq o menino legitimo successor da coroa uai cada dia mais alcãçãdo maiores uictorias, e os messes passados cortou a cabeca a Jagaraiu seu cotrario. aleuãtouse ẽ seu lugar hu Ir. seu por nome Etiraiu, mas no pode resistir ao poder de menino por onde se crè, q̃ ẽ breue sara coroado, e a nossa missao se tornarà a renouar...

De S. Thome os 29. de 9bro de 1617.

D. V. R.

Minimo Seruo ẽ o Senhor.

ANT°. RUBINO.

XXXVII.

MEMORIAL AGAINST THE JESUITS OF VIJAYANAGARA, AND SPECIALLY AGAINST THOSE OF CHANDRAGIRI

Que em Chandegri Corte D'Elrey de Bisnaga reside hum religioso da Comp^a^ e dous em Velur, que he outro lugar onde este Rey custuma estar m^s^. p^te^. do tempo, que nestas duas p^tes^. nao hà conuersão, nem Christãos, mais que tres ou quatro moços, que seruem a estes religiosos, e que o fim principal que tem nq^tas^. duas terras hè acquirir rendas pera sy como ya tem em Meliapor mais de cinco mil pardaos cada anno sendo os religiosos que aly residem tres sacerdotes, e dous yrmãos; que servem mais estes religiosos na Corte daquella Rey de atrauessarem tudo quanto ha atè as pelles pera as botas, e canas de palanquins, que atè nestas meudezas poem estanque. Que seruem em lugar de pregação euangelica de andar falando a Vontade dos Bramenes, e Jogues, que sam os Sacerdotes, e penitentes entre aquelles gentios. E de por seu meo acquirirem o que pretendem, porque todos os religiosos da comp^a^. que andão por aq^tas^. costa, aprendem a lengoa não pera pregarẽ a ley Euangelica (que o não fazem) se não pera por este meo, com mais segredo se comunicarem com aquelles gentios, e acquirirem rendas para sy, e não pera pregarẽ a fè, E conuerterem almas porque o não fazem e se S Magestade tem outra informação he eriada, que tem chegado a tanto dasaforo da ley Christam, que em Velur, onde ficaua, El Rey de Bisnaga, tem hum Irmão Italiano que se chama Fuente buena, o qual hè pintor de profissam e se ocupa em pintar ao Rey gentio suas molheres nuas abraçadas com elle em tanques de agoa, e em actos deshonestos, pintalle mais os seus idolos fazendo retratos desta calidade somente por enganarẽ ao Rey, elhe ganharẽ a vontade com estas pinturas pera que lhes dé rendas como

faz sem resp^to^. algum a Christandade, e a saluação das almas, mais que a seus interesses particulares, Què isto he o q̃ fazem na Corte, e terras d'El Rey de Bisnaga, nas q^as^. residem ha onze annos, e que atè o prezente nam tem conuertido a fé huã alma, nẽ pregarão a ley Euangelica em suas terras, mas acquirirão m^tas^. renda pera sy, a fora o que interessão em seus tratos, e mercancias.

Que em Meliapor tem feito poucos xpaos os que há se conuertem por meo da comunicação, e familiaridade do seruiço dos Portugueses, e que não hé necessario pregarlhes pera que se conuertão, porque com facilidade o fazem, e os mais dos que ally há conuertidos por pregação os conuerterão os Frades de S. Francisco que ha m^tos^. annos residem naquella cidade.

Hua das igreias de xpaos da terra, que nos arrebaldes da dita cidade está encomendada aos Religiosos da Comp^a^. hé a da Madre de Deos na qual com auer Bispo, e Pastor, e elles seus Vigairos não querem q̃ Esteia debayxo de iurisdição do dito Bispo mais que pera pagar ordenados, e por ella de tudo e no mais, querẽ que os xpãos seyao izentos do dito Bispo e do seu Vigairo geral, e que não visite, mas que chrisme. E assy há de dar conta a Deos destas ouelhas, e os religiosos ao de seruerse delas e trosqueallas, e pera isto não ha de ser Prelado, de sorte que por não se entenderẽ seus intentos que todos uão ordenados a interesse não querem que ninguem entenda com causa, que estè ye a sua conta. E esta foi a causa principal de o Bispo de Cochim os lançar fora de Costa de Pescaria.

Em m^tas^ partes desta Costa auião xpãos que estauão a conta destes religiosos desimpararão os mais dẽlles por os senhores da terra lhe não darem m^tas^. renda e os não deyxarem foi o de Tauanapatão, e outro o de porto nouo, que sam os que de nouo pedem os Hollandeses ao Naique de Giga E com isto ham dado estes Religiosos grandes occasioes de escandalos, e de hauerem deyxado a fe catholica muytos rezem baptizados por lhe faltarem os mynistros da conuersão, e que lhes dissẽ o pasto spiital das almas neste estado se achou aquelle B'pado. E foi necessario ao Bispo Valerse dos seus Clerigos, e com elles prouer logo os postos que os Religiosos da Comp^a^. desempararão.

Estes Religiosos tratam somente de seu interesse fugindo as occasioes de trabalhos, e Martyrio, fundãose em acquirir tudo quanto podem, e então enganão a S. Mag^de^. escreuendo que tem conuersão na Corte d' El Rey de Bisnaga e Nar-

singa, e fazem que sua Mag^de. he escreua cartas de agradecim^to. por dar boa colheita a estes Religiosos em suas terras, e fauorecelhos no ministerio da conuersão, e então tresladão a carta de S. Mag^de. em suas ollas, e lingoa da terra como querem acrecentando lhe e diminuindo o que faz a seu proposito e dão a El Rey a olla em sua lingoa e a carta de S. Mag^de. e a dos Visoreys ficalhes no escritorio, e assy metem ao Rey na cabeça mil torres de Vento; e da mesma maneyra escreuen a S. Mag^de. o que conuem a seu proposito e firmão a carta com a chapa do Rey porque por hum real que dem ao seu criado que tem a chapa, e firma d' El Rey lha deyxara abrir trinta uezes quanto mais assynar cartas em tudo o que se diz se fala a uerdade a S. Mag^de. porque hé obrigação de o desenganar, e a seus minystros, das mentiras, e embusda yndia pedindo se lhe com toda a ynstancia mande acodir a estes religiosos com reformação muy estreita, e mande que se recolhão as cidades, e lugares pouoados de Portugueses, porque affrontão com seu modo de negoçear o nome xpão.

Do que passa na Costa da Pescaria se podera saber por Via do Bispo de Cochin, q̃ anda conquistando estes Religiosos ha dous annos, e o que fazem na China polla do Bispo de Macão e o mais se diz dos outros. O Bispo de Meliapor sofre q^te pode porque não aya dar entender a estes xpos rezem baptisados, e a os infiẽis, que há diuisão na ig^ra. de Deos por estes Religiosos buscão com suas conservatorias occasioes cada dia de noua schysma e tem posto todo aquelle estado até a China em grande balanço.

Deue S. Mag^de. supplicar ao s^to. P. mande reuogar todos os Breues, e Bullas, que as Religioes mendicantes, e os da Comp^a. tem pera tomarem Conseruadores, e que elles e suas causas fiquem sogeitas aos ordinarios nos termos do d^to. commum, porque se assy se não fizer se há de perder a Christandade da yndia, e hão de crecer muy depressa mais schysmas, que em Hollanda, e em Inglaterra S. Mag^de. porque he deue mandar acodir a reformar estes Religiosos, e prouer neste seu modo de proceder se não ser lhe ha necessario m^to. cedo mandar a yndia cabedal pera conquistar os Religiosos da Comp^a. e não se sabe se bastara porq̃ tem mais d^ro. que S. Mag^de. e nele estribão.

Tambem se lembra a S. Mag^de. que conuem m^to. a seu seruiço e tanto como não auer olandeses na yndia mandar que de Cochim até Maluco em toda a Costa, e terra firme não aya Religiosos da Comp^a. estrangeiros e os que ouuer

seyam Portugueses, Castelhanos, e Gallegos, e nenhua outra nação pq̃ue não conuẽ ao serviço de Deos, e de S. Mag^{de}. auer esta gente por aquellas p^{tes} . e terras, se hè seruido que se não p(erez)ca aq^{la}. Christandade e o estado da yndia.

Dos mais Religiosos não hà queixa de que se auize a S. Mag^{e}. mais q̃ de serem todos m^{to}. pobres e que fazem o que deuẽ som^{te}. se descuidão em aprender a lingoa da terra, porẽ se ouuer de ser p^{a} . se aproueitarem della como os da Comp^{a}. milhor será que a não saibão.

Antonio Viles decima.

APPENDIX D

DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE R. C. DIOCESE OF MYLAPORE (MADRAS)

I

NOTICIA DESTE BISPADO DE MAILAPUR.

Nao podendo o Snr Bispo de Cochim D. Fr. Andres & visitar por si todo o seu Bispado por ser muito extenso requereo a seu soberano sobre este ponto. Este era então o Snr D. Filipe 3. Rey de Hespanha e de Portugal postulou ao Papa Paulo 5. erecçao do Bispado de Mailapur desmembrandoo do de Cochim. O Papa conhecendo a justiça da postulação no dia 9 de Janr° de 1606 erigio a Igreja de S. Thome de Mailapur em Cathedral em ms°. dia creou para Bispo da ms°. a D. Fr. Sebastião de S. Pedro da Ordem dos Eremitas de S. Ag°. porque o d°—Snr. Rey assim lho pedia. Tudo isto e mais consta da Acta Congregationis Consistorialis habitae die 9 Januarii an. 1606 coram Paulo 5. cuja copia authentica se conserva nesta Camara Ecclesiastica.

Paceficamt°. o Snr D. Fr. Sebastião de S. Pedro depois desta dismembracao tomou posse e governou este Bispado (en tpo bem critico para os dominios de Portugal por estarem debaixo do captiveiro de Hespanha; neste tropelle se mostrou Portuguez, pois conquistando os Hollandezes, que se rebelarao contra Hespanha, muitos dominios Portuguezes na India por serem então sugeitos a Hespanha, não conquistarão Sadras, e S. Thome, porque o d. S. Bispo a sua custa fez tropas, e as defendeo dos Hollandezes. Deixo o mais que posso dizer deste Snr. Bispo q̃ pela Religiao e pelo seu Rey obrou.

Roll bearing the following heading: "*Correspondencias e requerimentos dos Capuchinhos a Madrasta e questao sobre o fundo da Egreja Etc: desde o anno de 1794 ate 1821 e resumidos no Cathalogo geral pelos segnites N°....*" *No. 5109.*

II

COPIA DO MAIS ESENCIAL DA BULLA DA ERECCAO DO BISPO DE S. THOME

Determinacao da Audiencia do SSm°. P°. Papa Paulo 5.; e seos Emminentissimos Cardeaes no dia 9 de Janr°. 1606: pela qual separa da Diocese de Cochim, toda a Costa de Coromandel, (Nota:—nesta se inclue Madras) Reynos de Bengalla, Oriza, e Pegu erigindosse em Cathedral a Igreja de S. Thome de Maylapur a Instancia do Rey de Portugal,

Hoje o Sm°. em Christo P°., e Snr nosso Paulo por Divina Providencia Papa 5. na Sua Audiencia Secreta, como he costume, attendendo a representação, do Eminentissimo Eduardo Cardeal Fernesse por parte do Serenissimo Rey Catholico de Portugal, e dos Algarves Philipe 2. conheceo ser m^to^. interessãte instituir huma Igreja Cathedral, e Diocese na Costa Maritima de Coromandel na India Oriental, Reynos de Bengalla, Orisa, e Pegu & o mesmo Sm°. P^e^. com pio affecto, e concelho dos Eminentissimos Cardeaes de Apostolica authoridade annuindo benignamente á humilde supplica do supraditto Rey de Portugal, e p^a^. gloria do Omnipotente Deos, e da Gloriosissima Sempre Virgem Maria, e do Benaventurado Apostolo S. Thome, a pa a Gloria de toda a Igreja Triunfante, e exaltação de Fè, na lembranca de q̃ o Corpo do Apostolo S. Thome se depositou na Cidade de Maylapur, instituio com a invocação do Apostolo S. Thome em Cathedral a Igreja da mesma Cidade de Maylapur . . . S. Santidade perpetuamente concedeo, e asinou, como tambem ao sobred°. Rey concedeo o Direito de Padroado de ditta Diocese, e aos seos futuros successores, como Administradores da Ordem de Christo no espiritual, e temporal com poder de apresentar a Sua Santidade, e aos Romanos Pontifices Seos Successores pessoas idoneas para a Dignidade Episcopal, e Governo da Diocese de S. Thome de Maylapur . . .

Dada em Roma nas Casas da Costumada Residencia do Sm°. P^e^. Paulo 5. do Anno do Senhor 1606 aos 9 dias do mes de Janeiro do pr°. anno do Seo Pontificado.

Roll bearing the following heading : " *Cartas e correspondencias officiaes do Sr Arcebispo D' Amorim Pessoa com o Vigario Geral de Meliapor P^e^. B. F. Amarante sobre a administracao dessa diocesa e algumas correspondencias dos P^es^. capucinhos da Madrasta sobre jurisdiccao etc ; de 1813-a 1866 e resumidos em Cathalogo geral do N-3738-a 3799 F. D* " ; *No. 8749.*

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54	36	Kaauj	Kanauj
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